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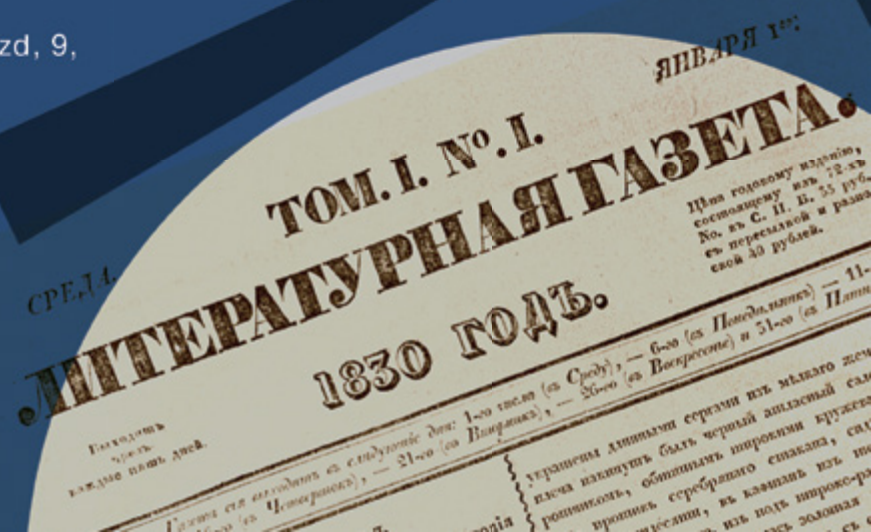
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EDITOR'S LETTER A CENTURY AFTER



The Russian émigré as a historical phenomenon appeared a hundred years ago, when General Wrangel made a unique decision: he proclaimed that the White Army, which had been defeated by the Bolsheviks, would leave Russia together with a significant part of the citizens of non-existent Russian Empire.

The scene of evacuation was truly biblical in scale: hundreds of ships with encumbered decks, wounded soldiers, ladies with children, agitated priests, groans, crying. Defeat in any war rarely looks pleasant, but here, let's say, ordinary criteria were intensified by a new then ideological madness.

Enthusiastic Baron Wrangel symbolised Russia, which from now on would only be spoken of in the past tense. As if it was suddenly gone.

White emigrants would mistakenly believe for a long time that this was the case. It apparently added an aura of something “otherworldly”, mystical, “inhuman” to their completely understandable political and military defeat. As if they fought against an invincible “satanic force”, but not against the Russian soldiers and officers being similar to them. The Red Army included much more former “tsarist” officers than the White Army.

The “Russian émigré” as an ecosystem consisted of two or three million ordinary people. But when thinking about it, we usually recall only several writers, artists, composers, theologians who lived and worked far from their Motherland. By the way, many of them were before – and then remained – pre-revolutionary “modernists”: they did not honor the “Father the Tsar”, nor did they love the church, but they greeted the February Revolution as the act of liberation from autocracy. There were many Februarists in emigration. And there were few monarchists. Often when they were asked: “What were you fighting for? Is it really for the Provisional Government?” – they moodily evaded an answer, saying: “For Russia!” So, let us avoid chasing their souls.

Victor Loupan



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HIGHLIGHTS

WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

Russian revolution of 1917 began for a reason: it had been prepared for a long time, they dreamed about it without understanding what its essence was

VICTOR LOUPAN,
Head of the Editorial Board

The exodus, the 100th anniversary of which we are commemorating today, seemed in 1920 to be a logical outcome of a lost battle against the ideological enemy. But this outcome turned out to be fateful. Hundreds of ships overloaded with people left the Crimea, not actually realising what was happening to them. But they paid not only for the lost battles, they also paid for the fact that they could not preserve and maintain what they seemed to love so much.

For decades, millions of the White army emigrants believed that “Russia no longer exists”. But they were packed and ready to go, hoping to return. Return to where? Because Russia “no longer exists”! Return to a cheap wood print?

Of course, Russia did not die or did not just “survive”. The Bolsheviks, who hated the Russian Empire, would recreate it very soon after the collapse. Geographically, by 1940 the USSR was like the Russian Empire excluding Finland and Poland, and by 1945 the Kuril Islands were added as a revenge for the 1904 war lost to the Japanese.

For the Russian émigré, the 1920s and the 1930s were a period of growing confusion. The Allies had recognised Soviet Russia one after another. Moreover, the Soviet embassies opened in historical imperial buildings. And this fact clearly indicated that the West perceived the USSR as “a historical successor of historical Russia”.

Powerful pro-Soviet communist parties established in European countries, captured minds of the intelligentsia and youth. The truth about

the Soviet repression was carefully concealed. Nobody wanted to know anything, and therefore the Russian émigré stewed mainly “in their own juice”. But even in this seemingly limited field there was no unity either.

That is not to say that the Soviet secret service “collaborated with émigré”. They rather watched it. Yes, there were cases when people were kidnapped in the literal sense of the word. They were killed! For example, General Kutepov. Yes, some indi-



viduals were recruited. For example, Sergei Efron, the husband of Marina Tsvetaeva, who was forced to flee to the USSR in order to avoid getting arrested by the French police. But the Soviet authorities involved in global politics realised quite early that, as a political phenomenon, the Russian émigré did not threaten the Soviet system and did not even interfere with the Soviet foreign policy.

Fascinated by the Communist experiment, the Western intelligentsia had no idea on what great Russian people were depressingly muddling along in Paris or Berlin.

So how can we determine the meaning of the Great Russian exodus a hundred years later? The Soviet Union no longer exists. But its aspects are manifested in today’s Russia. The Soviet Union was a paradoxical successor to Russian imperial greatness. But the Russian Federation is a clear

successor to both tsarist Russia and the USSR.

Russian revolution of 1917 began for a reason, it did not happen suddenly: it had been prepared for a long time, they dreamed about it without understanding what its essence was. Wrangel also did not understand what he was doing: he wanted to save the army and return to fight against the Reds. He had never returned...



BELYUKIN Dmitry – *White Russia. Exodus. 1992–1994*

Lenin and Trotsky made a revolution, then the USSR was built by Stalin.

During the distant First Chechen War, your humble servant happened to present in the field tent of a young senior lieutenant. I liked him immediately. His special officer bearing gave him an appearance of a “white officer” reminiscent of “The Days of the Turbins”.

Clippings cut from newspapers and magazines were pinned above the lieutenant’s bed. Unfamiliar formidable Soviet officers silently looked at me from the slightly moving tarp of the tent. And suddenly I recognised General Denikin. The fact that he was surrounded by the “Reds” who drove him across the steppes, surprised me. It did not embarrass the young lieutenant in the slightest, he just reacted: “The civil war was a war against Russia, which was fought by the hands of the Russians”. I had never heard a more precise definition.

The White Russian army exodus meant up to three million refugees, whose future was uncertain: no country then confirmed that it was ready to accept them.

The artist Dmitry Belyukin explained the idea of his famous painting “White Russia. Exodus” in the following way: “They are officers

and soldiers of the army and the new guard – the Kornilov and Drozdov regiments, and also merchants, artistic circles, high school and lyceum students, State Duma deputies and

noblemen being a part of His Imperial Majesty Court, professors, poets and sisters of Mercy. Ivan Bunin wearing a hat stands in the distance to the left of the chimney; the rest are generalised characters who personify the image of a Russian person, forever receding into the past”.

Today there are no refugees from Russia, but now there are more Russians living outside of Russia than ever before. The exodus actually served as an impetus: the Russians suddenly found themselves on all continents of the globe, while remaining Russians. Exodus is not an episode. Exodus is the beginning. Exodus is us, the diaspora!

THE LAST STATEMENT BY GENERAL WRANGEL

SEVASTOPOL, 29 October (11 November) 1920

People of Russia! Alone in its struggle against the oppressor, the Russian Army has been maintaining an unequal contest in its defense of the last strip of Russian territory on which law and truth hold sway.

Conscious of my responsibility, I must anticipate every possible contingency from the very beginning.

According to my order, the evacuation and embarkation began at the Crimean ports of all those who are following the Russian Army: military and civil servicemen with their families and those individuals whose safety would be threatened in case of enemy invasion.

The Army will protect embarkation, keeping in mind that the ships which are necessary for its evacuation, are also available at the ports in accordance with the approved time schedule. I have done everything that human strength can do to fulfill my duty to the Army and the population.

Our further paths are uncertain.

We have no other land, but Crimea. There is no state coffers, either. Frankly as always, I warn you all of what awaits you.

May God grant us strength and wisdom to endure this period of Russian misery, and to survive it.

General WRANGEL

SHANGHAI, BELGRADE AND PARIS: FIVE STORIES OF WHITE ÉMIGRÉS

Discover the stories of five military men, who left Russia after the 1917 revolution, and get an opportunity to take a look at their photographs and personal belongings from the collection of the Alexander Solzhenitsyn House of Russia Abroad, curated by Moscow Mayor's Official Website.

The White emigration was the first and biggest of the four waves of Russian emigration, with nearly two million people leaving the country between 1917 and 1923. The exodus developed in three directions: with General Wrangel's army – from southern Russia via Constantinople to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; with Admiral Kolchak's army – from eastern Russia to China and Australia; and from western Russia (Finland, Poland, and the Baltic provinces), where Russians unexpectedly found themselves with an émigré status because of changes in the state borders.

The mass of émigrés included members of creative intelligentsia, aristocrats, business people, industrial workers, peasants, and, of course, officers and men. Mos.ru together with Mosgortour got to-



gether and did some research on the military, who left Russia, and their life in emigration.

**Lieutenant Colonel Leonid Seifulin:
Far East – China – Australia**

A graduate of the Khabarovsk Cadet Corps and the Alexander Military School, Leonid Seifulin went to the fronts of WWI as a young man: he was 21 years old in 1914. He returned to his home in the Far East with the Order of St George, 4th

Grade, and several serious wounds. During the Civil War, Seifulin fought with the Special Rifle Regiment on the Eastern Front. Later he was invited as a tutor to the Khabarovsk Cadet Corps, with which he emigrated to China in 1923, taking along with him his pregnant wife.

In Shanghai, he went on with his tutorship and was active in the life of the Russian émigré community. He joined the Infantry Section and the Internal Audit Commission of the Union of Former Russian Army and Navy Servicemen, took part in the activities of the Officer Assembly in Shanghai, was treasurer and Secretary of the Union of Russian Military Invalids, and later served as the edi-



Decorations of Lt. Col. Leonid V. Seifulin



Lieutenant Colonel Leonid Seifulin in Shanghai

tor-in-chief of the magazines Kstati and Drug Invalida.

In 1949, when a civil war broke out in China and the Communists overtook Shanghai, Seifulin together with his family left the city for a refugee camp on the Filipino island of Tubabao. Several thousands of

**Major General Nikolai Schtakelberg:
St Petersburg – Poland – Australia**

Baron Nikolai Schtakelberg, 22, finished the St Petersburg Infantry Junker School in 1892 and was assigned to the Kexholm Life Guard Regiment, stationed in Warsaw, with the rank of second lieutenant. In 1914, before leaving for WWI, he accepted an invitation to a tea party from his friend Vladimir Vitkovsky's mother.

“After the tea party, Varvara Mikhailovna summoned her son and me and blessed us with a cross, and hanged an amulet attached to a silk ribbon around our necks, and asked us to never take them

settlers from China spent almost three years there in expectation of a US or Australian entry authorisation. In the winter of 1951, the Seifulins came to Sidney. Leonid Seifulin found his legs soon and took to assembling a Russian emigration archives in Australia, which he later deposited at a local university. He also contributed to military journals. Leonid Seifulin passed away in Sidney in 1986. His daughter donated his portrait painted by one of his cadet pupils and some of his decorations to the foundation of the House of Russia Abroad.



off throughout the war, and always have them on us. We promised... Out of the 72 officers, who left with the regiment for the war, only two of us came back unhurt,” Schtakelberg wrote in his memoir.

In fact, the majority of officers and men of the Kexholm Life Guard Regiment were either killed or taken prisoner in East Prussia during the first years of hostilities. It was only two officers, Schtakelberg, who took over as the regiment commander in 1916, and Vitkovsky, who, though facing artillery fire and



General Nikolai Schtakelberg. Australia. 1950s

fighting on a par with others, had not a single wound. Schtakelberg treasured the lucky cross and amulet to the end of his days.

While his regiment remained in Warsaw, the baron raised a family, with which he emigrated to Poland after the Civil War in Russia. During WWII, when the Red Army moved in to liberate Poland, Russian émigrés had to flee from the country, leaving behind houses and personal belongings. No one wanted to return to Russia and face punishment. The émigré families were accommodated at the DP camps in Europe, where they received “distribution” and authorisation to leave for other countries. So, in the 1940s, the Schtakelberg family emigrated to Australia. Nikolai Schtakelberg passed away in Melbourne in 1956. His remaining decorations were inherited by his offspring. His grandson, Nikolai Yakubovsky, lives in Australia to this very day. The family relics, the amulet and the cross that saved Nikolai Schtakelberg’s life, are now at the House of Russia Abroad.



