

**RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉS
IN THE INTELLECTUAL
AND LITERARY LIFE
OF INTERWAR FRANCE**

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

LEONID LIVAK

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INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS – a bibliography of Russian émigré participation in the intellectual and literary life of interwar France, and an analytical essay that interprets these bibliographical data – and serves as a contribution to a history of the francophone activity of the exiled Russian intelligentsia in the 1920s and 1930s, when France was the cultural and political centre of Russia Abroad. This book is intended, first and foremost, to provide a bibliographical foundation for future scholarly inquiries into the intellectual and literary commerce between the Russian émigré cultural elite and its French hosts – a subject that remains largely ignored in studies of European cultural history. The opening essay also presents the outline of Russian émigré francophone activity in the context of the political, socio-economic, and intellectual life of interwar France, supplementing the present bibliographical data with other published and unpublished sources.

In its function as a reference source, this book proposes that the two decades of continuous rapport between the Russian émigré and French intelligentsia are a valid field of scholarly inquiry. The experience of Russian exiles during this period furnishes rich material for the exploration of the processes of cultural cross-fertilization and of many other general problems of comparative literary and cultural studies. The accompanying analytical essay, as well, focuses on problems of general interest, testing the limits of an expatriate community's engagement with its host culture. A comparative study of specific authors and texts lies outside the book's purview, which is to encourage and facilitate such studies in the future.

Put in the terms of Pierre Bourdieu's pragmatic vision of modern cultural life, this book explores the extent to which one country's field of cultural production – a marketplace of art and ideas, where artists and intellectuals compete in evolving aesthetic, political, and economic circumstances – can be penetrated by a large and culturally autonomous group of foreigners. Bourdieu developed his sociology of culture using material from nineteenth-century France and, as a result, the salient feature of twentieth-century European history – the expatriation of cultural elites due to social upheavals and totalitarian revolutions – fell outside the scope of his analysis. He therefore does not discuss the possibility of internationalization of a given country's field of cultural production.¹ In the modern experience of exile, the Russian émigré intelligentsia sets many precedents, as not only the first chronologically but also the largest

numerically and the most diverse ideologically and professionally of the cultural elites forced into exile by the political crises of interwar Europe.

Despite the amplitude and longevity of the intercultural commerce documented by the present bibliography, today's scholars are shockingly ignorant about the intellectual and literary dialogue that took place between the Russian émigré and French intelligentsia. In part, this ignorance stems from Soviet ideological taboos which have made exilic studies the most recent domain of Russian literary, cultural, and historical scholarship.² Moreover when, in the waning years of Soviet rule, the story of Russia Abroad was finally acknowledged as an integral part of twentieth-century Russian culture, Soviet and Western scholars focused narrowly on the national dimension, scrutinizing the aesthetic and ideological aspects of the émigré-Soviet dichotomy but overlooking another major factor in the exiled Russian intelligentsia's artistic and intellectual life – its rapport with European host cultures.

The émigrés themselves, to be sure, did little to broaden our vision of Russian exilic experience. Émigré historians, starting with Gleb Struve, the author of the seminal study of Russian literature and journalism in exile (*Russkaia literatura v izgnanii*, 1956), remained silent about the exiled intelligentsia's interaction with its host cultures.³ A similar silence was maintained by émigré memoirists. And this despite the importance attributed by the émigré cultural elite to its dialogue with the West as part of its self-imposed dual mission of preserving pre-1917 Russian culture and sustaining it in a foreign context.⁴ Émigré historians and memoirists have promoted the idea of Russia Abroad as a self-sufficient cultural entity. But even a cursory comparison of the present bibliography with the extant data on Russian-language publishing by exiled writers and intellectuals belies this thesis.⁵ A large number of émigrés straddled two linguistic and cultural spheres, publishing at least as much in French as in Russian. These authors include not only the individuals usually cited as exceptions to the rule of émigré cultural isolation in France – philosophers Nikolai Berdiaev and Lev Shestov; critics Andrei Levinson, Boris Shletser, and Vladimir Veidle; journalists Elena Izvol'skaia and Zinaida Shakhovskaia – but a sizable and diverse cohort of authors whose activity in exile is commonly presented as strictly Russophone.

The contradiction posed by the present bibliographical data and extant accounts of Russian exilic experience springs from the web of myths spun by émigré authors in the process of conceptualizing their expatriation. The widespread pro-Soviet sentiment in post-1945 France, which put many Russian exiles on the defensive and influenced their accounts of Russia Abroad between the world wars, played no small part in this process.⁶ Obfuscating the historical facts of émigré-French cultural and intellectual commerce, the veterans of Russia Abroad make dubious and summary claims about the blanket indifference of the interbellum French intelligentsia to Russian émigré art and thought, about its general and constant infatuation with the Soviet experiment, and about the incompatibility of francophone activity with the émigrés' ethos of

preserving and further enriching Russian culture while in exile.⁷ Ultimately, this mythology supports the image the émigré intelligentsia held of itself based on the traditional Russian model of artists and intellectuals as prophets and martyrs – a model that makes meaningful involvement with French culture a liability for exiled writers and thinkers who would be forced to abandon their position in the pages of memoir literature as members of a shunned and persecuted order heroically persevering in its cultural mission despite overwhelming odds.⁸

These two factors – émigré myth-making and the inattention of Soviet and post-Soviet students of Russia Abroad to the issue of intercultural commerce – have resulted in a paucity of systematized, analytically treated, and readily available data about Russian-French interaction in the French field of cultural production between the two wars. The glaring gap in basic knowledge impoverishes and decontextualizes Russian exilic studies. My investigation of the role of French literature and thought in the creative life of the émigré intelligentsia (*How It Was Done in Paris: Russian Émigré Literature and French Modernism*, 2003) addressed two major lacunae of Russian exilic studies – the lack of theoretical conceptualization and inadequate data about émigré-French cultural commerce – in order to elaborate a methodological framework for the study of Russia Abroad in the context of Soviet and French aesthetic and intellectual trends. The present book substantially expands my previous findings by showing that the émigré intelligentsia left as much of a mark on the cultural life of its adoptive land as the French intelligentsia did on the creative activity of Russian exiles.



The chronological and geographical framework of this study – France in the 1920s and 1930s – coincides with the rise and fall of the Russian emigration in its cultural and political epicentre. Russia Abroad did not survive the Second World War for a variety of reasons including natural attrition, the Nazi curtailment of creative and intellectual freedoms, the murder or overseas migration of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia, and new ideological divisions in the post-1945 émigré community (pro-Soviet “patriotism,” the censure of Nazi sympathizers). Although it is hard to pinpoint a specific year for the birth of Russia Abroad or for its consolidation in France, its demise as a culturally independent and socially coherent entity coincides with France’s military defeat in 1940. I accept Struve’s suggestion that we regard 1920 as the Russian emigration’s starting point, marked by the rout of armed anti-Soviet resistance, the mass exodus of its participants and supporters, and the first portents of cultural organization in Russian Paris.⁹ However, I have made several exceptions to this chronological principle in order to account for the activity of those exiles who identified with the White cause but went abroad before 1920.

There is little accidental in France’s status as the Russian emigration’s epicentre. While the country’s liberal immigration policies in the 1920s were linked

to the wartime losses that threatened its economic recovery, French authorities accorded special attention to Russian refugees because of France's political and financial investment in the anti-Soviet struggle, including the evacuation of the routed White Army.¹⁰ Additional factors – French public opinion, which, in the early 1920s, was “as generally anti-Soviet as the post-w^WII opinion would be pro-Soviet” (François Furet); France's boycott of Soviet Russia until 1924; and the choosing of Paris as the site of the peace conference shaping Europe's future – make the political consolidation of the Russian emigration in France appear almost inevitable.¹¹

Paris possessed both political importance as the capital of a continental superpower hostile to Soviet rule and traditional appeal as the centre of Western intellectual and artistic life. The exiled Russian intelligentsia deemed these assets more congenial than those of such “provincial backwaters” as Berlin and Prague.¹² The city's magnetism was enhanced by the financial and logistical help émigré artists and intellectuals received from French governmental, social, and professional quarters in the early 1920s.¹³ This assistance often began even before their arrival, and at the highest levels. President Alexandre Millerand's secretary, Eugène Petit, personally attended to visa requests from the émigré cultural elite.¹⁴ The trend toward consolidation in France peaked in 1924, when the stabilization of the German currency and the devaluation of the French franc encouraged the exiled intelligentsia's migration from Berlin to Paris.¹⁵

For the exiled cultural elite, the choice to leave Germany for France, rather than for Soviet Russia, was a political declaration that highlighted the divide between Russian expatriates and émigrés. Contrary to the latter-day self-descriptions of émigré memoirists, adopted by some historians as well, an émigré was not always a person who, from the outset, rejected Bolshevik rule.¹⁶ The political spectrum of Russia Abroad was more complex. Before its precipitous decline in 1924, Berlin's Russian community was larger and more diverse than that in Paris; but it was also less ideologically defined.¹⁷ Besides those fleeing Lenin's regime as its foes or potential victims, Russian Berlin counted a large number of people escaping civil war privations, reuniting with family, or leaving the countries newly formed on the periphery of the defunct Russian empire. Furthermore, some writers whose expatriation was at first politically motivated did return to the Soviet Union (Maksim Gor'kii, Viktor Shklovskii, Aleksei Tolstoi) or shuttled between Moscow and Paris as Soviet culture's unofficial emissaries (Il'ia Erenburg). Others lived abroad as Soviet citizens, partaking in émigré cultural life (Iurii Annenkov, Mikhail Osorgin, Evgenii Zamiatin).¹⁸ Yet others joined Western communists, abjuring the emigration (Dmitrii Mirskii, Vladimir Pozner).

The distinction between émigrés and expatriates was acutely felt in Russian Paris. Thus, Georgii Adamovich, discussing with Mikhail Kantor a future anthology of Russian émigré poetry, wrote in 1934, “I am relishing Vova [Vladimir] Pozner's Moscow declarations. ‘As a member of the French Com-

munist Party, I ...’ This eliminates all doubt about his inclusion into the anthology, or else we would have to include [Il’ia] Erenburg as well.” Characteristically, Adamovich insisted on calling the anthologized poetry *émigré* in contrast to *expatriate* (*zarubezhnaia*).¹⁹ This, essentially political, distinction also elucidates the difference between Russian émigrés and other expatriate groups in interwar France.

Never exceeding 100,000, the Russian emigration in France was far inferior numerically to the country’s Polish, Italian, and Spanish populations. Yet, the Russians left the deepest impression on their French hosts thanks to the visibility of their cultural elite. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, France’s Polish, Italian, and Spanish residents were mostly migrant industrial and agricultural workers, that is, expatriates in search of economic opportunities. Russian exiles, by contrast, were more socially diverse, including a large number of educated, culturally ambitious, and politically active individuals (hence their high concentration in Paris, atypical for France’s foreign workforce at this time). Most important, the Russian emigration was driven primarily by ideological and cultural rather than economic concerns. As a contemporary French observer put it, “Almost all of Russia’s brain will stay in France for a while. Let us recognize and appreciate this fact!”²⁰

The particular character of the Russian émigré experience becomes more apparent when this group is compared to another well-educated and culturally productive group – the American expatriates in interwar Paris. Although critical of social conservatism in their homeland, American exiles lacked the political motivation of their Russian counterparts.²¹ By 1925, Russian émigré authors had lost all access to readers inside Russia and could return from exile only at the risk of their professional livelihood and, indeed, their lives. American expatriates, for their part, could and did return home with impunity any time they chose and their writings were never banned in their homeland. And although both groups could claim to have come to the current capital of Western artistic and intellectual life in search of creative freedom and cultural stimulation, American writers and intellectuals found in Paris even more freedom than they had already enjoyed at home, whereas their Russian peers found a haven from the Soviet control of art and thought, as well as the European country where their vision of the Soviet experiment was most widely shared. These differences between the exiled groups shaped their interaction with French culture, making it optional for the Americans but urgent for the Russians, who sought foreign readers out of economic and political necessity.

The distinction between emigration and expatriation is of crucial methodological value for Russian exilic studies. It allows us to test a common claim supporting the myth of émigré cultural isolation, namely, the French intelligentsia’s alleged leftist animus vis-à-vis Russia Abroad as an anti-Soviet force – a claim that disregards the historical fact of the predominance of right-wing ideologies in the interwar French publishing industry.²² Since Russian émigrés, as distinct from expatriates, constitute the main focus of this book, the individuals

featured in the present bibliography have been selected according to the following criteria, which constitute my working definition of a Russian émigré author.

First, an exile must not have returned to Soviet Russia before the Second World War. Exceptions have been made for Aleksandr Kuprin and Marina Tsvetaeva, whose belated repatriation was not ideologically motivated, as well as for those exiles who travelled to Russia clandestinely, with an expressed anti-Soviet purpose (e.g., Boris Savinkov). Second, an exile should have partaken in the cultural or socio-political life of the Russian emigration. This criterion excludes, for instance, the emigration's ideological foes among expatriate avant-garde artists (Il'ia Zdanevich, Valentin Parnakh, etc.).²³ It also places outside my purview those exiles who chose to write exclusively in French (Henri Troyat, Hélène Némirovsky). Third, to be viewed as an émigré, an exile should not have joined a communist party during the period in question. Finally, for the purposes of my study, the concept of Russian émigré also applies to the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia which was part and parcel of the cultural and socio-political life of Russia Abroad.

In the process of compiling bibliographical data, I learned much about the vastness and complexity of Russian émigré francophone activity. As a result, I have chosen to produce a representative, rather than exhaustive, account of the Russian emigration's interaction with its host culture. To this end, in addition to the books by émigré authors translated or written directly in French, I systematically surveyed Paris-based periodicals reflecting all political, intellectual, and aesthetic trends in interbellum France, as well as provincial periodicals with national circulation. My focus on the Parisian press reflects both the high concentration of the Russian émigré cultural elite and the city's importance as the centre of France's intellectual and artistic life and its publishing capital. To complete the picture, I collected data on francophone publishers and journals from other European countries that were regularly reviewed in the French press. The collected material presents, in my opinion, a comprehensive picture of the two decades of Russian émigré-French intellectual and literary commerce.

I have limited my survey's thematic scope to intellectual and literary life, deliberately excluding material related to the prominent role of Russian émigrés in French theatre, music, and visual arts. An exception has been made only for the *writings* of émigré singers, composers, dancers, actors, painters, and art critics. Besides the obvious objective of rendering more manageable the vast amount of material at hand, this thematic restriction aims to test yet another claim commonly advanced by historians and memoirists, that Russian émigrés were culturally isolated in France by a language barrier which kept most Russian exiles out of the French field of cultural production.

Last but not least, readers unfamiliar with French literary history may wonder about my stress on both intellectual and literary life, considering that the analytical essay preceding the bibliography underscores the relatively minor role played by creative writers in émigré francophone activity. However, if we

place the bibliographical data in the context of the radical revision of the concept of literature in interwar France, which expanded the rubric of “literature” to a number of non-fictional genres – diaries, memoirs, travelogues, socio-cultural and historical studies, philosophical essays, etc. – the terms are justified.²⁴ This context, wherein philosophers, scholars, and publicists are routinely treated as *littérateurs* on a par with novelists and art critics, allows us to speak about Russian émigré involvement in French intellectual and *literary* life.



The following analytical essay furnishes a historical outline of Russian émigré francophone activity between the world wars. My treatment of the bibliographical data focuses on the general issues of cultural and intellectual history: the chronological periodization, by volume and intensity, of émigré francophone publications; the evolution of their types and themes, as well as of their modes of dissemination; the professional and demographic profile of published authors; the visibility of these authors in the French press and book market; the role of émigré-French intellectual and artistic initiatives and contacts in the fluctuation of publishing patterns; and the impact of changing political and economic circumstances on émigré francophone activity.

The conditions informing this activity were not identical to those shaping the larger cultural life of Russia Abroad. It is difficult to explain otherwise the fact that the periods of intensified émigré-French interaction – 1920–24, 1929–33, 1939–40 – do not always coincide with the peak periods of Russian-language publishing in exile.²⁵ The first peak of émigré Russophone publishing corresponds to the 1921–23 expansion of Berlin’s Russian cultural scene, followed by a sharp decline in 1924, during the move of the cultural centre of Russia Abroad to Paris. The second stretch of intensified Russian-language output, in 1927–32, coincides with the cultural acme of the Russian emigration, which benefited from the coming of age of its younger generation.²⁶ But since émigré Russophone publishing was not limited to France, its second summit (cut short in 1933 by the European economic crisis) and the subsequent steady decline require explanations that lie outside the purview of this study.

Without losing sight of the larger picture of Russian émigré cultural life, therefore, my essay focuses on the position of Russian exiles in the *French* field of cultural production. By treating the bibliographical data in the context of France’s artistic, intellectual, and socio-political evolution between the world wars, I sketch a cultural history that complements Gleb Struve’s investigation of émigré literature and journalism in Russian.

NOTES

- 1 Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l'art* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), 35–6, 88–91, 351.
- 2 See Leonid Livak, *How It Was Done in Paris: Russian Émigré Literature and French Modernism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 11–13.