Colonel Alexander Linitzky (left)

ended up with the White forces in southern Russia after the October revolution. He fought under General Wrangel and was evacuated with his army from the Crimea first to Gallipoli and thence to Belgrade. In the mid-1920s, Alexander Linitzky graduated from the engineering

department of Belgrade University and took a job with a construction company.

His father, also a member of the White movement, turned up in Yugoslavia as well, after covering a military itinerary of his own (Novorosiysk – Lemnos – Gallipoli). The family split during WWII, with the younger Linitzky, his wife, and daughter emigrating to the United States and the elder Linitzky staying in Yugoslavia.

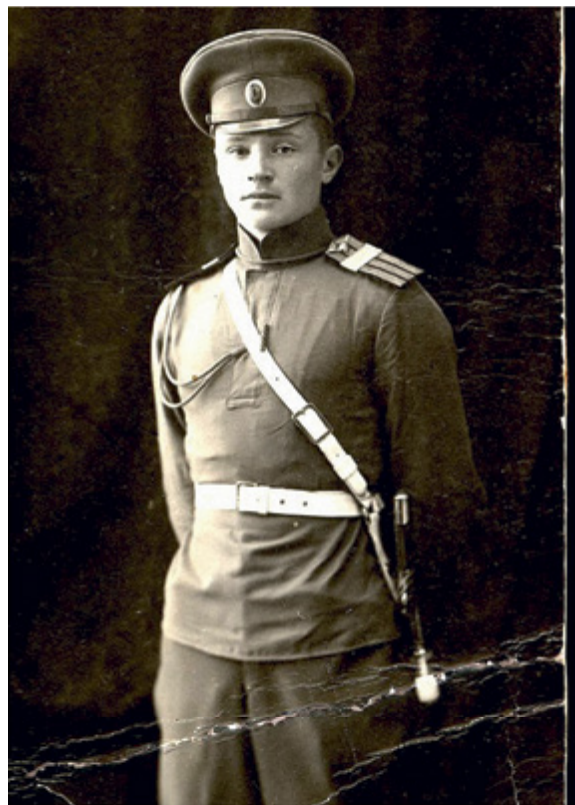
In San Francisco, Alexander Linitzky was an active member of Russian military organisations, such as the Cadet Union, of which he was the chairman. He also joined the Society of Russian Veterans of the Great War. The rest of his life he spent in the United States. He was buried in San Francisco’s Serb cemetery in 1977.

**Colonel Vladimir Zvegintsov:
Crimea – Italy – France**

The last commander of the Chevalier Guards Regiment, Vladimir Zvegintsov was trained at the Corps of Pages, one of the most prestigious military schools, and got an assignment to the Chevalier Guards Regiment. In 1918, after WWI, he was a Volunteer Army officer and took part

Colonel Alexander Linitzky: Ukraine – Yugoslavia – USA

He was born in Ukraine and trained at the Sumy Cadet Corps. He wanted to be a military man, like his father, Major General Alexander Linitzky. In October 1914, right after graduation from the Nikolayev Cavalry School, he went to war with His Majesty’s Ulan Regiment. He returned from WWI with the rank of second captain of cavalry and was promoted colonel during the Civil War. He participated in the Kornilov mutiny and



Colonel Vladimir Zvegintsov with son Vladimir. Yalta. 1919

in the Civil War. In the autumn of 1920, Vladimir Zvegintsov, his wife, former lady-in-waiting to Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, and his six-year-old son were evacuated from the Crimea. After spending a few years in Italy, the Zvegintsovs moved to France, where they set up house.

In Paris, Zvegintsov emerged as one of the leaders of the Chevalier Guards Family alliance. In 1956, he was elected Secretary of its Council of Elders. At the same time, he served as editor-in-chief of the Paris-based Chevalier Guards Family News-



letter. In emigration, Zvegintsov wrote a book entitled *The Chevalier Guards during the Great and Civil Wars*. His son Vladimir took after his father, the regimental chronicler, and devoted his life to the study of military history.

Vladimir Zvegintsov the junior was trained as an economist at a Swiss university and had a job with the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris. In the 1930s, he carried out his first serious historical research, classifying 1,200 Russian military songs. He also authored numerous articles and treatises on military history.

In the 1990s, Vladimir Zvegintsov visited Russia on several occasions. He passed away in 1996 and was buried at the Sainte Geneviève des Bois Russian Cemetery next to his father.

Military doctor Alexander Solonsky: Sevastopol – Yugoslavia – Switzerland

Alexander Solonsky was born to a modest bourgeois family in the town of Borovichy, Novgorod Region, in 1882. After a course at the Naval School for Surgeon Assistants in Kronstadt, he was assigned to the Baltic Fleet, where he served on the battleship Admiral Ushakov. In 1900, he worked as a surgeon’s assistant at a naval hospital; in 1904, he took part in the defense of Port Arthur on the battleship Poltava with the rank of doctor’s senior assistant.

In 1909, he tested out for a general education certificate and was enrolled in the St Petersburg Military Medical Academy. He made great strides and it was planned that he would



Military doctor Alexander Solonsky during the Russo-Japanese War

join the academy staff after graduation. These plans were wrecked by WWI. Solonsky was assigned as a doctor to a ship whose mission was to find and destroy mines in the Baltic Sea. In 1918, he was mobilised to the Red Army; two years later, he deserted to the White Army. Solonsky, his wife and daughter followed General Wrangel’s army to Sevastopol, whence they were evacuated to Yugoslavia.

In Belgrade, Solonsky worked at the Russian Red Cross ambulance station and headed a children’s polyclinic. He had always been fond of children: in 1929, he managed an ambulance post at an orphanage, delivered lectures on child diseases at the local university, and raised money on Christmas-tree celebrations for the poor. He treated the entire Russian population of Belgrade.

He visited his native town of Borovichy only once, which was in 1965. About the same time, he moved from Belgrade to Geneva, where his daughter lived. He passed at the grand age of 94 and was buried at the Saint Georges cemetery.

WASSILY KANDINSKY AND CONTEMPORARY PAINTING

BRANDON TAYLOR, *University of Southampton, Tate Papers*

My subject is not contemporary artists who may claim to be ‘influenced’ by the early Kandinsky in some way. There are always some of those, and the best of luck to them. I am more interested in what a truly contemporary awareness can make of the early Kandinsky.

Kandinsky really did believe, in common with others of his generation, that painting could embody the deepest meanings of his time – that ‘colours in a certain order’ could penetrate the depths of consciousness, deliver perceptual sensations that went right to the heart of cognition and awareness. In this sense he was a modern painter – one who believed that meaning could be embedded in a medium. A century later, we are more likely to see painting reach for quotation, irony or detachment – to wear the consciousness of the ‘end of painting’ directly on its sleeve. The question is therefore whether contemporary painting has abandoned the mission of modernity or whether modernity in Kandinsky’s sense can still be claimed to be the language we speak. On the one hand, most artists today will tell you that modernist depth is no longer achievable – that the medium of painting cannot bear the weight of deep consciousness or revelatory sensation (and that in any case utopias are not to be trusted). On the other hand, Kandinsky’s painting is sensuously rich. We need to ask questions about the workings and also about the relevance of its pleasures now.

I want to suggest that the abstractness or objectlessness that is claimed for the early Kandinsky is no longer usefully thought of as a matter of ‘veiling’ images from Biblical scenes or the lives of the Saints – and that the terminology of ‘inner sounds’ and ‘the epoch of the Great Spiritual’ is pretty much exhausted today. I believe that, right from the start, abstractness was never intended to mean the end of pictorial culture as such; rather that what counted as ‘the pictorial’ and the culture of the pictorial was being put under pressure to change very fast and in some unpredictable ways. We may look at a painting of Kandinsky’s pre-Moscow period (before the late part of 1914) and notice that, even though lacking in middle-sized objects bathed in rational light and exhibiting their familiar colour, several other marks of the traditional scheme of painting remain: the sense of a near-ground at the lower edge whose entities are somehow closer to the eye; a turbulent middle distance in which ‘something happens’; and a sense of a rear-ground near the picture’s upper edge in which the tops of buildings or skies or at any rate ‘higher events’ occur. Almost all Kandinsky’s paintings before 1921 contain something like this spatial scheme – even if the ‘events’ as I have called them seem to belong, not to the rational spatial continuum of ordinary reality (middle-sized things having a relation to human scale) but to sub-aqueous or cosmic reality (the very small or the

very large) where different laws of physics and optics apply. To say that different laws of nature apply is to say that light, colour and movement happen differently in the zones of the minute and the massive respectively. We can see today that these shifts into the aqueous or the cosmic are among the earliest of Kandinsky’s major pictorial inventions – even if he refers to them infrequently in his writings of the time. And these scale-effects (as I want to call them) would become important in the light of the path that painting was soon to follow.

I am giving an account of the viewer’s experience of Kandinsky’s painterly effects as an experience of events, that is, of unfolding time. Bruno Haas in his essay for the catalogue of the Kandinsky exhibition makes an ambitious attempt to locate the temporality of Kandinsky’s pre-Bauhaus paintings when he proposes that they are composed out of chromatic chords, ‘black-blue-white’, ‘brown-blue-green’ and so on as the case may be, with ‘echoes’ or ‘sequences’ filling out or demonstrating the sense in which Kandinsky was thinking about music as the essential analogy for colour and form. The musical analogy was in one sense ideal in that it could function on two sensory levels simultaneously: both as sensuously parallel to colour (at the limit, synaesthetically) but also as a linguistic system that enabled the translation of the visual into words. Yet music provides an imprecise way of translating visual data into the ver-

bal if we think of other features of the painting. For whatever advantage is gained by speaking of chords, harmonies, tonalities and so forth – the price paid is a sudden loss of contact with the phenomena of shape, linearity and more broadly form, the visual elements most fundamental to visual art and also central to the culture of European painting as it was soon to unfold. Secondly, we need to distinguish at least two senses of time in the swirling, eventful paintings of Kandinsky’s early art. There is the assumed speed, slowness, inevitability, unpredictability and so forth of the pictorial events themselves. Just how fast or suddenly or imperceptibly slowly is that patch of green encroaching upon that vermilion shape that surrounds it? At what pace and at what scale do these lines shoot at or predate upon or engulf some others? Exactly what form of reading does the painting want? Like all paintings it wants to be looked upon and valued in some terms. But Kandinsky’s early abstract paintings seem to want to be seen as pictorial dramas into which the viewer can enter in a way that is immediate, sudden and somehow new.

We can understand this better if we think about the other kind of time, namely the time of viewing itself; and here I think Haas is exactly right when he observes that what he calls ‘the sudden flash of temporality’ in the picture ‘has little to do with the rather banal notion that the various parts of the picture are successively grasped by the spectator’. On the contrary, he says, time in the picture ‘is emphatically experienced suddenly, in the here and now’.

We seem to have passed imperceptibly from an account of Kandinsky’s early painting as modern in the sense of *gegenstandlos* or abstract to a deeper and more contestable account of it as modernist in the sense of Michael Fried when he famously wrote, about certain paintings and sculptures of the 1960s, that their quality as shape was to be grasped in-



Wassily Kandinsky, Self portrait

stantaneously, however prolonged or considered the literal time of viewing might be. ‘Presentness [as he put it in his final famous sentence] is grace’. To talk about pictorial ‘drama’ in the early Kandinsky then is not to talk about music and not to talk about theatre; rather a kind of visual arena in which things ‘occur’ but not in sequential (linear) time. We might say that although the structure may be one of chords, they are chords having neither sonority, nor key, nor real duration.