- 3 The subject is also ignored in Petr Kovalevskii's *Zarubezhnaia Rossiia* (Paris: Cinq continents, 1971), Nikolai Poltoratskii's *Russkaia literatura v emigratsii* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), Mark Raeff's *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 4 Georgii Adamovich, *L'Apport de l'émigration russe à la culture universelle*, tr. André Trofimoff (Paris: n. p., 1962), 3–4. On the Russian émigré debate about the engagement with French culture, see Livak, *How It Was Done in Paris*, 38–40.
- 5 See the following bibliographies: Anatolii Alekseev, *Literatura russkogo zarubezh'ia: Knigi 1917–1940* (Saint-Petersburg: Nauka, 1993); Ludmila Foster, *Bibliography of Russian Emigre Literature*, 2 vols (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1970); Tatiana Gladkova, Tatiana Osorgina, *L'Émigration russe: revues et recueils, 1920–1980* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1988).
- 6 See Boris Zaitsev's letter to Ivan Bunin (4 February 1945) qualifying the prospects of renewed émigré-French interaction as unrealistic in the new ideological climate (M. Grin, "Pis'ma B.K. Zaitseva k I.A. i V.N. Buninym," *Novyi zhurnal* 140 [1980]: 157–81, at 166).
- 7 See Georgii Adamovich, *Odinochestvo i svoboda* (New York: Chekhov, 1955), 35–7. Nina Berberova, *The Italics Are Mine*, tr. Ph. Radley (New York: Knopf, 1992), 226. Avgusta Damanskaia, "Na ekrane moei pamiati," *Novyi zhurnal* 202 (1996): 152–88, at 171–2. Elena Izvol'skaia, *No Time to Grieve* (Philadelphia: Winchell, 1985), 171. Gleb Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii* (Paris: YMCA, 1984), 202, 238–39. However, the same narrative could function as a tool of self-promotion in French circles. Natal'ia Reznikova recalls that Aleksei Remizov, one of the most translated émigré authors, "kept track of the latest trends in French art and thought, frequented French writers and translators ... but was in the habit of emphasizing his status of an alien, a foreigner, an ignored and unpublished writer. After meeting Remizov, the moved Frenchmen would burn with the desire to help this extraordinary individual" (*Ognennaia pamiat'* [Berkeley: Slavic Specialties, 1980], 120–1).
- 8 See Leonid Livak, "Nina Berberova et la mythologie culturelle de l'émigration russe en France," *Cahiers du monde russe* 43, nos 2–3 (2002): 463–78.
- 9 Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii*, 15–16.
- 10 Catherine Gousseff, *L'Exil russe: la fabrique du réfugié apatride* (Paris: CNRS, 2008), 9, 81, 102, 120. André Pairault, *L'Immigration organisée et l'emploi de la main-d'œuvre étrangère en France* (Paris: PUF, 1926), 107.
- 11 François Furet, *Le Passé d'une illusion* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1995), 186. Gousseff, *L'Exil*, 113, 249–51. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919* (New York: Random House, 2003), 69. On the predominance of right-wing ideologies in French intellectual life of the early 1920s, see also Eugen Weber, *L'Action française* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 147, 173, 565–7.
- 12 Nikolai Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie* (Moscow: DEM, 1990), 234. Reznikova, *Ognennaia pamiat'*, 70, 120–1. See also Shestov's letter to the Lovtskiis (1 October 1921) in Natal'ia Baranova-Shestova, *Zhizn' L'va Shestova*, 2 vols (Paris: La Presse libre, 1983), 1: 225.
- 13 Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 182–3. Gabriel Gobron, "La Vie intellectuelle russe à Paris," *La Pensée française* 99 (25 May 1925): 3–6. Pierre Kovalevsky, *La Dispersion russe à travers le monde et son rôle culturel* (Chauny: Baticle, 1951), 15. See also Shestov's letters to the Lovtskiis (14 January 1922) and to Berdiaev (12 November 1922), in Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 229, 282.
- 14 See Leonid Livak, "Rannii period russkoi emigratsii. Po materialam sobraniiia Sofii i Ezhena Peti," in L. Fleishman, H. McLean, eds, *A Century's Perspective* (Stanford: Stanford Slavic Studies, 2006), 416–51. See also Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 287–92.
- 15 Gousseff, *L'Exil*, 116–17. Weber, *L'Action française*, 175.

- 16 For an example of this definition, see Raeff, *Russia Abroad*, 16.
- 17 On Berlin's significance for the cultural life of Russia Abroad, see Lazar' Fleishman, ed., *Russkii Berlin, 1921–1923* (Paris: YMCA, 1983); Lazar' Fleishman, ed. *Russkii Berlin, 1920–1945* (Moscow: Russkii put', 2006); Robert Johnston, "New Mecca, New Babylon": *Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920–1945* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 5, 21. Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii*, 19.
- 18 A member of Erenburg's circle described Evgenii Zamiatin's trajectory from an expatriate to an émigré: "Zamiatin arrived in Paris ... and soon lost his old self ... He drew closer to émigrés, befriended Iurii Annenkov. We saw less and less of him." (A. Savich, "Minuvshee prokhodit predno mnoiu ...," ed. B. Frezinskii, *Diaspora: novye materialy* 5 [2003]: 68–98, at 88.)
- 19 Gleb Struve, "K istorii russkoi zarubezhnoi literatury. Kak sostavialias' antologiiia 'Iakor,'" *Novyi zhurnal* 107 (1972): 222–54, at 234, 254.
- 20 Maurice de Waleffe, "Russophilie," *Pari-midi* 3598 (9 March 1922): 2. See also Gousseff, *L'Exil*, 9, 14, 103, 123–5, Marcel Paon, *L'Immigration en France* (Paris: Payot, 1926), 210, Ralph Schor, *L'Opinion française et les étrangers en France* (Paris: PUF, 1985), 152.
- 21 Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), 35. Noel Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983), 162–3.
- 22 Claude Bellanger et al., *Histoire générale de la presse française*, 5 vols (Paris: PUF, 1972), 3: 485. Christophe Charle, *Le Siècle de la presse* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), 252. J.-M. Charon, J.-L. Pouthier, "La Presse"; Olivier Corpet, "La Revue," in Jean-François Sirinelli, ed., *Histoire des droites en France*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 2: 131–60, at 154; 161–209, at 178–89.
- 23 On the ideological opposition of the Russian avant-garde in Paris to the émigré milieu, see Leonid Livak, "Geroicheskie vremena molodoi zarubezhnoi poezii. Literaturnyi avangard russkogo Parizha (1920–1926)," *Diaspora: novye materialy* 7 (2005): 131–242, at 154–60, 169–71.
- 24 Michel Leiris, *L'Âge d'homme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 10. Jacques Rivière, "La Crise du concept de littérature," *La nouvelle revue française* 20, no. 75 (1924): 159–70. Albert Léonard, *La Crise du concept de littérature en France au XX^e siècle* (Paris: José Corti, 1974), 66–7.
- 25 According to the data in the bibliographies by Alekseev, Foster, Gladkova, and Osorgina. With the exception of the third peak period, my periodization of émigré francophone activity roughly corresponds to Vladimir Boutchik's conclusions in *La Littérature russe en France* (Paris: Champion, 1947), 11.
- 26 Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii*, 191–2.

RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉS IN THE INTELLECTUAL AND LITERARY LIFE OF INTERWAR FRANCE: A HISTORY

THE FIRST PERIOD of intensified francophone activity on the part of Russian émigrés, 1920–24, is dominated by literary fiction and political journalism. The latter deals with the national and international aspects of Lenin's regime and with Russia's socio-economic situation. In sheer volume, journalism exceeds all other genres common to émigré francophone activity at this time, to wit, novels and stories, memoir literature narrating the recent experience of revolution and civil war, philosophical essays, and art criticism. Because the book market shunned the new arrivals, who lacked social capital and professional connections in France, émigré pundits flocked to the French press. This situation changed by the decade's close, but in the early 1920s, francophone books by exiled journalists tended to originate in the publishing ventures of their compatriots, such as Vladimir Burtsev's *L'Union* and the Povolozky publishers, run by Iakov Evgen'evich Povolotskii (1881–1945), a socialist exile who had lived in France since 1908. In contrast to journalism, the prestige of Russian literature and the distinguished social rank of many memoirists ensured that émigré literary fiction and memoirs were as likely to be serialized as to be issued in book form by mainstream publishers interested in Russian culture (Bossard) or in modern European history (Plon).

Émigré creative writers publishing in French in the early 1920s belong to the older cohort of contemporary Russian literature.¹ These authors clearly attempted to integrate into the French field of cultural production on the merits of their pre-exilic credentials since the majority of their French-language publications are translations of works that first appeared in Russia. Moreover, with the exception of Aleksei Remizov, they formed a bastion of aesthetic traditionalism against the backdrop of Soviet literature's stylistic and narrative experimentation. In this regard, the post-1917 aesthetic polarization of Russian literary life into the avant-garde and conservative camps followed not only generational and ideological but also geographical lines. Experimental artists tended to be younger and, more often than not, they opted to stay in Soviet Russia or flocked to Berlin as a place more congenial to "left" art and politics than Paris – witness the Berlin pilgrimage of Paris-based Russian avant-gardists, who shunned the émigré milieu in France while cultivating ties to French dadaists and surreal-

ists.² In contrast to the aesthetic and political conservatism of the émigré cultural elite, many émigré journalists writing in the French press came from various socialist factions and had extensive experience of exile under the tsars; hence they were prepared to reach out to the French reader with little recourse to translators.³

The distribution of Russian collaborators across the political spectrum of the French press in the early 1920s reflects the wide range of political opinions in Russia Abroad. Many ideologically and aesthetically conservative reviews have frequent émigré contributors: Vladimir Kokovtsov writes for *Revue des deux mondes*, Elena Izvol'skaia for *La Revue de France*, Georgii Shkliaver for *La Vie des peuples*, Nikolai Zvorykin for *La Pensée française*. And *Le Mercure de France*, former mouthpiece of the symbolist movement, found a new raison d'être in anti-Soviet animus. Its editors – one of whom is described by Zinaida Gippius as “a friend of Russians” who “knows well Russia and the Bolsheviks” – turned the review into a headquarters of the émigré intelligentsia and a rite of passage for the exiles entering the French field of cultural production.⁴ We find a similar situation in centrist and right-wing dailies: Tatiana Aleksinskaia writes for *Journal des débats*; Petr Botkin and Aleksandr Savinskii for *Le Gaulois*; Boris Suvorin for *L'Intransigeant* and *L'Avenir*; Vladimir Drabovich and Boris Savinkov for *L'Eclair*; Aleksandr Kuprin, Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, and Evgenii Semenov for *Le Figaro*; and Grigorii Aleksinskii for *Le Matin*. But left-wing dailies, as well as modernist reviews, also capitalized on the presence of the Russian cultural elite on French soil. We thus find Drabovich among the regulars in *Le Radical*, Evsei Stalinskii in *Le Peuple*, Fedor Dan and Iulii Martov in *Le Populaire*, Andrei Levinson in *Comoedia*, and Boris Shletser in *La nouvelle revue française* (NRF hereafter).⁵

The combination of significant francophone book output by émigré creative writers, memoirists, and art critics between 1920 and 1924 – hitherto unparalleled in the history of Russian-French cultural commerce – the visibility of Russian exiles in the French press, and the frequent contacts between these exiles and the French intelligentsia raised the spectre of a cultural invasion, which a contemporary observer attributed to the “Russophilia” of postwar French society.⁶ Sketching a plan for her unrealized history of the émigré intelligentsia, Gippius describes the early 1920s as a period marked by the regular interaction of the émigré and French cultural elites, both in person and in print.⁷ The French intelligentsia's postwar curiosity for things Russian is not difficult to explain. It was partly stimulated by the Russian empire's violent implosion and, partly, by the new-found openness of the French cultural elite to foreign art and thought. The trauma of the war brought urgency to the quest for a unifying spirit that could prevent the repetition of the recent massacre. Commenting on this postwar avidity for foreign authors, critics single out Russian writers – classical and contemporary – as the group most favoured by French editors and publishers thanks to “the two [Russian] revolutions which are the kind of publicity stunts envied by the most able advertisers.”⁸ One

observer went so far as to designate the 1922 literary season in France as that of “Chekhov, Kuprin, Bunin, and Merezhkovskii.”⁹

But the French readership’s hunger for things Russian was not just a product of idle curiosity or a corollary of the anti-Soviet consensus dominating the country’s intellectual life, part of a move to the centre-right that resulted in the electoral victory of Alexandre Millerand’s coalition in 1919.¹⁰ A large number of French readers owned Russian imperial bonds, disavowed by Lenin’s regime but acknowledged by the White movement which enjoyed France’s diplomatic recognition.¹¹ Following the final rout of the Whites in 1920, frustrated investors searched keenly for portents of Russia’s future. And as long as that future remained uncertain, that is, until France’s diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union in the fall of 1924, any information – journalistic, literary, memoir – about Russian politics and culture was in high demand. As a publisher’s blurb on the cover of one essay put it, “At present, we welcome any document shedding more light on the causes and nature of the Bolshevik revolution.”¹²

In the early 1920s, Russia Abroad was a privileged source of such information. It was also the main beneficiary of the French interest in things Russian – witness the romantic cliché of the Russian émigré in contemporary French literature.¹³ A more direct testimony to the importance of Russia Abroad in the postwar French imagination comes from the press coverage of émigré political, social, and cultural life: this coverage intensified in 1921, after the exodus of refugees from southern Russia, and abated in 1925, when public attention was drawn to the Soviet experiment.¹⁴ An exception to this shifting focus is furnished by the Catholic press which reflects the attention of the Catholic establishment and intellectuals to Russia Abroad as an anti-communist force and a basis for the reunification of the Churches in the context of Russian Orthodoxy’s post-1917 crisis.¹⁵

Various contemporary sources bear witness to the favourable situation in which the émigré cultural elite found itself in early-1920s France. “The Russian writers who have fled their country and taken refuge among us have little to complain about,” remarks a French critic. “They have found intelligent translators as well as publishers eager to bring them to the French reader. What a surprise to discover all this hitherto unknown talent.”¹⁶ There was little altruism, of course, in the publishers’ readiness to invest in mostly unknown foreign creative writers and memoirists. Their editorial decisions were driven by the French market’s demand for Russian authors, as reflected in the relatively high number of critical responses to émigré literary fiction and memoirs in the French press. Furthermore, the contemporary correspondence of émigré authors conveys satisfaction with the quality of translations, with the conditions offered by French publishers, and with the reactions of French critics.¹⁷ The publishing house Bossard played no small role in the creation of this beneficial climate, meeting the market demand by launching a book series devoted to classical and modern Russian authors – *Textes intégraux de la littérature russe*.

Managed by translator Henri Mongault, this series gave priority to émigré writers and espoused a novel translation philosophy that incorporated faithfulness to the original, aesthetic sensitivity, and heightened sense of French style, to critical acclaim.¹⁸

The favourable intellectual and cultural environment of the early 1920s put pressure on émigré writers to publish in French, as shown in Zinaida Gippius's musings, in late 1922, about the "absolute indecency" of the fact that she, unlike her colleagues, had not yet published a single book in French and could not, therefore, integrate into the French field of cultural production beyond the obliging *Mercure de France*.¹⁹ This integration was all the more important because, in addition to boosting an exiled author's public image and material well-being, and compensating for the loss of readership in Soviet Russia, it offered a way around the ideological taboos of Russia Abroad. Gippius was able, on several occasions, to publish in French the texts rejected by émigré journals.²⁰ Those émigrés who, unlike Gippius, fully capitalized on the conditions in the French reading market were propelled toward the centre of French cultural life. We find indirect testimony to their privileged status in the editorial policy of *La Revue de Genève*, which attempted to ease its difficulties in Switzerland by courting France's readership in 1923–24. Presenting itself as the face of both French and European literary and intellectual life – "from André Gide to Ivan Bunin," as one editorial put it – the review flaunted its "unbridled love of Russian literature," promising to publish a number of contemporary Russian authors, all of them Paris-based émigrés.²¹

It is, then, logical to ask how Russian émigré writers and intellectuals, few of whom had extensive professional or social connections in France before expatriation, gained such visibility in the French field of cultural production. The postwar ideological and spiritual environment in France does not by itself account for the sheer scale of Russian émigré involvement in French literary and intellectual life in the early 1920s. An inquiry into the mechanisms of émigré-French interaction is, therefore, in order.

A comparison of individual trajectories offers some clues. Lev Shestov owed his initial contacts with French editors and publishers to his translator, Boris Shletser, who had extensive connections in Parisian artistic and intellectual circles thanks to his work as a music and foreign literature critic at the *NRF* and *La Revue musicale*. Shletser lobbied French journals and publishing houses on Shestov's behalf, finally placing his writings in the *NRF* and, by the good offices of Charles Du Bos and Daniel Halévy, with the publishers Plon and Grasset.²² Shestov's first francophone publications gained André Gide's attention. Consequently, Shestov was welcomed into Parisian salons and, equally importantly, invited to the debates hosted by Paul Desjardins at the Pontigny Abbey, where the philosopher met many French artists and thinkers, solidifying his standing with Parisian journals and publishers.²³ Last but not least, his new-found connections allowed Shestov to facilitate Remizov's and Berdiaev's entry into the French field of cultural production.²⁴

Ivan Bunin's case was similar. The writer owed his francophone debut to his translator, Maurice Donzel (1885–1937), a poet and novelist writing under the Russified penname Parijanine (the Parisian). The first translated collections of Bunin's stories (*Le Monsieur de San-Francisco* [1921] and *Le Village* [1922]) were enthusiastically received in the French press, winning him the attention of Benjamin Crémieux and André Gide, who began to mediate the émigré writer's interaction with French editors and publishers as well as with artistic and intellectual circles in Paris and at Pontigny.²⁵ And, like Shestov, Bunin used his new connections to promote émigré colleagues, notably Boris Zaitsev.²⁶

These examples highlight the crucial role played by translators in the integration of Russian émigrés into the French field of cultural production. This role was not limited to linguistic mediation: translators often functioned as literary agents since most émigré creative writers were, at least at this time, incapable of *artistic* translation into French and lacking the necessary social and professional capital in Parisian publishing circles.²⁷ Thus, putting a colleague in touch with a “good translator” (i.e., not only linguistically and aesthetically qualified but professionally connected) counted among the greatest favours one Russian émigré *littérateur* could do for another.²⁸

As Vladimir Boutchik points out, the French translators of interwar émigré authors fall into three main groups.²⁹ The first consists of veteran expatriates who settled in France before 1917, becoming francophone writers and journalists – Il'ia Gal'perin-Kaminskii (Elie Halpérine-Kaminsky, 1858–1936), Liudmila Savitskaia (Bloch-Savitzky, 1881–1957), J. Wladimir Bienstock (1867–1933), Nicolas Brian-Chaninov, Evgenii Semenov.³⁰ The second group comprises French writers and intellectuals who knew Russian for personal or professional reasons. Thus, Maurice Donzel, Michel Dumesnil de Gramont (1893–1953), Henri Mongault (1884–1941), Denis Roche (1868–1951), Pierre Pascal (1890–1983), André Beucler (1898–1985), and Jean Chuzeville had all lived and worked in Russia, cultivating ties to the artistic and intellectual milieus of Moscow and Petersburg, and, in the first three cases, had married Russians. This group also includes individuals who grew up in France in the families of political émigrés (Marc Séménoff – E. Semenov's son) or of tsarist officials (Elena Izvol'skaia).³¹ The third group consists of post-1917 Russian exiles. Some were bilingual by virtue of birth and education: Boris Shletser, for instance, had a Belgian mother and was schooled in Paris and Brussels. Others, like Zinaida Shakhovskaia and Konstantin Andronikov (1916–97), became bilingual thanks to early expatriation. Yet others did not speak French natively but had enough competence to find employment as translators from the Russian (T. Landau, M. Slonim, P. Stavrov, etc.). Members of the last group lacked French stylistic authority and the much needed clout in Parisian publishing circles, and were, therefore, the least desirable choice for an émigré writer without French professional connections.³² Yet, the market for Russian authors was such that even non-native speakers with no experience of French literary life could successfully compete for translation contracts. And, in the

early 1920s, translators, editors, and publishers indeed competed for the attention of Russian émigré writers.³³