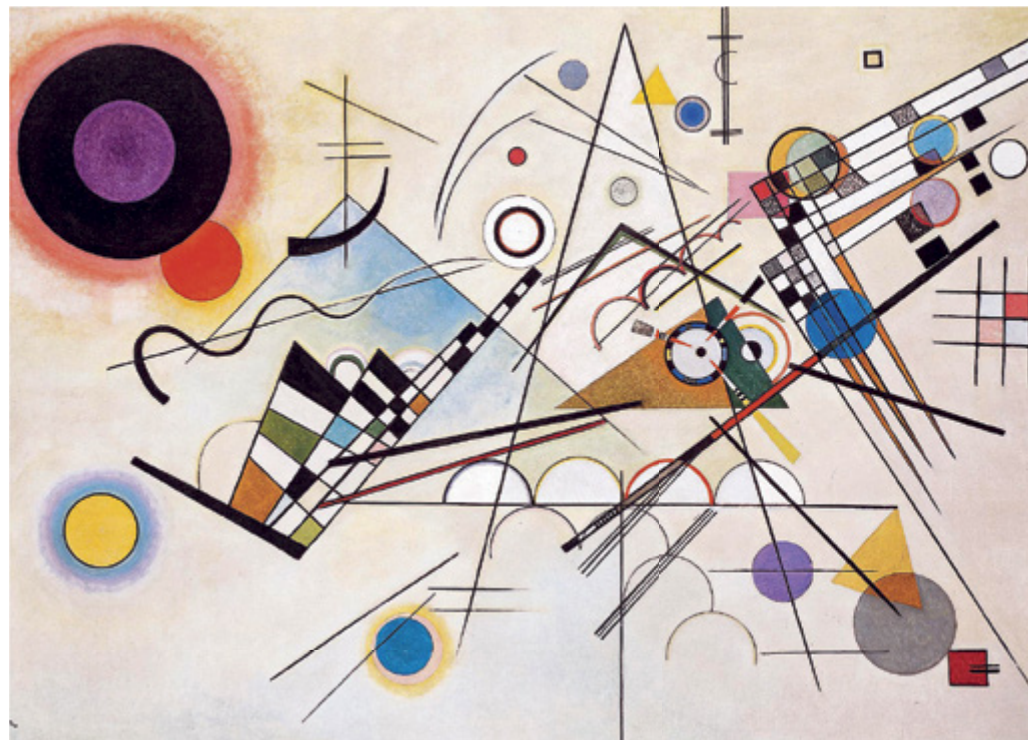
This slightly paradoxical mode of being for the picture is confirmed by Kandinsky himself in his ‘Reminiscences/Three Pictures’ essay, written in the middle of 1913, sometime between *Composition VI* and *Composition VII*, and then re-written in Moscow in 1918 under the auspices of IZO, Lunacharsky’s Commissariat of Enlightenment. He is describing

his journey by train and boat through the province of Vologda and his arrival in villages ‘where suddenly the entire population was clad in gray from head to toe, with yellowish-green faces and hair, or suddenly displayed variegated costumes that ran about like brightly coloured, living pictures on two legs’. In the two-storied wooden houses or *izba*, he tells us, ‘I experienced something I have never encountered again since. They taught me to move within the picture, to live in the picture.’ ‘I stood rooted to the spot before this unexpected scene. Folk pictures (*lubki*) on the walls; a symbolic representation of a hero, a battle, a painted folk song. The “red” corner thickly, completely covered with painted and printed pictures of the saints, burning in front of it the red flame of a small pendant lamp, glowing and blowing like a knowing, discreetly murmuring, modest, and

triumphant star, existing in and for itself'. That seems to me both a challenging and adequate description of modernist pictorial experience as it would more widely soon become. As Kandinsky says, 'I felt surrounded on all sides by painting [not the painting, please note, but painting], into which I had thus penetrated'. The sensation of 'moving within the picture, living within the picture', from this point onwards becomes the effect that he tries to achieve: as he puts it, 'letting the viewer "stroll" within the picture, forcing him to become absorbed in the picture, forgetful of himself'.

Here then is one form of pictorial autonomy, and one that matches remarkably well the experience of the modernist viewer, both early and

able to convey in words. It awakens the feeling, perhaps, of an obstacle, which is, however, ultimately unable to deter the progress of the troika [the three horses heads that are visible from behind]. Or on the second of the painting's two centres, to the right: 'Broad, curving brushstrokes. This second center has, both towards the outside and on the inside, incandescent (almost white) zig-zag forms, which bestow upon the rather melancholy character of this curved shape the overtones of an energetic "inner boiling"; which is extinguished by the dull-blue tones, which only occasionally attain a more strident pitch and which, taken together, enclose the upper part of the picture with a more or less egg-shaped background'.



Wassily Kandinsky, *Composition VII*, 1923

late. The trouble has always been that Kandinsky's own prose (of which there is much too much) is misleading and even at times childish. He is talking about the upper left-hand corner of the Guggenheim Museum's *Picture with a White Edge* of 1913: 'Right in the corner are white zig-zag forms, expressing a feeling I am un-

Or this description of *Composition VI*, also of 1913, a painting notionally founded upon an image of the deluge: 'If the left-hand scale goes down too far, then you have to put a heavier weight on the right – and the left will come up of its own accord. The exhausting search for the right scale, for the exact missing weight, the way

in which the left scale trembles at the merest touch on the right, the tiniest alterations of drawing and colour in such a place that the whole picture is made to vibrate – this permanently living, immeasurably sensitive quality of a successful picture – this is the third, beautiful and tormenting moment in painting' – a passage that I suggest evokes much too nearly the picturesque in art, with its loose and somehow untimely adherence to pictorial 'balance' and 'resolution'. But Kandinsky then describes the third of three 'centers' in the picture in a way that says something relevant about the surface of modernist art. 'Here the pink and the white seethe in such a way that they seem to lie neither upon the surface of the canvas nor upon any ideal surface. Rather, they appear as if hovering in the air, as if surrounded by steam'. In an amusing aside he compares this apparent absence of surface, this uncertainty as to distance, to the Russian steam baths. 'A man standing in the steam is neither close to nor far away; he is just somewhere. This feeling of "somewhere" about the principal center determines the inner sound of the whole picture'. It is a rare moment in Kandinsky's prose when he figures a purely pictorial theory within a flow of otherwise uncontrolled subjectivism, anthropomorphism, reading-in –

an almost fanatical obsession with features relating to compositional balance and control. It is exactly the problem we face in connecting Kandinsky's concerns to our own. What he tells us about the autonomy of the pictorial drama and the absorption into it of the modernist viewer is constantly burdened by references to

the vegetable, biological and musical worlds, seemingly mixed up together as if in a kind of unverifiable fantasy.

Kandinsky's efforts to divine the general laws of colour and form in his pedagogic programmes are denounced increasingly as pseudo-scientific, pseudo-psychological. 'The InKhuK has totally "Kandinskified"'

wrote Stepanova despairingly in her diary for 25 November 1920. 'Everything is being transformed into an elusive emotion, into a spiritual necessity, that is quite impossible to characterise or express in words. We, formalists and materialists, have decided to launch a schism'.

That schism, involving first Rodchenko, Popova and Vavara Bubnova but soon joined by others, was the Working Group of Objective Analysis, who within a year had re-christened themselves Constructivists, with open warfare now joined between several new concepts of 'construction' and Kandinsky's own allegiance to 'composition'. The task of the Constructivists was 'the theoretical analysis of the basic elements of a work of art' and not 'the psychology of creation or the psychology of aesthetic perception' – 'the analysis of elements and the laws of their organisation in works of art'. The prizing away and dismantling of the subjective laws of composition – the replacement of 'plastic necessity' by 'mechanical necessity' – urged especially forcibly by Rodchenko in the early months of 1921 – forced a fundamental realignment of ideas in the Russian avant-garde that effectively sundered modernism as a whole.

Slogans such as 'no superfluous elements', 'the move into three dimensions', 'economy' and so on demoralised Kandinsky and caused him to leave the country in quick order. He was probably right to do so. 'At present in Moscow. the "how" [of painting] has become singularly out of fashion', he is reported as saying in the same year. 'Instead of creating paintings, works, one makes experiments. One practices experimen-

tal art in laboratories. this is the view of a few young painters who push the materialistic viewpoint to absurdity'.

He complains about the paperwork, about shortages, about isolation. Though he showed a total of fifty-four works including *Composition VII* (1913) and *In Grey* (1919) at the 19th State Exhibition in Moscow in October 1920, it was to be his last substantial exhibition there until 1989.

Kandinsky's verdict on the Constructivists was as stark as theirs was upon him. 'In truth, these artists are mechanics [he says], yet they produced machines deprived

of movement, engines that do not move, planes that do not fly'. He adds: 'This is why most "Constructivists" have very quickly stopped painting'. The Formalists who supported them were likewise too technical and too lacking in 'inner necessity'. As for the idea of what a 'modern' artist was or should be in the 1920s, the field was becoming more and more a conflicted one. To some, a 'modernist' in the 1920s and 1930s was simply someone concerned with keeping 'up to date' – with fashion, architecture, and style. But in specialist discussion of the fine arts it was much more; and after Kandinsky moved to Paris in 1933 he had to be content with watching at a distance the development of painting in places where his own work was frequently though selectively shown.

The best that can be done is to indicate how the idea of pictorial complexity as such – Kandinsky's best intuition both early and late – can in isolated cases furnish suggestive cognitive models for the newer forms of



Wassily Kandinsky, *Delicate Tension #85*, 1923

data-organisation that are coming to articulate and perhaps dominate thought and vision alike. Now, a new computer language has emerged, one of networks, systems and data-flow, of non-hierarchical patterning and of the spatial and logical relations within them; patterns which provide ways of imaging the forms taken by guerrilla terrorism, asymmetrical warfare, intelligence and (of course) its corruptibility, legality, and control. From the rhizome to the wave and back again, some contemporary painting has tried to attune itself to these new conceptions of relatedness and scale – what I elsewhere recently characterised as the 'fundamentally biological character of everything'. Painters like Julie Mehretu or Matthew Ritchie have attempted to visualise these patterns and to evoke the kinds of complexity that the pictorial can still (just) command. But at this distance their debt to the early Kandinsky seems to me to be very small.

Acknowledgment: Tate Papers

SERGEI DIAGHILEV: INVENTING RUSSIA FOR THE WEST

ALEXANDRA BANISTER, KATE STEPHENSON, *TheArtStory.org*

Diaghilev was praised by his contemporaries as a key figure in bringing Russian art and music to the West. The fashion designer Coco Chanel who costumed Diaghilev's ballet *Le Train Bleu* in 1924, stated that "Diaghilev invented Russia for foreigners".

The legacy of Sergei Diaghilev

In his commissions from rising musical composers, Diaghilev helped shape the musical landscape of the 20th century. By championing such experimental composers as Stravinsky, Diaghilev aided the development of new tonality and rhythm, freeing up traditional concepts of ballet music. Without Diaghilev's support, such composers would not have written some of the major musical masterpieces of that century. This brought music and ballet to a wider audience and reestablished the popularity of ballet as a major art form.

Diaghilev's harsh but nurturing encouragement of young dancing talent and his willingness to allow dancers to also work as choreographers changed the face of modern dance. Tamara Karsavina, one of the Ballets Russes' troupe, who later emigrated to London and was a founding member of the Royal Academy of Dance, noted that "many are the names which Diaghilev wrote, with his own hand, in the book of fame". Many of the dancers and choreographers involved in the Ballets Russes went on to found important



Sergei Diaghilev

dance schools in North America, such as George Balanchine and Ruth Page, and in England, such as Marie Rambert and Ninette de Valois.

Similarly, his decision to commission avant-garde artists to create the Ballets Russes' sets and costumes had huge repercussions across Europe. Diaghilev revealed to the West the importance of Russian art; both traditional and radical. The use of color and Eastern influences revolutionized the aesthetics of early 20th-century design, theater, and fashion. The modern Cubist costumes featured in productions such as *Parade* can be seen as a direct precursor to later experimental theater designs. Oskar Schlemmer's

teachings at the Bauhaus borrowed heavily from the geometric designs of Picasso as commissioned by Diaghilev.

The designs also had an impact on the Paris fashion houses and particularly on the work of designer Paul Poiret. In the wake of the Ballet Russes' production of *Scheherazade* (1910), Poiret produced collections of clothing which espoused an opulent Orientalist aesthetic and included bright colors, sumptuous fabrics, and items such as turbans and harem pants. His work went on to influence both mainstream fashion and interior design. More recently, Yves Saint Laurent's 1976 haute couture collection, *belle Russe*, paid homage to the costumes of the Ballet Russes.

Diaghilev was also key in changing Russian cultural attitudes. This can be seen in the *World of Art* journal, which, although only surviving five years, informed readers about art of the Russian past and present. In doing so, it departed from the academic traditions or revolutionary beliefs of the prevailing critical landscape. As the Russian historian Simon Karlinsky describes, Diaghilev was a "cultural educator of genius". Despite not being a creator himself, Diaghilev was the instigator of many of the major cross-cultural creative moments of the early 20th century.

Childhood

Diaghilev was born in Selishchev Barracks, a military community in the western Russian province of Novgorod. His father, Pavel Pavlovich, was a

military officer, whose family had made their money from vodka distilleries. Following the death of his wife whilst his son was still an infant, Pavel married Elena Valerianovna Panaeva, an artistic woman and amateur singer. Elena introduced Diaghilev to the world of music and instructed his early education, encouraging in him a love of the arts. Throughout his life Diaghilev remained close to his stepmother, continuing to write to her until her death in 1919. The family moved from the military Barracks to Perm, and then to an apartment in St Petersburg in the 1880s.

Early life

In 1890, Diaghilev finished school and embarked on a tour of Western Europe, taking in the cultural sights and museums of cities such as Paris, Venice, and Rome, all of which he would return to later in life. Afterwards, Diaghilev moved to St Petersburg to study law, but also took classes at the St Petersburg Conservatory of Music in his spare time, hoping to become a composer. By 1892, however, he had abandoned this dream, as his professor Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, told him he had no talent for music.

Whilst at university, Diaghilev joined a circle of intellectual art-lovers who called themselves the Nevsky Pickwickians. Amongst the group were the artists Alexandre Benois and Léon Bakst, and the writers Dmitry Filosofov (who was also Diaghilev's cousin) and Walter Nouvel.

The group were joined by their love of the arts and their frustration with how critics wrote about art at the time. There were two main types of criticism: a patriotic, traditionally academic genre versus a more revolutionary type of critic, who called for all art to be socially relevant. The Nevsky Pickwickians saw both of these approaches as limiting and instead drew attention to largely overlooked areas of art, such as Russian icons, church frescoes, Romantic painters of the previous centuries, and Western art such as the Pre-Raphaelites in England. It was

this renewal of the Russian past, teamed with new discoveries in Western art, which informed Diaghilev's ever-evolving tastes during the 1890s.