But examining the mechanisms behind émigré-French cultural commerce from the point of view of individual authors cannot fully clarify the process of selection or explain why certain Russian writers were accepted by translators or publishers while others remained unwanted. In part, of course, this selection was informed by Russian literary life as it existed before 1917. A writer's former prominence in Russia was an important selection criterion; hence the almost exclusive choice of older émigré authors by French editors and publishers in the early 1920s. But given the general unfamiliarity with contemporary Russian art and thought in postwar France, the sheer volume of émigré francophone publications suggests that translator-mediated contacts between individual Russian authors and French editors ran parallel to more systematic, institutional efforts at creating a framework for the integration of the exiled Russian intelligentsia into the French field of cultural production.

This effort was pioneered by Vladimir Burtsev, who founded, in February 1919, a Parisian news agency and publishing house, L'Union, to promote the anti-Bolshevik cause.³⁴ The agency's francophone activity ranged from a bulletin (*Union*), to the French version of Burtsev's own newspaper, *Obshchee delo* (*La Cause commune*), to books of political journalism by émigré authors. Eager to reach the widest possible audience, the agency supplied the French press and policy-makers with its interpretation of events in Russia; set up information meetings with French political and professional organizations; and used private funds to procure space in French periodicals for émigré authors, thereby raising their visibility as a source of information about things Russian.³⁵

Such aggressive courtship of the French press by foreign interest groups was common during the Paris Peace Conference.³⁶ And although Burtsev's agency fell on hard times in the summer of 1920, going bankrupt concurrently with the debacle of the Whites in Russia, it was survived by several émigré rivals with their own francophone organs and agendas: *Bulletin de la Ligue républicaine russe*; *Bulletin de la Ligue russe pour la défense révolutionnaire*; *Bulletin russe*; *La Russie démocratique*, etc. *La Tribune juive* – the mouthpiece of the exiled Russian-Jewish intelligentsia which aimed to familiarize the Western public with the issues of Jewish life in Russia and abroad – was the most enduring. Like Burtsev's *La Cause commune*, this weekly appeared in both French and Russian (*Evreiskaia tribuna*).

But the most ambitious institutional attempt at integrating émigré authors into French intellectual and literary life was undertaken by the Committee for Assistance to Russian Writers and Scientists in France, run from 1920 to 1925 by Nikolai Chaikovskii. In 1921, the committee created its French Section, made up of Parisian artists, critics, journalists, editors, politicians, and high society figures, whose cultural expertise and social capital were instrumental in the organization of fundraisers on behalf of the émigré intelligentsia and in the establishment of professional contacts between Russian and French artists and

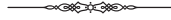
intellectuals. As part of its mandate, the French Section promoted émigré authors in periodicals and publishing houses, both through personal intervention on their behalf and by ensuring critical attention to their writings in the French press.³⁷ The critical attention came from a wide range of individuals, from authoritative literary critics (Edmond Jaloux, Henri de Régnier) to prominent Slavists (André Pierre, Jules Legras, André Mazon), and the effectiveness of this strategy should not be underestimated; a favourable review went a long way to launch an émigré author's francophone career.³⁸

As part of the French Section's activities, the committee conceived an ambitious plan to solidify the professional integration of its beneficiaries into the French field of cultural production. The idea was to create a Russian-French publishing house devoted to the translation of émigré authors into French and of contemporary French writers into Russian since, at this time, Soviet Russia had not yet completely shut its borders to printed matter from abroad. But this venture required from the French Section a significant financial and political commitment to the Russian émigré cause. Planning and negotiations dragged on for almost a year until, in late spring 1922, the project was abandoned for lack of support. Its failure caused serious rifts in the émigré cultural elite, effectively splitting the committee. In the fall of 1922, a splinter group launched a Russian-French initiative of its own – *Les Amis des lettres russes* (Friends of Russian Literature) – whose work duplicated that of the French Section but benefited only a small group of eminent émigré writers.³⁹

But the idea of a publishing house devoted to Russian literature in translation did not vanish entirely. Boris Shletser convinced émigré publisher Iakov Shifrin (1892–1950) that this venture was financially viable. In 1923, they launched *Les Éditions de la Pléiade* as a rival to Bossard's Russian literature-in-translation series. Since they lacked Bossard's capital and the public subsidies whose unavailability had killed the committee's publishing project, Shletser and Shifrin turned to the risk-free Russian classics (Chekhov, Gogol, Lermontov, Pushkin, etc.). Adopting a novel and commercially successful approach, they published literary translations in luxury annotated editions that appealed both to bibliophiles and to French connoisseurs of Russian letters. The well-connected Shletser further ensured *La Pléiade's* success through a carefully orchestrated publicity campaign, enlisting influential French *littérateurs* to write prefaces and reviews.⁴⁰

La Pléiade's subsequent story reflects the changing fortunes of émigré francophone activity. Shifrin eschewed Russian émigré authors until 1925 when, encouraged by the success of *La Pléiade's* editions of Russian classics, and under pressure from Shletser, he solicited Shestov's collaboration, optimistically promising "assured sales." But the sales were mediocre; and the translations of new works elicited less critical attention than Shestov's previous publications in French.⁴¹ Against the backdrop of the concurrent bankruptcy of the Bossard publishers, heavily invested in émigré authors, this upset led Shifrin to fall back on Russian classics. Furthermore, Shifrin and Shletser endeavoured to paint their venture as apolitical and above the émigré-Soviet antagonism. Following

the establishment of French-Soviet diplomatic relations in October 1924, French readers were made aware of the antagonism by the influx of translated Soviet writers. Barely a month later, La Pléiade created a front agency for its Russian literature series – La Société des amis du livre russe (Friends of the Russian Book) – whose agenda positioned the publishing house above the current political debates by focusing exclusively on the study and appreciation of Russia's cultural past.⁴² Finally, in 1926, La Pléiade was forced to diversify, turning to classical and modern French authors.



Official recognition of the Soviet regime by Édouard Herriot's left-wing coalition, which came to power in the summer of 1924, gave that regime a cachet of permanence in French public opinion, modifying the image of Russia Abroad and ending the first period of intensified émigré francophone activity. French interest in Soviet Russia did not diminish: quite to the contrary, it reached the proportions of an intellectual fad contemptuously dubbed "parlour bolshevism." At the same time, the émigré intelligentsia began to lose its privileged status as the only authoritative mouthpiece of Russian culture in the West. The French reader's interest in the Russian emigration diminished accordingly. Aleksei Remizov, for example, was invited to a literary soirée as a Russian writer and then shunned by the hostess after she realized that he was not a Soviet artist. We find less anecdotal testimony to the changing times in the decline of the institutional venues for the promotion of émigré-French contacts. The circle of Les Amis des lettres russes showed no signs of life after 1924, nor did the French Section of the Committee for Assistance to Russian Writers and Scientists. Thus, in her projected history of the émigré intelligentsia, Zinaida Gippius describes the mid-1920s as the time of "weakening contacts with the French."⁴³

Bibliographical data supports Gippius's observation. If we include books published in 1925, that is, translated or written in 1924 or earlier, a clear pattern emerges. Between 1920 and 1925, Aldanov brought out three French-language books, but the fourth appeared only in 1929. In the same period, Bunin published four books in French translation, but the fifth came out in 1929 as well; and Kuprin published eight translated books, with the next seeing print only in 1933. That this decline was predicated on changes in the French field of cultural production is clear from the absence of a similar drop in the rate of émigré book publishing in Russian, which slumped in 1924, at the height of the exiled intelligentsia's move from Berlin to Paris, but rose noticeably in 1925–26.⁴⁴ The situation in the French press was no different: from left-wing dailies and modernist reviews to the flagships of aesthetic and political conservatism, émigré writers and journalists lost access to most publishing venues. Hence, we must presume, Aleksandr Kerenskii's decision to launch a francophone weekly in 1926, *La Russie opprimée*, devoted to the analysis of Soviet politics and culture.

Notable exceptions to this trend are those exiles who successfully positioned themselves as authorities in specialized fields not limited to things

Russian (art history, choreography, musicology, literary criticism); eschewed politics; and, for the most part, did not require translation, thereby reducing editorial costs. Georgii Lukomskii, for example, continued undisturbed his activity as a historian of art. Boris Shletser did the same in music criticism, circumspectly limiting his Russian literary criticism in the *NRF* to nineteenth-century classics. Andrei Levinson's prolific career as a critic of dance and foreign literature (mostly non-Russian) was crowned in 1928 with the French Republic's highest honours. Likewise, Shestov found an audience in specialized philosophy journals.⁴⁵ And it was in the mid-1920s that émigré scholars made inroads in France's human and social sciences.