In 1898, the Nevsky Pickwickians founded a journal called *Mir Iskusstva* (World of Art), with financial backing from the arts patron Princess Maria Tenisheva and the merchant Savva Mamontov. From the moment the journal was published, critics on both the political left and right sought to discredit its ideas.

The traditionalist art critic Vladimir Stasov described the works featured in the journal, including those by Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, and Bakst, as "the work of a three-year-old child holding a pencil for the first time". From the other side, the critic Viktor Burenin, writing in the revolutionary newspaper *New Times*, attacked Diaghilev personally: "the pretensions of a Mr. Diaghilev who edits this journal are not only astounding but also extraordinarily stupid". The negative criticism did not stop Diaghilev and the *World of Art* movement. He continued to publish critical art pieces, and in 1897 organized an exhibition in St Petersburg showcasing the type of art the group championed.

By 1899, Diaghilev had secured a job working for Prince Sergei Mikhailovich Volkonsky, the director of the Imperial Theaters. Diaghilev was responsible for the production of the Theaters' annual showcase in 1900, a role which fully immersed him in the theatrical world for the first time. Following this, he was tasked with staging Léo Delibes' ballet *Sylvia*. He chose his friend Alexandre Benois to work with on the design, but their ideas shocked the Theater. Refusing to change his artistic vision, Diaghilev was fired by Volkonsky shortly after.

Mature period

After this incident, Diaghilev returned to organizing art exhibitions and in 1905, he staged an exhibition of Russian painting at the Tauride Palace in St Petersburg. To prepare for this, Diaghilev travelled throughout Russia

collecting Russian artists of the past and present and in doing so collated a huge number of works by fine art painters of the 19th century who had been largely ignored or forgotten. The next year, he expanded his ambitions and took an exhibition of Russian art, from icons to modernist works, to the Petit Palais in Paris, and subsequently toured the exhibition to Berlin and Venice.

Encouraged by the warm reception he had received for Russian art in Paris, Diaghilev returned to his love of music. In 1907 he staged five concerts of Russian music in Paris, with appearances by his former mentor Rimsky-Korsakov, as well as Rachmaninoff and Scriabin. The following year, he presented Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* at the Paris Opéra which garnered glowing reviews.

Bolstered by the success of his productions in Paris, Diaghilev founded the Ballets Russes in 1909. He appointed Mikhail Fokine as chief choreographer, who, despite his traditional training at the Imperial Ballet School in St Petersburg, was an avant-gardist who sought to blend ballet with modern dance.

The young Vaslav Nijinsky, who was also Imperial Ballet School trained, was cast as the company's prime male dancer. Diaghilev's *World of Art* companion Léon Bakst took the role of artistic director and he designed many of the costumes. Both he and Diaghilev shared the aim of creating a total work of art (a concept known as *Gesamtkunstwerk*) through the seamless combination of performance, music and set, and costume design. Given the enthusiasm for Russian art and music shown by French audiences, Bakst and Diaghilev added an unapologetically Russian style to the Ballets Russes' productions. The designs were visually stimulating, bringing in the color and exoticism of the Russian east combined with the Art Nouveau fashions of the West. This dynamic and innovative approach resulted in an opening night sensation. The French writer Jean Cocteau said the performances "shook France".

The Ballets Russes quickly became in demand across Europe and Diaghilev established them as a year-round

touring operation in 1911. The success enjoyed during this period was seen by Diaghilev and Bakst as a long-awaited justification of the World of Art group's ideas of the 1890s. As the driving force behind the company, Diaghilev became inextricably linked with it. He quickly developed a reputation as a hard taskmaster, demanding only the best from his dancers and inspiring fear and respect in those who worked for the company. The composer Erik Satie described Diaghilev as "an amiable sort, but an awful person".

As the company went from strength to strength, Diaghilev commissioned ballet music from composers including Claude Debussy (*Jeux*, 1913), Maurice Ravel (*Daphnis et Chloé*, 1912), Richard Strauss (*Josephslegende*, 1914), and Erik Satie (*Parade*, 1917). His most notable collaborator, however, was the relatively unknown Russian composer Igor Stravinsky. At the age of 28, Stravinsky had previously composed music for Diaghilev and had impressed him with his ability to deliver scores at short notice. Diaghilev commissioned a full score for *The Firebird*, which, following its première at the Paris Opéra in June 1910, was met with immediate acclaim. Following this success, Diaghilev was quick to commission more from Stravinsky, resulting in *Petrushka* in 1911 and *The Rite of Spring* in 1913. Diaghilev's unfaltering support for talent from his homeland was also seen in his commissioning of up-and-coming Russian modernist artists. For example, from 1914, his principal set designers included the avant-garde artist Natalia Goncharova who, like the World of Art group, looked to older Russian art for new inspirations.

By 1912, Nijinsky was choreographing ballets for the company, including Debussy's *L'après-midi d'un faune* and Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*. However, following Nijinsky's sudden marriage to the Hungarian aristocrat Romola de Pulszky whilst on tour with the company in South America in 1913, the dancer was promptly dismissed by Diaghilev. This decision was certainly in part motivated by Diaghilev's personal feelings for Nijinsky, but it was also common practice for dancers to leave the Ballets Russes when they got married. Nijinsky did appear again with the company in the 1920s, but his relationship with Diaghilev was never the same following his betrayal.

Following Nijinsky's fall from grace, Diaghilev returned to Moscow to scout a replacement for his role in the upcoming performance of Strauss's *Josephslegende*. Diaghilev chose the nineteen-year-old Léonide Massine, a

recent graduate from the Moscow Imperial Theater School. Like Nijinsky, Massine was soon starring in the main male roles for the Ballets Russes and went on to choreograph many of their major post-war productions.

Late period

The First World War meant the Ballets Russes had to adapt quickly to very different circumstances. Economic hardship spread across Europe and pastimes such as going to the ballet were deemed by many as frivolous and luxurious. Diaghilev faced the challenge of depleted audiences with flexibility, taking the company on a tour of North America for several years from 1915.

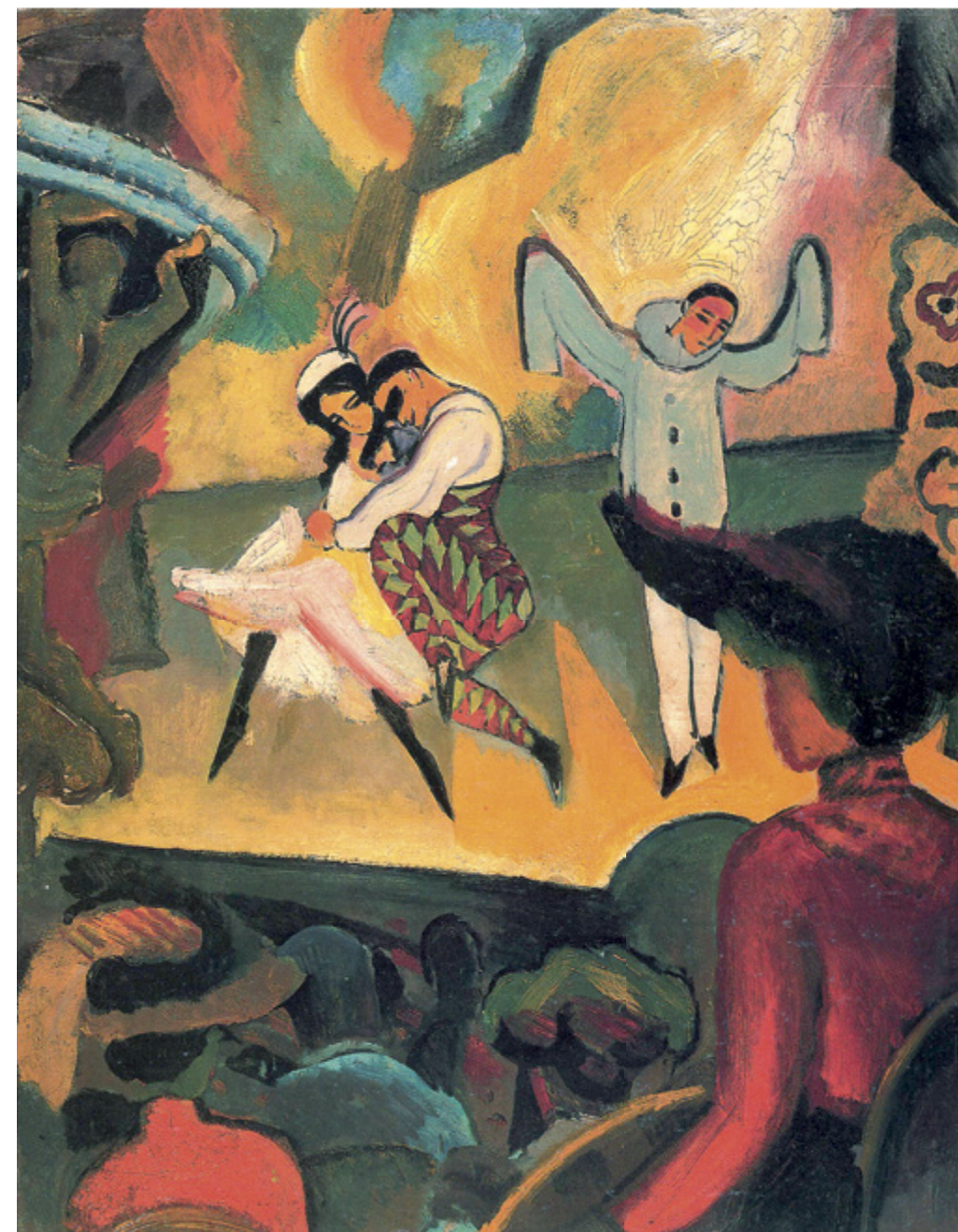
The events of 1917 proved even trickier for Diaghilev and his contemporaries to react to. The Russian revolution in February 1917 was initially welcomed by the World of Art group, signaling a new and free society and the fresh approach to art that they had long advocated. To celebrate, Diaghilev had dancers carry a red flag in the finale of that year's production of *The Firebird*. However, the subsequent revolution of October 1917 and resulting Bolshevik regime, overseen by Lenin, resulted in a dramatic change of outlook for the World of Art group. Diaghilev was cast by the new regime as an example of bourgeois excess and he, along with many other members of the artistic community, left Russia permanently in 1918.

This political turmoil was mirrored in Diaghilev's own life. He had no way of finding out whether his friends and family in Russia were safe. It was perhaps this private up-

heaval and the rejection by his homeland that led Diaghilev to increasingly commission Western European artists to design sets and costumes for the Ballets Russes productions of the late 1910s and 1920s.

Following the Russian Revolution and the First World War, Diaghilev became increasingly ruthless with the company as he worked to reinvigorate it with a fresh artistic vision. In 1919, Bakst completed the designs for the production of *Le Boutique Fantasque*. Unhappy with the first drafts, Diaghilev commissioned the rising French Fauvist André Derain to redo them. Diaghilev and Derain had known each other since Diaghilev's exhibition of Russian art at the Salon d'Automne in 1906, and Derain had long expressed an interest in working with the Ballet Russes. Diaghilev neglected to inform Bakst that there were now two artists working on the same project. The eventual fallout resulted in an unrecoverable blow to their friendship, as Massine noted "the artistic perfection of his production was the most important thing in his life and he would allow nothing, not even a longstanding friendship, to stand in the way of it".

Diaghilev was not afraid to aggressively recruit some of the biggest artists of the day. To convince Matisse to design the sets and costumes for *Le Chant du Rossignol*, Diaghilev, along with Stravinsky, arrived unannounced at the artist's home just outside Paris, even though his rival Picasso was designing for a different production that season.



Russisches Ballet I by August Macke (1912)

Matisse later compared Diaghilev to Louis XIV: "he's charming and maddening at the same time – he's a real snake – he slips through your fingers – at bottom the only thing that counts is himself and his affairs".

In 1921, Diaghilev staged a production of Tchaikovsky's *The Sleeping Beauty* in London, which was well received but a failure financially. Although the Ballets Russes continued to perform throughout the 1920s, they

were increasingly considered as too stylized and not as avant-garde as they once were. In his later years, as well as continuing to lead the Ballets Russes, Diaghilev became an avid collector of rare books and manuscripts. Much of his collection has now been acquired by various university libraries. Diaghilev died from diabetes in Venice in 1929 and was buried on the nearby island of San Michele.

The Art Story – TheArtStory.org



Programme of Ballets Russes – Mai/Juin 1914 Sheherazade – Michel Fokine and Vera Fokina

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF VLADIMIR NABOKOV

RODNEY PHILLIPS, SARAH FUNKE, *The New York Public Library*

Vladimir Vladimirovich Nabokov was born on April 23, 1899, into, as he put it, the “great classless intelligentsia” of St. Petersburg. His father, Vladimir Dmitrievich Nabokov (Nabokov), a titled aristocrat, was a leader among liberal politicians and advocated democratic principles as a statesman and journalist. His mother, Elena Ivanovna Rukavishnikov, was a cultured and intellectual heiress. Educated at home by tutors and governesses, young Nabokov was fluent in Russian, English and French by the age of 7. When he entered school at 11, he had already read all of Shakespeare in English, all of Tolstoy in Russian and all of Flaubert in French.