How can we explain the drop in the volume of émigré francophone publishing after Soviet diplomatic normalization, which inaugurated the period of parlour bolshevism in French intellectual and cultural life? With respect to parlour bolshevism, it is essential to distinguish the French intelligentsia's heightened curiosity about the Soviet experiment from the emergence of a group of pro-Soviet advocates, or "fellow-travellers," among non-communist French writers and intellectuals. There was no general ideological shift to the Left in the French field of cultural production at this time. For all the hand-wringing in the French press about parlour bolshevism, the country's intellectual consensus vis-à-vis the USSR remained that of skepticism, reinforced by the unresolved issue of the Russian imperial debt and the persistent reports of Soviet religious and political persecution.

The retreat of Russian émigrés from the French press and publishing houses after 1924 had to do with more than the evolving politics of French editors and publishers and the émigré elite's alleged isolationism. With the concurrent loss of Russian readers due to Soviet restrictions on printed matter from abroad, foreign readership became even more important. Rather, émigré cultural authority was being eroded in the eyes of the French public, as can be seen in the new-found popularity of hitherto untranslated Soviet writers and publicists as carriers of information about "the new Russia." Ironically, Soviet authors were often translated in interwar France by émigré littérateurs in search of supplementary income.

After 1924, the Russian émigré intelligentsia was locked in an aesthetic and ideological rivalry with its Soviet counterpart, both groups vying for the attention of the French reader. The cultural authenticity of Russia Abroad came under fire because of its geographical removal from the Russian mainland, whose communist transformation was now regarded as permanent. The revised understanding of the emigration in French opinion – from the authoritative voice of a culture under attack into a vessel of the cultural past – was not limited to a particular political milieu. The Left tended to see the émigré-Soviet dichotomy through the lens of the 1789 monarchist-republican split in France, largely adopting the Soviet narrative about émigrés as radical right-wingers.⁴⁶ But on the opposite side of the political spectrum, a contributor to the monarchist *Action française*, Joseph Kessel, also concluded that, unlike those authors

who stayed in Soviet Russia, émigré writers “have produced little original work in exile” because of their dependence on outlived cultural traditions.⁴⁷

And even as French critics continued to point out their compatriots’ appetite for foreign authors in general and for Russians in particular, Russia Abroad was no longer the primary beneficiary of the postwar translation boom.⁴⁸ The fate of the insolvent Bossard’s Russian series highlights the ideological evolution of the French field of cultural production. Bossard ceded its series to Gallimard, the publisher of the *NRF*, which took over its list of nineteenth-century Russian writers but ignored Bossard’s extensive list of émigré authors whose post-1924 fall from grace with the French reader surely contributed to the publisher’s financial woes. In 1926, launching a contemporary Russian literature series (“Les jeunes Russes”), Gallimard focused exclusively on Soviet writers – a choice all the more deliberate because the series’ editorship was entrusted to émigré littérateur Boris Shletser.⁴⁹ Gallimard’s pro-Soviet bias was largely based on the association of artistic iconoclasm with radical politics, widespread in French modernist circles. Thus, also in 1926, the editors of a new modernist review, *Commerce*, asked expatriate critic Dmitri Mirskii (by then a Soviet fellow-traveller) to suggest aesthetically innovative Russian contributors. Mirskii named Osip Mandel’shtam, Boris Pasternak, Marina Tsvetaeva, and Aleksei Remizov, even translating the last two for *Commerce*.⁵⁰ But the review retained only Mandel’shtam and Pasternak, who lived in the USSR, unlike the exiled Tsvetaeva and Remizov. The published translations belonged to the pen of an émigré, Elena Izvol’skaia. Indeed, throughout the review’s existence, émigré authors appeared in *Commerce* only as translators from the Russian.

The émigré intelligentsia promptly saw the new situation as the extension of the Russian cultural and ideological civil war into the West. In a letter to Dmitrii Merezhkovskii (27 October 1925), Mark Aldanov requested the lists of his and Zinaida Gippius’s translated work with the intention of “publishing this information about ten or twelve authors, because the Soviet press claims that there is no interest in émigré literature in the West.”⁵¹ For the next decade, cultural viability and authenticity became the main points of contention in the émigré-Soviet rivalry for the French reader’s attention: both sides went so far as to deny the competitor’s right to a place in Russian culture. Literary fiction is a case in point. For many émigré critics, the departure of Soviet writers from the stylistic and narrative conventions of nineteenth-century realism was proof enough of their un-Russianness. In the view of the opposite camp, contemporary Russian literature existed in Soviet Russia only.⁵²

Soviet Russia’s diplomatic normalization demarcates different periods in émigré francophone activity. In the early 1920s, politics played a minor role in the relations of émigré authors with French editors and publishers. *L’Humanité* published anti-Soviet authors (A. Averchenko, I. Bunin), and the left-leaning *NRF* showed as much interest in Lev Shestov’s thought as did the right-wing *Mercur de France*.⁵³ Starting in 1925, however, editorial policies vis-à-vis émigré authors were influenced by the perception of Russia Abroad as an anti-communist

entity. *L'Humanité* combined regular publication and critical coverage of Soviet literature with silence about émigré literary life. In contrast, the right-wing French press and publishers ostentatiously shunned Soviet authors in favour of Russian émigrés. Such was, for example, the agenda of Plon's foreign literature collection, "Feux croisés," which conspicuously counterbalanced Gallimard's "Les jeunes Russes."⁵⁴

The effect of the French intelligentsia's realization that Russian culture was split into two entities – Soviet and émigré – was apparent in the activities of the French fellow-travellers. Maurice Donzel, a prolific translator and a Trotskyite, abandoned his émigré clientele in 1925, turning to Soviet authors. Donzel returned to émigré writers only in the 1930s, following his disenchantment with Stalin's regime and his break with *L'Humanité*.⁵⁵ Romain Rolland, to take another example, wrote long letters to Ivan Bunin in the early 1920s, expressing appreciation of Bunin's stories, whose modern sensibility Rolland claimed to share, and soliciting Bunin's collaboration in a newly founded journal, *Europe*. In 1925, however, émigré authors vanished from *Europe*; and the increasingly pro-Soviet Rolland began to exchange barbs with Bunin in print, accusing Russian émigré writers of cultural and spiritual backwardness.⁵⁶



Émigré francophone activity picked up pace only in 1929; but it did so with a vengeance. At this time, publishers solicited not only the exiles whose books were familiar to the French reader but also those who were previously published only in periodicals or entirely ignored. The rise in demand for the work of Russian émigrés was such that French publishers turned for material to deceased authors (A. Averchenko, Iu. Martov, B. Savinkov, P. Vrangél') and to the writers of sensationalist potboilers (N. Breshko-Breshkovskii, M. Purishkevich). In a break with past practices, most émigré authors were now disseminated by mainstream French publishing houses. The year 1929 also marked the debut or return of a number of exiled journalists (G. Aleksinskii, A. Kerenskii, P. Pil'skii, A. Pilenko, M. Slonim, M. Vishniak, K. Zaitsev) in the French press which, once again, sought regular émigré contributors, especially in the domain of international politics.⁵⁷ In another important development, the veterans of *La Tribune juive*, which closed in 1924, and younger exiles attuned to Jewish issues finally found a place in the French-Jewish press.⁵⁸

In the early 1930s, French readers discovered Russian émigré philosophy and theology beyond Berdiaev and Shestov.⁵⁹ But this discovery was just one aspect of the diversification of émigré francophone activity that resulted from the exiled intelligentsia's consolidation in France and from the maturation of its younger cohort. In literary fiction, which no longer occupied the dominant position it did in the early period of émigré francophone publishing, the return of the old favourites ran parallel to the discovery of formerly untranslated older writers (M. Osorgin, N. Teffi, B. Zaitsev) and of younger authors whose aesthetics were rooted in European modernism (E. Bakunina, N. Gorodetskaia,

V. Ianovskii, V. Nabokov), in contrast to the realist canon informing the oeuvre of their elders. Similar diversification was manifest in émigré memoir literature: no longer limited to accounts of recent revolutionary events, it covers a wide range of topics, from cultural history (F. Shaliapin, I. Stravinskii, A.L. Tolstaia, L.L. Tolstoi) to political terrorism (A. Gerasimov, A. Spiridovich, P. Zavarzin).

The influx of exiled Russian publicists previously unknown to the French reader expanded the ideological spectrum of opinion in émigré francophone journalism, especially with regard to Soviet politics and society, the international situation, and European Jewish life – a subject acquiring special urgency in light of Germany's slide toward Nazi rule. At the same time, the deans of émigré art criticism, Andrei Levinson and Boris Shletser, were now flanked in the French press by younger compatriots eager to share their expertise in Russian, European, and American literatures, music, theatre, and dance (N. Gurfinkel', Iu. Mandel'shtam, Iu. Sazonova, Z. Shakhovskaia, G. Struve, V. Veidle). Likewise, Georgii Lukomskii, once the only authoritative émigré art historian writing in French, was now joined by a host of new specialists (B. Losskii, P. Muratov, M. Zhirmunskii, V. Zubov).