His early youth was divided between St. Petersburg, European coastal resorts (mainly the Riviera and Biarritz) and Vyra, his beloved summer haunt on his parents’ country estate, which he lovingly preserved in several of his novels and in *Speak, Memory*, the autobiography he published in three versions over the course of 15 years. In all these locales he engaged in the pursuits that permeate his fiction and memoirs: hunting butterflies, falling in love and writing poems.

Early writings

By the time he was 15, Nabokov was writing poetry prolifically. His first publication, documented only by his recollection of it, was a single poem he prepared for distribution to friends and family in 1914. In 1916 he inherited his own fortune (roughly \$2 million today) and the grandest of several manors on the family estate. He then paid for the

publication of *Stikhi* (Poems), a collection of 68 love poems. Over the next several years he averaged nearly one poem every other day. The earliest wave was preserved by his mother in marbled notebooks; later, Nabokov kept his own composition journals. His first major collections, *Groz’* (The cluster) and *Gorniy Put’* (The empyrean path), both published in 1923, were culled from these sources.

Nabokov, fearing that his two oldest sons – Vladimir, 18, and Sergei, 17 – would be drafted into the Red Army, sent them from St. Petersburg to the Crimea just after the Bolshevik coup in the fall of 1917. They were soon joined



Vladimir Nabokov

at Gaspra, on the estate of Countess Sofia Panin, by the rest of the family.

Between June 1916 and February 1918, he completed 334 poems, of

which he planned to publish two-thirds before leaving the Crimea. That proposed volume was never produced, but a selection was printed in 1918 in the Crimea in *Dva puti* (Two paths), a collection he assembled with a schoolmate.

The beginnings of émigré life

When the Crimea was evacuated in the spring of 1919, the Nabokovs took a circuitous route to London; in the fall, Vladimir and Sergei left for their first term at Cambridge University. A notebook from those months in London contains a chess problem for nearly every poem, revealing the foundation of what would become another of Nabokov’s lifelong passions.

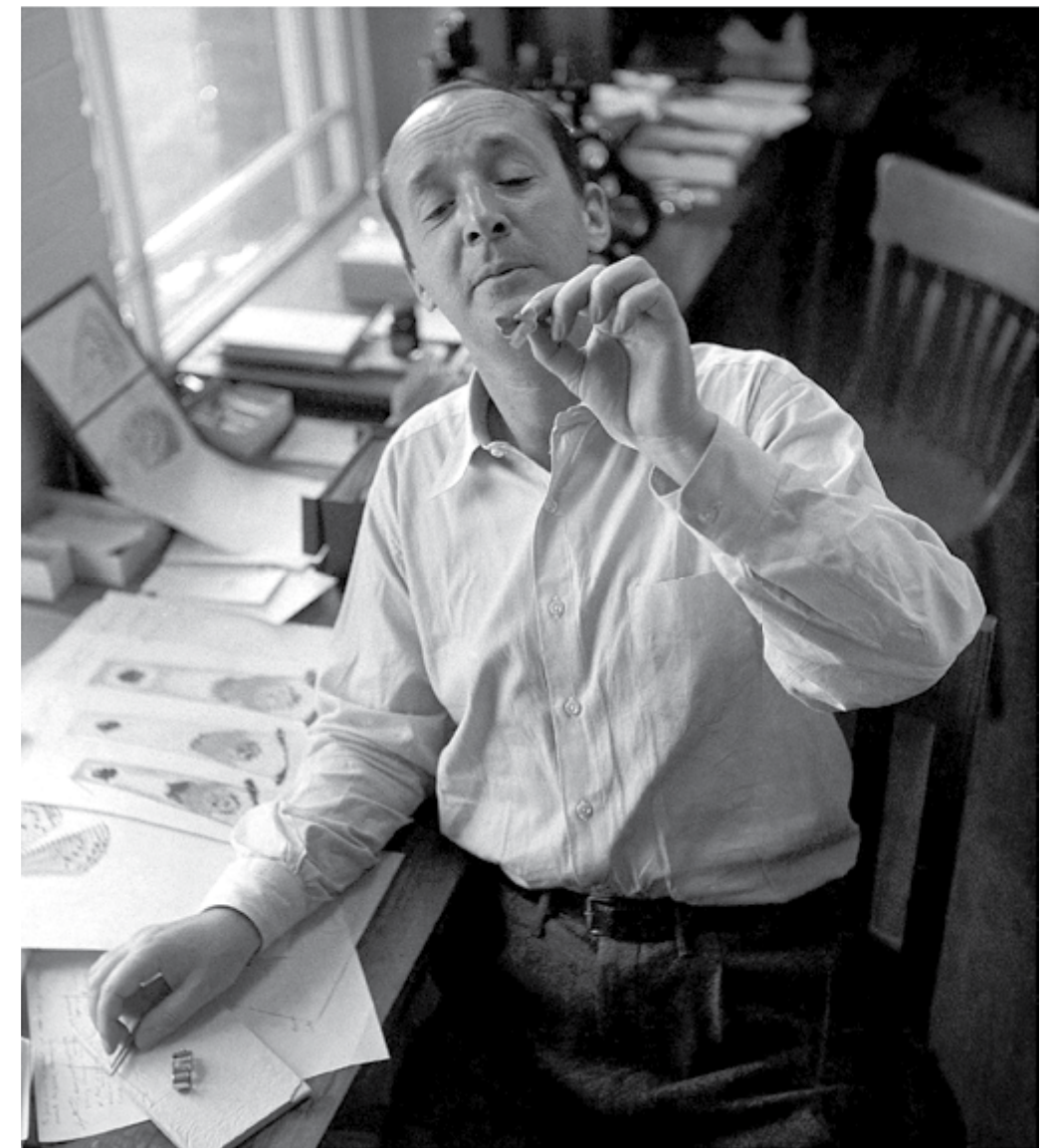
At Trinity College, Cambridge, Nabokov began his studies in zoology. Though he continued his lepidopterological pursuits unofficially and published his first entomological paper there – on Crimean lepidoptera – he soon switched his official field of concentration to modern and medieval languages. He focused his studies on Russian and French, presumably to allow himself more time to pursue his own writing. To that end he bought Vladimir Dahl’s formidable four-volume *Interpretative Dictionary of the Living Russian Language*, and committed himself to reading 10 pages a day.

In August 1920, the Nabokov family moved to Berlin, where Vladimir would compose all eight of his Russian novels. London had proved much too expensive, and the Berlin economy was attracting Russian émigrés by the tens of thousands. Nabokov helped to

negotiate the birth of a formidable émigré publishing house, Slovo, with the assistance of Ullstein, one of Berlin’s largest German presses. He also co-edited *Rul’*, a popular Russian-language daily with a worldwide circulation. From Cambridge, Vladimir began to publish poems, chess problems and even crossword puzzles in *Rul’*, usually under the pen name “Sirin,” to distinguish his work from his father’s. By the fall of 1921, the Nabokov home had become a cultural center, hosting evening gatherings frequented by well-known émigré artists, writers and musicians.

By 1920, when he completed his first year at Cambridge, Nabokov had been translating into and out of Russian for years: when he was 11, he reincarnated Mayne Reid’s *The Headless Horseman* as French poetry; at 17, he brought Alfred de Musset’s *La Nuit de décembre* into Russian; and at Cambridge, translations among his languages of choice were required. When, in June 1920, he and his father discussed the challenges that Romain Rolland’s novel *Colas Breugnon* would pose for a translator, he took up the gauntlet himself; *Nikolka Persic* (*Nikolka the Peach*) was published by Slovo in November 1922. The same service for Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*, published four months later as *Ania v strane chudes*, required substantially less effort, and the result is still considered one of the best versions extant in any language.

On May 8, 1923, Nabokov met Véra Evseevna Slonim at a masquerade ball in Berlin. Working in her father’s small



Vladimir Nabokov. Photo: Constantin Joffe / Condé Nast / Getty

publishing concern, with literary aspirations of her own, Véra was already familiar with some of Nabokov’s writing. He spent that summer on a farm in the south of France, in an attempt to work through his grief at the loss of both his father and his fiancée (he had written many poems to Svetlana Siewert, and her parents had broken off the young couple’s engagement that January). That summer Véra read “The Encounter,” a poem Nabokov composed about their meeting and submitted to *Rul’* from France. When he returned to Berlin in the fall, he began to court Véra. Inflation in Berlin had begun to drive the émigré community to other centers

of activity, primarily Paris, and that fall Nabokov’s mother moved to Prague with his favorite sister, Elena. He visited them twice during the following year, which he spent writing – stories, scenarios and sketches – although this did not prove lucrative enough to allow him to support himself, his mother and sister, and his new wife-to-be. On April 15, 1925, he married Véra, and the need for money became even more pressing and persistent. Nabokov managed to spare enough time from his writing to make a living as a tutor – in French, English, Russian, prosody, tennis and boxing – and regularly published reviews in *Rul’*, while Véra did secretarial work.

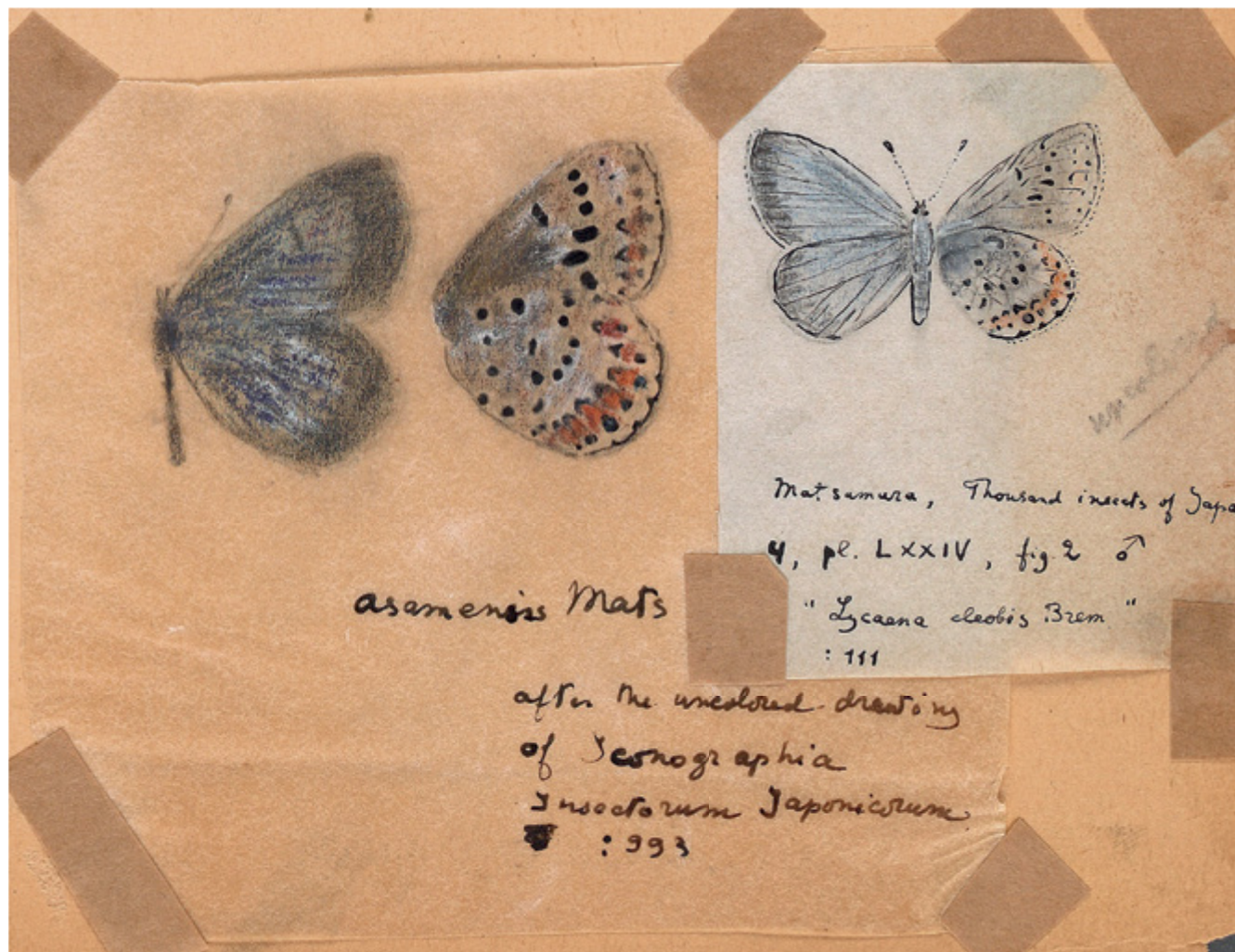


Illustration by Vladimir Nabokov. Nabokov collected and studied butterflies his entire life. Photo: The Vladimir Nabokov Archive at the Berg Collection / New York Public Library / The Wylie Agency LLC

Nabokov remained an émigré writer, living and publishing in Europe and the United States. By 1925, he had laid the groundwork for his future careers as a writer, a teacher and a translator. The passions he developed early on would drive his literature, and his talent for languages would sustain him financially as well as bring him critical acclaim.