Among the most striking features of the resurgent role of Russia Abroad in French intellectual life was the prominence of émigrés in the humanities and social sciences. Russian scholars gained particular visibility in the study of classical antiquity and Byzantium (A. Grabar', M. Rostovtsev, A. Vasil'ev); in Far- and Middle-Eastern anthropology and ethnography (A. Bashmakov, S. Eliseev, V. Golubev, I. Levin, V. Nikitin, I. Shchukin), which some combined with geo-political commentary on current events; in Romance philology (E. Anichkov, M. Lot-Borodina, G. Lozinskii, M. Zhirmunskii), which was a forte of the University of St Petersburg before 1917;⁶⁰ and, of course, in Russian history – linguistic (B. Unbegaun), literary (M. Gofman), socio-political (A. Ekk, M. Taube, P. Miliukov, G. Vernadskii), and military (Iu. Danilov, N. Golovin, D. Novik). No branch of knowledge, however, benefited as much from the presence of Russian exiles in France as jurisprudence. By the early 1930s, émigré legal scholars became recognized authorities in constitutional law (B. Mirkin-Getsevich), international law (A. Mandel'shtam, I. Efremov, B. Nol'de, B. Shatskii, G. Shkliaver, P. Tager), the philosophy and sociology of law (G. Gurvich), and in the rights of minorities and refugees (A. Gorovtsev, M. Vishniak).⁶¹

There is no single explanation for the dramatic and self-assured return of Russian émigrés to francophone literary life in the early 1930s. The confluence of several factors seemed to favour their comeback. These include France's changing attitudes and improved economic situation; the precipitous socio-political and cultural evolution of Stalin's regime; and, as far as Russia Abroad goes, the growing role of younger émigré writers and intellectuals, better adapted both linguistically and professionally than their elders to life abroad. Indeed, this demographic shift took to a qualitatively new level the emigration's decade-long accumulation of social and cultural capital in France, enabling

the exiles to exploit their host country's ideological climate and reclaim their place in French intellectual and literary life after the retreat of the mid-1920s.

Between 1927 and 1932, France reached the summit of its interwar prosperity, resisting the world economic crisis longer than its neighbours. This created favourable conditions for book publishing, in contrast to 1924–25 when the devaluation of the French franc and concomitant hyperinflation hit the book market hard, solidifying the divorce of émigré authors from French publishing houses. And although the position of Russian exiles in the French book market improved by the early 1930s, investment in foreign authors remained risky business in France. Hence the contemporary demographic pattern: when it came to books, older émigrés had a clear advantage over their younger, less known, colleagues, whereas the latter outperformed their elders in the French press, being better connected in Parisian journalistic circles and more linguistically independent.

In 1928, the period of relative stability in the USSR gave way to the regime's radicalization. Trotskii's exile, in February 1929, was seen in France as a watershed event sealing the Soviet state's new direction, embodied in the cultural revolution and the first five-year plan with its industrialization, collectivization, and attendant political terror. These developments brought French interest in Soviet Russia to a boiling point: travelogues by French authors visiting the USSR to see its transformation as trumpeted by Soviet propaganda proliferated. But the same developments also stimulated the polarization of attitudes toward the Soviet experiment. As one émigré commentator observed, "parlor bolshevism' has finally gone out of fashion."⁶² Indeed, the mainstream press, from socialist to conservative, grew ever more skeptical of the acclamation of the Soviet regime by its fellow-travellers in France – an acclamation criticized as politically naive and culturally ignorant.⁶³ This critical attitude conveyed, among other things, a desire for an alternative source of information, one that was versed in Russian culture and independent of the official Soviet narrative.

In this context, Russian émigré commentators promptly regained favour with the French reader; both Soviet authors and French fellow-travellers – whom the press derisively calls "les moscouitaires" (the Moscowteers) – were now deemed to be little more than Stalin's propaganda agents. Hence the emergence of a new genre in émigré francophone activity – open letters in which Russian exiles made public their views of Soviet life and ideology in response to the pro-Soviet statements of specific French authors or periodicals.⁶⁴ The longevity of Aleksandr Kerenskii's weekly *La Russie opprimée* (1926–33), unusual for émigré francophone journals, also points to a substantial rise in demand for émigré political opinion; the paper was devoted entirely to the analysis of the Soviet press and to polemics against French aficionados of the Soviet regime. Nikolai Berdiaev's participation in the debates hosted by Paul Desjardins furnishes yet another illustration of the émigrés' return to French intellectual life as carriers of a particular set of political views: the philosopher was invited to Desjardins' left-leaning Union pour la vérité (Truth Association) in the specific role of opponent to pro-Soviet speakers.⁶⁵

By the early 1930s, the growing ideological polarization of the French field of cultural production, particularly evident in the country's literary and artistic press, created a situation wherein an author's attitude toward the Soviet Union functioned as a calling card of general political credentials.⁶⁶ The contemporary image of the Russian emigration as a homogeneously anti-Soviet and anti-communist force was a major factor shaping the second period of intensified émigré francophone activity; for there is a neat correlation between the politics of French editors and publishers and their dealings with Russian authors.

On the far Left, the communist and fellow-traveller press (*L'Humanité*, *Monde*, *Marianne*, *Lu*, *Vu*, etc.) shunned Russian émigré contributors. Thus, when Aleksandr Liberman was recruited, in 1932, as a designer for Lucien Vogel's *Vu*, the émigré artist carefully hid his distaste for the editor's politics.⁶⁷ At the same time, those centre-left literary and artistic journals that were less dogmatic in their vision of the Soviet experiment (*Les Cahiers du Sud*, the *NRF*, *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, *Le Rouge et le noir*) began to warm up to Russian émigrés thanks to the increasingly apparent ossification of Soviet art under ideological pressure. A similar disenchantment, this time with Soviet political and economic praxis, among French socialists translated into the reintegration of émigré journalists and publicists into major socialist dailies (*Le Quotidien*, *L'Avenir*, *Le Populaire*), revealing an awareness among the French intelligentsia that Russia Abroad was an ideologically heterogeneous body whose members could, at once, espouse Marxist ideas and oppose the Soviet regime.⁶⁸ A case in point is Orest Rozenfel'd, who rose to prominence in the early 1930s as a foreign affairs critic for the official organ of the Socialist Party, *Le Populaire*.⁶⁹

On the political Right, both moderate and extreme, émigré authors found a warm welcome as a viable Russian alternative to Soviet culture. A full-page ad run on the back cover of a review of young Catholic intellectuals (*Mil Neuf Cent Vingt Neuf*, 2, no. 3, 1929) asks, "Why does *La nouvelle revue française* publish only Russians from Moscow? Starting on December 15, *Mil Neuf Cent Vingt Neuf* will publish the writings of Russian émigrés who, contrary to a certain editorial opinion, are not any less interesting because they are in exile." We thus observe, at decade's turn, the reintegration of émigrés into established conservative reviews and heavy reliance on Russian exiles in new literary weeklies, from the centre-right *Candida* to the more radical *Je suis partout*. And the same is true for right-wing publishers – Fayard, Éditions de France, Émile-Paul, Grasset, Nouvelles éditions latines, Plon, Payot – who fuelled the second explosion in francophone book output by Russian authors.⁷⁰

Inevitably, the renewal of interest in émigré opinion went hand in hand with the resurgence of attention to the Russian emigration in general, especially since the detractors of the Soviet experiment, both émigré and French, insisted on its cultural inauthenticity in light of what they saw as the destruction of Russian cultural traditions in the USSR. The return of Russia Abroad in the French field of cultural production in the early 1930s was an integral part of its larger rehabilitation in public opinion, confirmed by the re-emergence of the

Russian emigration as a fashionable topic in French journalism. There was a steady stream of books and essays devoted to the political, social, and cultural life of France's Russian community – a stream periodically turning into a flood under the impact of such publicity stunts as the kidnapping of General Kutepov by Soviet agents in 1930, and the assassination of President Doumer by a deranged émigré, Pavel Gorgulov, in 1932.⁷¹

The improving émigré-French rapport was echoed in the optimism of contemporary Russian commentators, who argued that Russia Abroad had found its due place in French intellectual and literary life.⁷² More impartial testimony was furnished by the editorial policies of *Le Mois*, a review of international life launched in 1931 that employed Russian émigrés in a variety of roles. The polyglot Grigorii Lozinskii oversaw the translation and analysis of materials on foreign politics; Iakov Iudelevskii did the same for the science section.⁷³ The coverage of foreign letters, also contingent on linguistic versatility, was entrusted to Konstantin Mochul'skii, Gleb Struve, and Vladimir Veidle. Besides these regulars, *Le Mois* recruited many occasional émigré contributors, effectively taking over the role once played by *Le Mercure de France* as a stepping stone into the French field of cultural production.⁷⁴ This important chapter in the history of émigré francophone activity helps us understand the specific position of Russian exiles in this field. *Le Mois* drew liberally on the expertise of émigré littérateurs in part because of their readiness to accept smaller honoraria than their French colleagues. And since, until 1936, the journal's policy was to publish most of its authors anonymously, few contemporaries knew that *Le Mois* owed its quick success with the French reader to a group of underpaid foreigners.⁷⁵

The upsurge in émigré francophone publishing in the early 1930s ran parallel to an increase in personal contacts between the émigré cultural elite and its French counterpart. But this interaction differed from the face-to-face contacts of the previous decade. Now, the second cohort of the émigré intelligentsia was the driving force behind the establishment of ties to French intellectual and literary circles. Younger exiles cast their net much wider than their elders, reaching out to the French movement of Catholic Renewal which united several generations of ideologically heterogeneous littérateurs in search of spiritual and political alternatives to modern Europe's positivist civilization.