Major English-language literary works

Though he was a prolific Russian émigré writer in Europe, by the fall of 1938 Vladimir Nabokov's financial resources were depleted. He solicited a grant from the Russian Literary Fund in the United States, claiming: "My material situation

has never been so terrible, so desperate." He received \$20. Unable to get a French work permit, he cast about for academic and literary opportunities in England and America. Sharing a studio apartment in Paris with his wife, Véra, and his son, Dmitri, he composed his first novel in English, *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*, on a makeshift desk consisting of his suitcase placed over the bidet.

The following year, a fellow émigré poet and editor passed on an offer for a summer lectureship at Stanford University, in California. Nabokov seized the opportunity and immediately began composing lectures on Russian literature. He also wrote his first story in English, never published in his lifetime: "The Enchanter," a clear precursor to *Lolita*. In May 1940, he, Véra and Dmitri

boarded the Champlain for the United States, an episode that is poignantly described in his memoir. He brought with him his lecture notes and the manuscript of *Sebastian Knight*.

James Laughlin, the young heir to a steel fortune and the head of the new publishing house New Directions, contacted Nabokov at the start of 1941, looking for publishable material. Nabokov responded with *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*, in which the Russian émigré narrator, V., is on the trail of his half brother, the writer Sebastian Knight. Laughlin accepted the novel and commissioned Russian translations and studies from Nabokov, and ultimately brought out Nikolai Gogol (1944), *Three Russian Poets* (1945) and *Nine Stories* (1947) before Nabok-

ov left New Directions for more lucrative opportunities elsewhere. In 1954, Laughlin was among the American publishers that rejected *Lolita*, but in 1959 he capitalized on *Lolita*'s success by reprinting *Sebastian Knight*.

Bend Sinister, the first novel Nabokov composed in the United States, is his most overtly anti-Fascist, anti-Communist novel. He had envisioned it as early as 1942, with the title *The Person From Porlock*, later *Game to Gunm* [etal], and still later as *Solus Rex*, or possibly *Vortex*. He described it in broad strokes to friends in May 1946: "I propose to portray in this book certain subtle achievements of the mind in modern times against a dull-red background of nightmare oppression and persecution. The scholar, the poet, the scientist and the child – these are the victims and witnesses of a world that goes wrong in spite of its being graced with scholars, poets, scientists and children."

American journals, primarily *The New Yorker*, and ultimately collected them as *Conclusive Evidence* in 1951. They covered the years between his "awakening of consciousness," in August 1903, at the age of 4, and a parallel dawning in his son and future translator, Dmitri, as his family left for the United States, in May 1940.

In the summer of 1953, he decided to translate *Conclusive Evidence* into

a Russian "version and recomposition," and he sought Véra's help, lest another, less able contender make an attempt. The result, *Drugie berega* (Other shores), was published in New York by Chekhov House in 1954. Though his books were officially banned in the Soviet Union, he had a reasonably large audience among émigrés in the United States and in Europe.

Aesthetic bliss: *Lolita* (1955)

In 1953, having nearly completed *Lolita*, his "enormous, mysterious, heartbreaking novel," after "five years of monstrous misgivings and diabolical labors," Nabokov declared that it "has had no precedent in literature." He embarked on the quest for an American publisher, telling each of five houses – Viking, Simon & Schuster, New Directions, Farrar Straus, and Doubleday – to use the utmost discretion in allowing the manuscript to leave their desks. No one would publish it. The *Partisan Review* agreed to print a portion of it, but only on the condition that Nabokov sign the work. Fearing that he'd be identified with his protagonist, he wrote in a December 23, 1953, note to Katharine White, "its subject is such that V., as a college teacher, cannot very well publish it under his real name."



Vladimir Nabokov with his son, Dmitri

Lolita received no public attention until after it was banned in France, along with many other Olympia Press titles, under pressure from the British Home Office, and Graham Greene included it in a year-end list of the three best novels of 1955. Greene helped shepherd the first British edition into print, writing to Nabokov that "in England one may go to prison, but there couldn't be a better cause!"

Final novel: *Look at the Harlequins!* (1974)

Still largely overlooked in critical circles, *Look at the Harlequins!* – Nabokov's last published novel – recounts the autobiography of Vadim Vadimych N., whose life and work seem to parody the biography that a wayward scholar might create of Nabokov himself. (He wrote in 1973 of the research by Andrew Field, one of his biographers: "It was not worth living a far from negligible life only to have a blundering ass reinvent it.") This also recalls a lecture, "Pushkin, or the Real and the Plausible," that Nabokov delivered in 1937 on the evils of "fictionalized biographies."

Reviews of *Look at the Harlequins!* were mixed; readers who had been put off or dismayed by *Ada* and *Transparent Things* were charmed by this readable tale, but to those who saw the merits of Nabokov's previous two novels it seemed weak.

Despite such criticism, *Look at the Harlequins!* was nominated for the National Book Award, but it did not win. Perhaps most interestingly, *Look at the Harlequins!* contains a realistic return to Russia that Nabokov never undertook. Though he was opposed to visiting "countries where totalitarianism dominated", Nabokov gleaned information from friends and family who had returned to Russia and adapted their details into Vadim Vadimych's homecoming, just as James Joyce had pumped relations in Dublin for some of the local color that appears in *Ulysses*.

Nabokov died in 1977, never having returned to Russia.

THE CENTENARY OF THE RUSSIAN EXODUS AND THE MEMORY OF THE NEW MARTYRS OF RUSSIA

The martyrdom and suffering of the victims of the Russian Revolution testify to the imperishable value of every human being to God

Rev'd Dr AUGUSTINE SOKOLOVSKI

The centenary of the Russian Exodus is an important occasion for commemoration of the numerous victims of the religious persecutions in Russia. The Church calls them the new martyrs.

Those who stayed in Russia after the Revolution and suffered for their Christian faith were remembered and commemorated by those who had left Russia. The Russian Church in the Soviet Union, however, was unable to remember or even acknowledge their existence because it was under enormous pressure from the Soviet State. Many Christians were indeed persecuted and murdered by the Bolsheviks. The Anniversary Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 2000 canonized more than 800 saints, including the last Russian Emperor Nicholas the Second and his family. The appropriate icon depicts the assembly of the new martyrs of Russia with the czar and his family in the middle. Nicholas Romanov resembled the biblical Job: "blameless and upright, one who feared God and (after his long and profound suffering) turned away from evil". The memory of St Job on 19 May is the birthday of Tzar Nicholas the Second.

There are some remarkable and fascinating parallels between saints. Saints Boris and Gleb, unjustly murdered by their brother Sviatopolk the Accursed in 1015, became the first saints of the Russian State with the capital in Kiev. Their brother Yaroslav the Wise (died in 1054) was the one who started and promoted their veneration soon after their death. According to an ancient axiom attributed to Tertullian, "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church"; the Church is founded by their blood. This why the Divine Liturgy used to be celebrated on the tombs of the holy martyrs.

The murder of the last Russian Emperor, who was brutally killed along with his wife and children, became the cruelest symbol of the Russian



An ikon of the Romanov martyrs

Revolution of 1917. It chills the blood of Russians up to now and encourages us to remember his remarkable, courageous, and consistent dignity up to his last breath. He suffered, like the protagonist of Kafka's *The Trial*, both defamation and depriv-

tion of all human dignity in a cruel execution and death.

For several generations of Soviet people Tzar Nicholas the Second was a symbol of arbitrary power, cruelty, and weakness. The great achievement of the Russian Exodus was the preservation of his good name abroad. The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia canonized him as a saint back in 1981. This "local" canonization was prophetic. It signified the forthcoming restoration of the memory of the new martyrs as well as the dignity of the Russian pre-revolutionary history.

Those who stayed in Russia and suffered for their faith and loyalty to the Church and the people included not merely upper-class princes and hierarchs but also lower-class simple, small, "invisible" women and men. We should remember all of them, all those whom no one would ever remember. It was, indeed, their suffering that made the Russian Exodus possible a century ago.

St John Kochurov is considered to be the first martyr of the Russian Orthodox Church during the Revolution of 1917. St John was a priest in Tsarskoye Selo, a former residence of the royal family. On 31 October 1917, a few days after the Revolution, the Bolsheviks stormed the neighborhoods of Petrograd (former Saint Petersburg). Father John tried to calm down his parishioners and his fellow citizens who had fled the city in panic and fear with the words: "They are our brothers, coming to visit us! Please do not be afraid of our brothers!" At that moment nobody seemed to remember the tragic biblical truth that Abel had a brother ... named Cain. Those words of St John Kochurov proved to be truly biblical. The disaster that befell Russia then was of biblical nature and magnitude. Cain killed his righteous brother Abel. It was the brothers who betrayed Joseph and sold him into slavery. It was the brothers of Jesus who did not believe the gospel of the Lord. It was the brothers who killed Him on the Cross.

St Stephen was the first martyr who suffered for his faith in Jesus Christ in AD 34 (Acts 6–8). He is therefore called the Protomartyr. According to an ancient Church tradition the martyrs of noble origin were called the Great Martyrs. It is tempting to call the last Russian Tzar a Great Martyr and Fr John Kochurov, a Protomartyr of the revolutionary Russia. But neither Nicholas' executioners nor the angry mob which killed Fr John were interested in their faith. They did not demand from them to renounce Christ. By killing, they simply sought to close the page of the "ancient regime" as soon as possible

and to spread irreconcilable discord among the brothers in the so-called Russia of the past. Thus, they actually triggered the tragic Russian Exodus.

The Church of Christ has always suffered from the strife of the brothers. The words: "These are our brothers!" underline the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian State in the 20th century. This history is lived through these words. These words were meant to calm the people back in 1917 but they gradually became an expression of confusion, followed by a cry of fear and horror at the incredible betrayal and cruelty among brothers. This expression became a silent cry, the same as in *The Scream* by Edward Munch; it became a question of why the brothers behaved like that in their celebration of the Untruth.

The martyrdom of all those who perished in the tragic events of 1917

and the following years, those whom the Church calls the new martyrs, should by no means be simplified, or demeaned by many words, or shrunk into oblivion.

The Christian testimony of the "Passion Bearers" – as the Russian Orthodoxy calls the ancient Boris and Gleb and the new, "photographically documented" Nicholas the Second and John Kochurov – reveals the extreme fragility, fallibility and general similarity of seemingly unsuccessful human biographies. But it also reveals the truth: "The shame of it should outlive them", as Franz Kafka put it at the end of *The Trial*. The shame of it should, indeed, outlive the executioners, not their victims. In this sense all the victims who brought about the Russian Exodus of the 20th century became the testimony to the imperishable value of every woman and man to God.



Saints Boris and Gleb

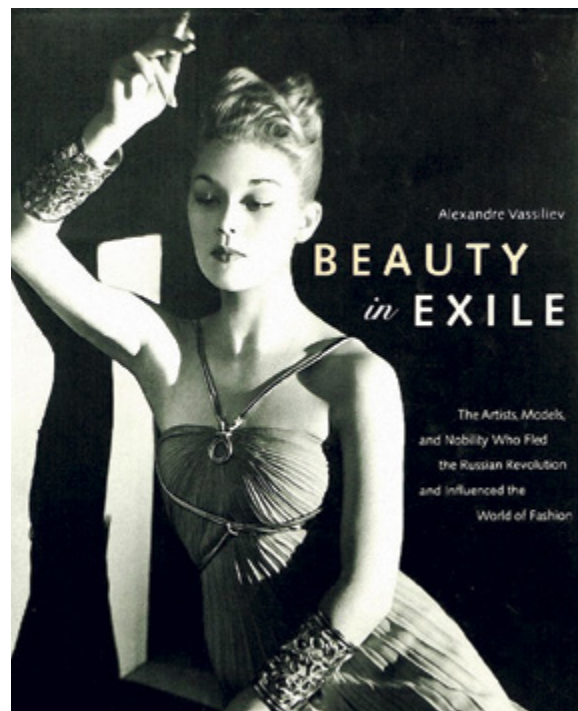
BOOKS

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE FIRST-WAVE ÉMIGRÉS: 10 MUST-READS

Hundreds of books have been written about the Russian émigrés that fled their motherland following the revolution of 1917, as well as in the years that followed. We have curated 10 must-reads that share insights on the life of Russian émigrés and the events that followed 1917 – both from historical and personal perspectives.

Beauty in Exile
by *Alexandre Vassiliev*

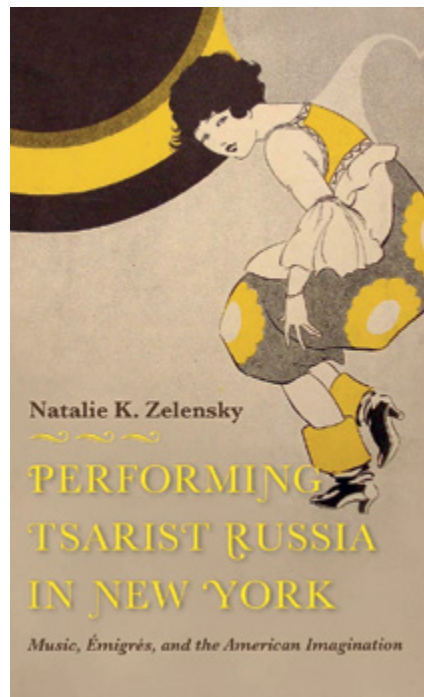
Russians fleeing from the chaos that followed the revolution of 1917 brought with them styles in fashion that led to a craze for Oriental and exotic clothing, decorated with pearls, silks, and embroidery, which influenced Western culture, not only in popular couture, but the costumes worn by performers at the ballet, modern dance and theatre, all illustrated here in copious black and white reproductions. Fashion historian and costume and set designer Vasilliev narrates the history of the Russian emigration in Istanbul, Paris, Berlin, and the eastern Russian port of Harbin, before detail-



ing, chapter by chapter, the fashion houses set up by Russian émigrés, various cloth designers, Russian handicrafts, and Russian models from WWI into the 1950s.

Performing Tsarist Russia in New York
by *Natalie K. Zelensky*

Offering a rare look at the musical life of Russia Abroad as it unfolded in New York City, Natalie K. Zelensky examines the popular music culture of the post-Bolshevik Russian emigration and the impact made by



this group on American culture and politics. *Performing Tsarist Russia in New York* begins with a rich account of the musical evenings that took place in the Russian émigré enclave of Harlem in the 1920s and weaves through the world of Manhattan's Russian restaurants, Tin Pan Alley industry, Broadway productions, 1939 World's Fair, Soviet music distributors, post-war Russian parish musical life, and Cold War radio programming to close with today's Russian ball scene, exploring how the idea of Russia Abroad has taken shape through various spheres of music production in New York over the course of a century.

Russia & Revolution: My Father, The Officer, The Man
by *Igor Labzin*

What happened to Russia's lost families? A story about Russian émigrés, and a family's long journey home. White Russians who fought the Bolshevik forces after the Russian Revolution would for the most part, spend their lives forever exiled from their homeland. This is the story of a young Russian naval officer who flees the turmoil of Russian Revolution and Civil War, making a life on the other side of the world. It is also the story of a son's determination to find and reconnect with his Russian heritage.

Boris Labzin graduated from St Petersburg naval academy in 1918 and was immediately thrust into Civil War. Forced to flee Russia, his journey takes him far from home to Asia, and ultimately, Australia. This is a 50-year journey spanning some of the most important historical events of the 20th Century. It also demonstrates the courage and tenacity of Russian émigrés at this time.

After almost 100 years, his son Igor Labzin is repairing the tapestry of his family's history – which had up till then only existed in fragments of memory in a sunburnt country far away from St Petersburg. In doing so, he discovers more about his father, and a Russian homeland ready to embrace its lost families.

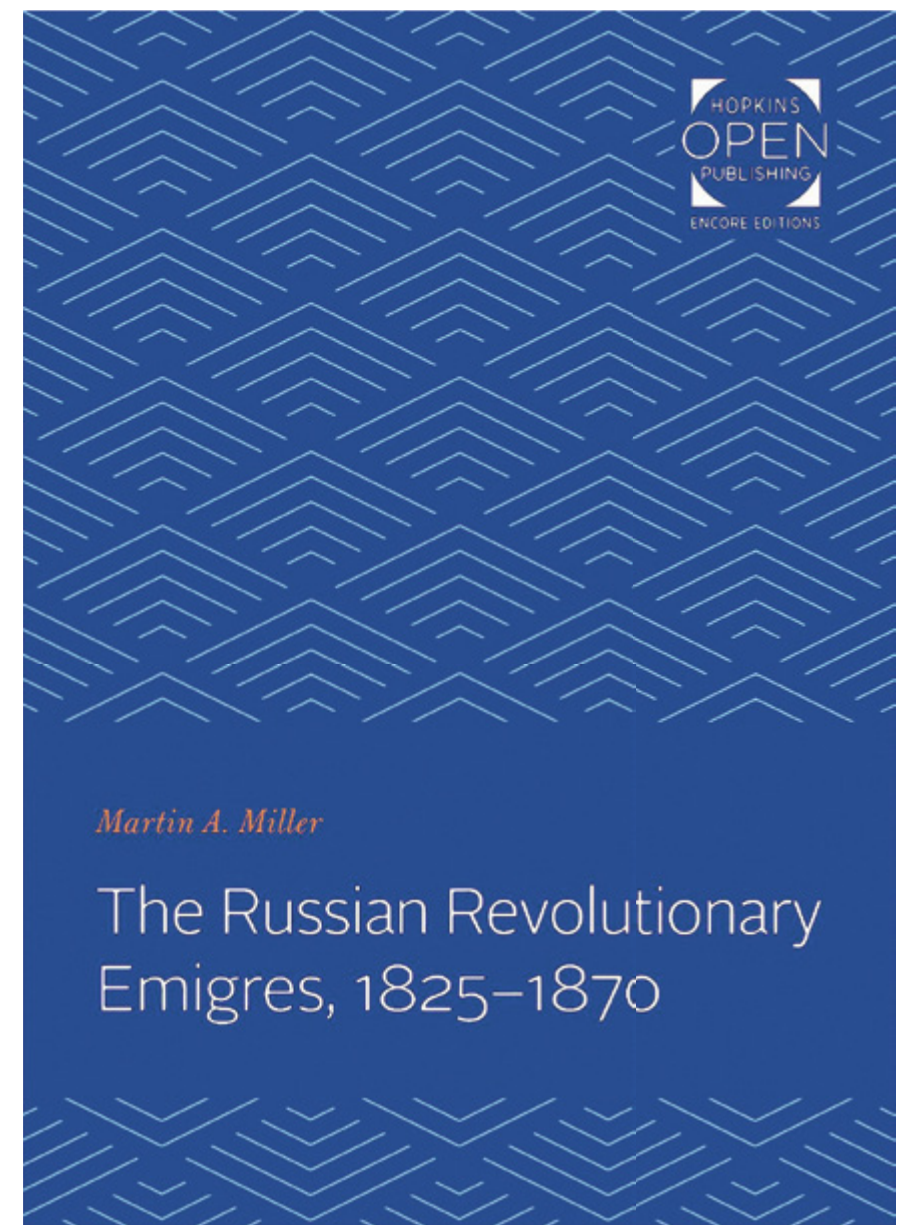
The Russian Revolutionary Emigres, 1825–1870
by *Martin A. Miller*

Originally published in 1986. Martin A. Miller, author of the definitive biography of the exiled revolutionary Peter Kropotkin, traces the history of the first generations of Russians who went to Western Europe to devote



their lives to anti-tsarist politics. Refusing to assimilate abroad and unable to return home, the émigrés political orientations were influenced by intellectual and social currents in both Russia and Europe. Miller undertakes a major reassessment of the émigré contribution to the Russian revolutionary movement. Starting with Nikolai Turgenev, who in 1825 was declared the first "émigré" by a special act of

the Russian government, the exiles formed a unique social and political group. Miller takes a biographical approach in tracing the progression from a disparate community of intellectuals, unable to act together to promote their own program for change, to a more cohesive second émigré generation that provided the foundation for collective action and the development of a revolutionary ideology. The creation of the Russian émigré press, Miller argues, gave identity and momentum to the émigrés and helped promote their program of revolution and a new social



order. The book concludes with the death in 1870 of the leading émigré figure, Alexander Herzen, and with an analysis of the impact upon the émigrés of the emergence of the populist revolutionary movement within Russia. The émigrés overcame the loss of their homeland through their version of a future Russia, one transformed into a new society where their ideals could be realized. When, two generations later, Lenin returned to Russia after decades in Europe and made this vision a reality, his actions built on the foundation laid by his nineteenth-century predecessors.

Emigré: 95 Years in the Life of a Russian Count
by Paul Grabbe and Alexandra Grabbe

Paul Grabbe was born in 1902 in St. Petersburg, Russia, the son of General Count Alexander Grabbe, aide-de-camp to Tsar Nicholas II. Af-

ter a harrowing escape from the Bolsheviks, Paul Grabbe made his way to Denmark, then, four years later, left for the United States where he taught himself English and wrote books on psychology, music and photography before joining the Federal government. He retired to Cape Cod in 1970 where he wrote his memoir.

Samovar on the table
by Lana der Parthogh

In the spring of 1920 three ships steamed into the port of Famagusta in the British colony of Cyprus with sick and wounded officers and men of the White Russian Army together with their families and other civilians fleeing the victorious Bolsheviks at the end of the Civil War which had raged through the country after the 1917 Russian Revolution. Britain had offered transport and temporary sanctuary in its nearest territory, 1,546 desperate men, women and

and another camp. In Cyprus some died, some moved on, but a group of about 70 saw opportunities for a new life on the island. They formed the nucleus of a Russian community which attracted other émigrés over the decades but whose story is largely unknown or forgotten, even on the island. One of them was the grandfather of the author who has tracked down official documents, historical sources and interwoven them with her own notes and diaries to tell her personal and human account of a Russian family in Cyprus through three generations and 50 years of dramatic events.

Russian Émigré Culture: Conservatism or Evolution?
by Christoph Flamm, Henry Keazor, Roland Marti

This volume offers a collection of critical articles that resulted from the international interdisciplinary symposium which was held at Saarland University in November 2011 as part of a one-week festival, "Russian Music in Exile".

Scholars from around the world contributed essays reflecting current perspectives on Russian émigré culture, shedding new light on cultural diplomacy, literature, art, and music, and covering essentially the whole 20th century, from pre-revolutionary movements to the present. The interdisciplinary approach of the volume shows that émigré networks were not confined to a particular segment of culture, but united composers, artists, critics, and even diplomats. On the whole, the contributions to this volume document the fascinating diversity, the internal contradictions,



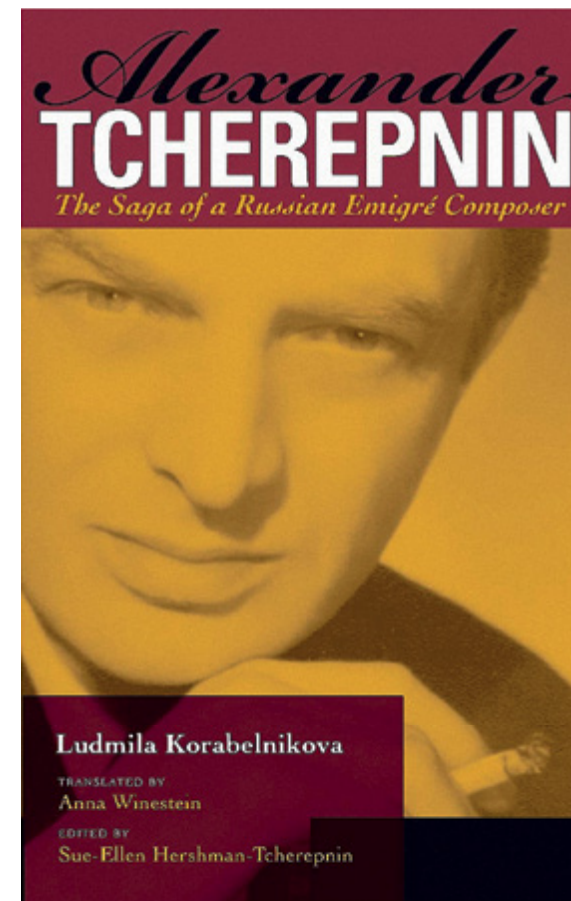
children from two of the ships were housed in a WWI Turkish prisoner-of-war camp to wait for other countries to offer asylum, the other ship sailed on to Egypt



as well as the impact that the largest and most durable émigré movement of the 20th century had on European cultural life.

Alexander Tcherepnin: The Saga of a Russian Emigré Composer
by Ludmila Korabelnikova

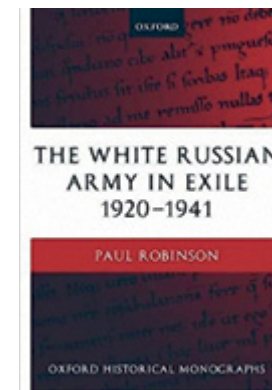
This book recounts the life and times of Alexander Tcherepnin, a prolific and often emulated composer who produced four operas, 13 ballets, four symphonies, numerous orchestral and chamber works, and more than 200 piano pieces. He was born in Russia in 1899 to a family of musicians and artists. However, Aaron Copland referred to him as "an honorary American composer" and Toru Takemitsu called him "a father figure of Japanese music." Korabelnikova focuses not only on the biographical elements of Tcherepnin's story, but also on his music and its technical



innovations. She includes extended quotations by the composer himself and selective analytical commentary, based on primary sources and contemporaneous accounts.

The White Russian Army in Exile 1920–1941
by Paul Robinson

This book describes the fate of the soldiers of the anti-Bolshevik White Army, who fled Russia at the end of the Russian civil war. Remarkably, the Army continued to exist in exile, refining its ideology, and participating in the underground struggle against the Soviets. Paul Robinson sheds new light on the dynamic individuals involved in the White Movement,

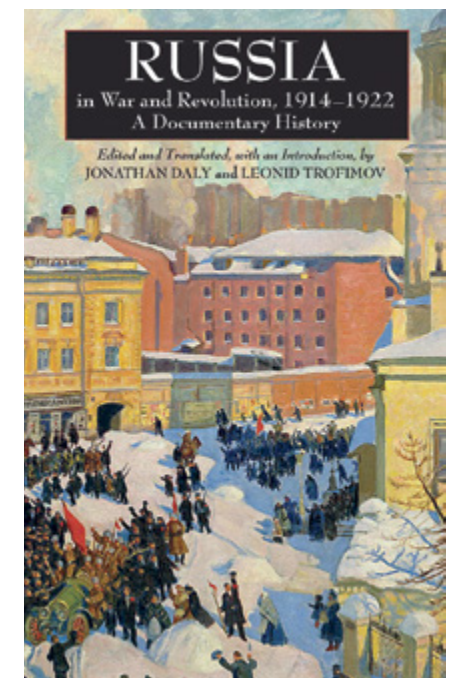


as well as on interwar Russian emigration in general.

Russia in War and Revolution, 1914–1922: A Documentary History
by Jonathan Daly and Leonid Trofimov

Drawing on newly available Russian sources – many of which appear in English for the first time here – this volume covers a broad array of topics, including the Bolshevik rise to power and World War I as the catalyst and cradle, respectively, of the Revolution. The authors convey the boldness and diversity of the revolutionaries' aspirations as well as the ways in which the Revolution affected the lives of ordinary people, from the workers of Petrograd to Siberian peasants and Ukrainian Jews.

Maps, illustrations, and a glossary of terms are included, as are a chronology of the Revolution, a list of works cited, and a thorough index.



LEAVING A MARK ON THE WORLD CINEMA: WHITE ÉMIGRÉS IN FILM

Leaving the Imperial Russia in the wake of the Russian Revolution, the first-wave émigrés have given the world a rich heritage in arts and science. They also left a mark on the world cinema, shaping the film artistry for the generations to come.

Yul Brynner

Yul Brynner was a Russian-American actor, singer, and director. He rose to fame for his portrayal of King Mongkut in the Rodgers and Hammerstein stage musical *The King and I*, for which he won two Tony Awards, and later won an Academy Award for the film adaptation. He played the role 4,625 times on stage and became known for his shaved head, which he maintained as a personal trademark long after adopting it for *The King and I*.

Born as Yuliy Briner in 1920 in the city of Vladivostok, he has a Swiss-German, Russian and Buryat ancestry. Later in life, Brynner was known for exaggerating his background and early life for the press, claiming that he was born of a Mongol father and Roma mother, on the Russian island of Sakhalin.

His father's work as a mining engineer and inventor required extensive travel. In 1923 he abandoned his family. Yul's mother took his elder sister, Vera, and Yul to Harbin, China.

In 1932, fearing a war between China and Japan, she took them to Paris. Brynner played his guitar in Russian nightclubs in Paris, sometimes accompanying his sister, playing Rus-



Yul Brynner in *The King and I*

sian and Roma songs. He trained as a trapeze acrobat and worked in a French circus troupe for five years, but after sustaining a back injury, he turned to acting.

In 1940, speaking little English, he and his mother immigrated to the United States aboard the *President Cleveland*, departing from Kobe, Japan, arriving in San Francisco on Oc-

tober 25, 1940. His final destination was New York City, where his sister Vera already lived.

During World War II, Brynner worked as a French-speaking radio announcer and commentator for the US Office of War Information, broadcasting to occupied France. At the same time, he studied acting with Michael Chekhov.

Brynner's first Broadway performance was a small part in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in December 1941. He found little acting work during the next few years, but among other acting stints, he co-starred in a 1946 production of *Lute Song* with Mary Martin.

He made his film debut in *Port of New York* released in November 1949. The next year, he auditioned for Rodgers and Hammerstein's new musical in New York. He recalled that, as he was finding success as a director on television, he was reluctant to go back on the stage. Once he read the script, however, he was fascinated by the character of the King and was eager to perform in the project. His portrayal of the King Mongkut in *The King and I* became his best-known role.

In 1958, he starred as one of *The Brothers Karamazov*, which was a commercial success. Although the public received him well in *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), a Western adaptation of *Seven Samurai* for *The Mirisch Company*, the picture proved a disappointment upon its initial release in the U.S. However, it was hugely popular in Europe and has had enduring popularity. Its ultimate success led to Brynner signing a three-picture deal with the *Mirisches*. The film was especially popular in the Soviet Union, where it sold 67 million tickets.

Throughout the 1960-s Brynner focused on action films. Brynner enjoyed a hit with *Return of the Seven* (1966), reprising his role from the original. In 1970, Brynner went to Italy to make a Spaghetti Western, *Adiós, Sabata* and supported Kirk

Douglas in *The Light at the Edge of the World*. He remained in lead roles for *Romance of a Horsethief* and a *Western Catlow*.

After *Night Flight from Moscow* (1973) in Europe, Brynner created one of his iconic roles in the cult hit film *Westworld* (1973) as a killer robot. His next two films were variations on this performance: *The Ultimate Warrior* (1975) and *Futureworld* (1976).

Brynner returned to Broadway in *Home Sweet Homer*, a notorious flop musical. His final movie was *Death Rage* (1976), an Italian action film. Brynner died in 1985 at New York Hospital at the age of 65.

André Andrejew, Art Director

It wouldn't be an overestimation to say that André Andrejew was one of the most influential art directors of the international cinema of the twentieth century. His work was characterized by a distinctive, innovative style, and his décors were both expressive and realistic.

The world-famous art director was born in Schawli, Russian Empire (now Lithuania) in 1887 as Andrej Andreyev. Later, he studied architecture at the Fine Arts Academy in Moscow. At the time in Russia, architecture could be studied at technical universities and with the more artistic angle at art academies, where accent was on interior design and decor and students were trained as artists. After the studies, André Andrejew worked as a scene designer at the Konstantin Stanislavski's Moscow Art Theatre.

Following the October revolution of 1917, Andrejew left Russia. In Germany and Austria, he worked as stage designer in theatre productions.

In 1923, he designed his first cinema décor for *Raskolnikow*, film based upon Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. This expressionist work made him the foremost art director in Germany. Rudolf Kurtz



André Andrejew

in his *Expressionismus und Film* (1926) wrote: "Andrejew is a typical Moscow mixture, distinction of the streaked folk art (his décors) dissolves the rhythm of images, creates gentle forms, establishes balance even when everything is broken and torn."

At that time, Germany produced hundreds of feature movies each year, and as cinema was silent, they were often produced together with France and released in both countries. Andrejew designed décors for several major German and Franco-German productions directed by Pabst, Feyder, Duvivier, Christian-Jacque. The titles of this period include *Dancing Vienna*, *Pandora's Box*, *The Threepenny Opera*, *Don Quixote*, *The Golem*, *Meyerling*.

After Hitler took power in Germany in 1933, Andrejew as several other Russian artists living in Berlin left for Paris. During this period, and specifically in 1943, André Andrejew worked as a production designer on *Le Corbeau*, a thriller by Henri-Georges Clouzot. This anti-authoritarian film became very controversial during the occupation, when it was seen as indirectly attacking the Nazi system, and censored; yet after the liberation of France in August 1944, *Le Corbeau* was perceived as



Anna Karenina stands out in Andrejew's work as probably one of his best films

being made by collaborators, and it was rumoured to have been released in Germany as Nazi anti-French propaganda, when in fact it was suppressed by the Germans.

Andrejew continued to work as a production designer in England, France, and since 1948, he designed décors for several major international productions as *Anna Karenina*, *Alexander the Great* (shot in Spain), and *Anastasia*.

Anna Karenina produced by Alexander Korda and directed by Julien Duvivie stands out in Andrejew's work as probably one of his best films. His work received high acclaim and he was praised by critics for creating the impression of wealth while maintaining balance of splendour and tasteful representation of upper-class Russian lifestyle.

In *Alexander the Great* (1956), Andrejew successfully used existing elements of primitive Spanish architecture to create the richness and glo-

ry of ancient Greece and Persia in far more authentic way, than the plaster and plywood decorations in similar Hollywood films of the time.

Andrejew briefly returned to Berlin in 1952, to work on a Carol Reed's *The Man Between*. He made his last movies in the mid-1950s in Germany (then West Germany). André Andrejew died in Loudun, south of Paris, in 1967.

Michael Chekhov

Mikhail Chekhov is known to the world of film as a Russian-American actor, director, author and theatre practitioner. It is no coincidence that he shared his last name with the world-famous Russian writer Anton Chekhov – Michael was his nephew. He was also a student of Konstan-

tin Stanislavski, who described him as his most talented student. Even though Chekhov was mainly known as a stage actor, he made a few notable appearances on film, perhaps most memorably as the Freudian analyst in Alfred Hitchcock's *Spellbound* (1945), for which he received an Academy Award nomination.

Chekhov was born in Saint Petersburg in 1891 and was raised in a middle-class family; his father was in the Imperial Customs Service and was a moderately successful writer.

Studying under the Russian theatre practitioner Konstantin Stanislavski at the First Studio, Chekhov acted, directed, and studied

Stanislavski's approach to theatre arts. In 1922, Chekhov became the director of the First Studio, which was subsequently renamed to Moscow Art Theatre II.

Following the October Revolution, Chekhov split with Stanislavski and toured with his own company. He thought that Stanislavski's techniques led too readily to a naturalistic style of performance. He demonstrated his own theories acting in parts such as Senator Ableukhov in the stage version of Andrei Bely's *Petersburg*.

With the beginning of Stalinism, Chekhov came into conflict with the Communistic regime and was threatened to be arrested. In the late 1920s, Chekhov emigrated to Germany and set up his own studio, teaching a physi-



Michael Chekhov

cal and imagination-based system of actor training. He developed the use of the "Psychological Gesture". In this technique, the actor physicalizes a character's need or internal dynamic in the form of an external gesture. Subsequently, the outward gesture is suppressed and incorporated internally, allowing the physical memory to inform the performance on an unconscious level.

Between 1930–1935 he worked in Kaunas State Drama Theatre in Lithuania. Between 1936 and 1939, Chekhov established The Chekhov Theatre School at Dartington Hall, in Devon, England. Following developments in Germany that threatened the outbreak of war he moved to the USA and established a drama school together with writers Anne Cumming and Henry Lyon Young.

Interest in Chekhov's work has grown with a new generation of teachers. Chekhov's own students included Marilyn Monroe, Anthony Quinn, Clint Eastwood, to name a few.

Towards the end of his life Chekhov has reunited with his daughter, the German actress Ada Tschechowa, in California. He died in 1955 in Beverly Hills.

George Sanders

George Sanders is known as a British film and television actor, singer-songwriter, music composer and author – however, he was born and raised in Saint Petersburg, Russia. Sanders' career as an actor spanned over forty years, quote often being cast as villainous characters due to his upper-class English accent and a deep voice

His most well-known roles are Jack Favell in *Rebecca* (1940), Addison DeWitt in *All About Eve* (1950, for which he won an Oscar), King Richard the Lionheart in *King Richard and the Crusaders* (1954), Mr. Freeze in a two-parter episode of *Batman* (1966) – and last but not least,



George Sanders with Anne Baxter, Bette Davis and Marilyn Monroe in All About Eve

he was also the voice of the malevolent man-hating tiger Shere Khan in Disney's *The Jungle Book* (1967).

Sanders was born in Saint Petersburg, in 1906. His parents were Henry Peter Ernest Sanders and Margarethe Jenny Bertha Sanders, who was born in Saint Petersburg, of mostly German, but also Estonian and Scottish, ancestry.

In 1917, at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, Sanders and his family moved to England. Sanders attended Bedales School and Brighton College, a boys' independent school in Brighton, then went on to Manchester Technical College after which he worked in textile research. Sanders travelled to South America where he managed a tobacco plantation. The Depression sent him back to England. He worked at an advertising agency, where the company secretary, the aspiring actress Greer Garson, suggested that he take up a career in acting.

Sanders learned how to sing and got a role on stage in *Ballyhoo*, which only had a short run but helped establish him as an actor. He began to work regularly on the British stage

and appeared in a British film, *Love, Life and Laughter* (1934). Sanders travelled to New York to take part in a Broadway production of Noël Coward's *Conversation Piece* (1934), directed by Coward, which only ran for 55 performances. He returned to England, where he had small parts in various films. Some of these British films were distributed by 20th Century Fox who were looking for an actor to play a villain in their Hollywood-shot film *Lloyd's of London* (1936). Sanders was cast as Lord Everett Stacy, opposite Tyrone Power, in one of his first leads, as the hero; Sanders' smooth upper-class English accent, his sleek manner and his suave, superior and somewhat threatening air made him in demand for American films for years to come.

and appeared in a British film, *Love, Life and Laughter* (1934).

Towards the end of his life, following a long and successful career, Sanders suffered from dementia and grew increasingly reclusive and depressed. On 23 April 1972, Sanders checked into a hotel in Castelldefels, a coastal town near Barcelona. He died two days later after swallowing the contents of five bottles of a barbiturate.



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