The Catholic establishment in France was keenly interested in Russia Abroad thanks to a shared anti-Soviet ethos and its hopes for church unity in light of the post-1917 crisis in the Russian Church. But the groups and personalities linked to the Catholic Renewal – from Jacques Maritain, Charles Du Bos, François Mauriac, and Gabriel Marcel to Emmanuel Mounier's "Social Christianity" circle, to the nebula of young "nonconformists" inspired by the thought of Charles Péguy and Charles Maurras – were an alternative to the Catholic establishment by virtue of their spiritual iconoclasm and modernist sensibility. Maritain, himself married to a Russian, reached out to émigré artists and thinkers in the mid-1920s. By 1930, his house in Meudon had become a major venue for émigré-French intellectual exchanges, doubled by Gabriel

Marcel's salon in Paris.⁷⁶ Through Maritain's and Marcel's mediation, émigré authors took part in the lively culture of the religiously minded French intelligentsia, which integrated them into its debating circles, periodicals, and book series.⁷⁷ These included Je sers publishers; Louis Lavelle's and René Le Senne's series "Philosophie de l'esprit"; Maritain's series "Le Roseau d'Or" and "Les Îles"; Gabriel Marcel's series "Feux croisés"; Emmanuel Mounier's review *Esprit*; *Cahiers de la quinzaine*, revived by Charles Péguy's son, Marcel; Jean-Pierre Maxence's *Cahiers*; and Alexandre Marc's Club du moulin vert (The Green Mill Club).⁷⁸

This "Catholic connection" proved particularly conducive to the entry of younger exiles into the French field of cultural production. Maturing aesthetically and intellectually in the West, the second generation advocated the cross-fertilization of Russian art and thought with European modernism. In the ensuing quarrel between "ancients" and "moderns," which punctuated émigré artistic life in the late 1920s and early 1930s, this hybrid identity was attacked for straying from the Russian emigration's mission of cultural preservation.⁷⁹ Dismissing this argument – which looked particularly specious because older exiles had published much more in French than their younger colleagues – émigré "moderns" actively sought access to francophone publishing venues. And since many of them were employed as journalists in the French press, they were better placed to mediate the rapprochement of the émigré and French cultural elites than their elders a decade earlier.

Thus, from occasional events under the aegis of the modernist review *Chisla* (1930–34) to the monthly meetings of the Studio franco-russe (1929–31), younger exiles brought together in heated debates much larger numbers of Russian and French artists and intellectuals than similar meetings in the early 1920s, thereby contributing to the second spike in émigré francophone publishing. The legacy of the Studio franco-russe is a case in point.⁸⁰ The Studio was organized by poet and critic Vsevolod Fokht, who used his position as a journalist at *L'Intransigeant* to secure the financial and logistical support of French right-wing circles, particularly those associated with the Catholic Renewal. In the fall of 1929, the Studio launched regular émigré-French discussions on a wide range of literary and philosophical subjects. Exiled authors of both generations, many previously unpublished in French, met with publishers eager to bring to the French reader the literary fiction, art criticism, philosophy, and journalism of Russian émigrés as an aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual alternative to Soviet culture.⁸¹

The Studio replicated the general dynamics of émigré francophone activity in the early 1930s. Conceived as a forum for free opinion, it quickly became politicized. During the debates the émigré organizers openly sided with right-wing French artists and intellectuals (especially with the large Catholic contingent) against the sympathizers of the Soviet experiment. By the end of its first season, in the spring of 1930, the Studio lost its left-wing participants, becoming a bastion of religiously informed anti-Soviet thought.⁸² Thus, the cessation of

the Studio's activities in 1932 had as much to do with the realization that the enterprise had outlived its purpose as with the first portents of French economic troubles. Indeed, in the Studio's second season, cultural differences between Russian and French participants were overshadowed by their ideological and philosophical affinities, whose exposition did not require a separate venue, given the integration of the Studio's most active émigré members (N. Berdiaev, G. Fedotov, V. Fokht, N. Gorodetskaia, Iu. Sazonova, V. Veidle, B. Vysheslavtsev, K. Zaitsev) into French artistic and intellectual circles.



In the summer of 1932, French editors and publishers finally felt the pinch of the world economic crisis. In the next two years, many periodicals and smaller publishing houses were forced to close or to adopt a policy of austerity whose first victims were creative writers in general and translated writers in particular.⁸³ In these hard economic times, Iakov Shifrin's *Pléiade* could no longer survive as an enterprise heavily invested in the translation of foreign authors. And despite its recent success, Shifrin had trouble finding a taker until André Gide and Jean Schlumberger cajoled the reluctant Gallimard into absorbing the series in 1933 (in which form it exists today) and leaving its editorial control to Shifrin.⁸⁴ The year 1933 also saw a sharp drop in the number of Russian books by émigré authors, no doubt for the same economic reasons.⁸⁵ But the true watershed in émigré francophone activity came in 1934, when *Russia Abroad* ran into the perfect storm created by the confluence of France's economic and political crises.

Throughout the interwar period, the French intelligentsia's vision of the international situation, as well as the public discourse about the country's foreign policy, focused on three themes directly related to internal politics – Russia, Germany, and France's Western allies. The Soviet experiment was, by far, the dominant and most polarizing issue for French cultural and political elites from the mid-1920s until Hitler's rise to power in 1933. The Nazi revolution dethroned Russian politics and culture from their privileged place in the French vision of postwar Europe.⁸⁶ The importance of *Russia Abroad* as a journalistic subject suffered accordingly, as shown by a drop in the number of reviews devoted to books by émigré authors and by the relative paucity of attention to the Russian emigration in the French press after 1933.⁸⁷ The *coup de grâce* to the French reader's keen interest in things Russian came in early 1934 when right-wing groups staged a series of riots in Paris. Popular frustration with the worsening economic climate and government corruption, revealed by the Stavisky scandal, were transformed into a challenge to the parliamentary system. These riots and their violent repression were seen, on the Left, as France's slide toward fascism, and, on the Right, as the country's drift toward communism, initiating a dramatic ideological realignment in the French field of cultural production.

On the Left, communists and socialists put aside their mutual hostility for the sake of a "Pact of Unified Action" (27 July 1934), which evolved into the

electoral platform of the Popular Front. Several months earlier (5 March), French *littérateurs* closed ranks to form the broad-based “Vigilance Committee of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals” comprising Stalinists (e.g., Louis Aragon), Trotskyites (e.g., André Breton), Soviet fellow-travellers (e.g., Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Jean-Richard Bloch), and a medley of centrists and pacifists (Julien Benda, Paul Desjardins, André Gide, Roger Martin Du Gard, Jean Giono, etc.). Similar mobilization took place on the Right, drawing in not only established movements, like the *Action française*, but also formerly unaligned groups of artists and intellectuals, including those associated with the Catholic Renewal. Many of these groups drifted toward quasi-fascist and antisemitic ultra-nationalism.⁸⁸ These developments were mirrored in the political polarization of the French press. Newspapers, general interest reviews, and even literary journals were becoming the mouthpieces of ideological causes – a trend that peaked in 1935–36, during the electoral campaign and victory of the Popular Front.⁸⁹

For the Russian *émigré* intelligentsia, the new ideological situation brought the threat of marginalization in French intellectual and literary life. A case in point is Ivan Bunin’s Nobel prize for literature; the intense press coverage in the fall of 1933 dried up in early 1934. Similarly, Bunin’s translations into French, which received a boost immediately following the award’s announcement, were little in demand in 1934, an uncharacteristic response to a current Nobel prize winner. We find an explanation in the response to Bunin’s triumph in French literary circles. In December 1933, the Paris branch of the International Pen Club, chaired by Bunin’s acquaintance Benjamin Crémieux, decided to hold a banquet in the laureate’s honour on 20 March. Two days before the date, the banquet was cancelled, officially because of Bunin’s illness but actually due to the insultingly low number of acceptances from those invited. As Crémieux wrote in his apology to Bunin, the events intervening between the banquet’s initial conception and its projected date refocused the attention of writers from literary matters to internal politics.⁹⁰

This explanation may have been true, but it was not complete: the turnout might have been better had the laureate been a Soviet writer, given the current ideological evolution of left-leaning French *littérateurs*. Even Lev Shestov’s self-proclaimed admirer André Malraux did an about-face. In the early 1930s, Malraux lobbied Gallimard to bring out Shestov’s book on Kierkegaard; but, in 1934, he used his editorial position at Gallimard to kill that same publishing project in its final stages.⁹¹ The reason for Malraux’s change of heart lies in the changing times. In 1934 France’s elites adopted a pragmatic attitude toward the Soviet Union as an ally against Nazism, an attitude which had an adverse effect on the standing of Russia Abroad in the French field of cultural production. This view was not limited to communists or fellow-travellers. (Symptomatically, in 1934, French travelogues about the USSR grew fourfold). Anti-communists of all political shades accepted the logic of a necessary choice between two evils, deeming Stalin’s regime, no matter how odious, a less urgent threat than Hitler’s Germany – an attitude institutionalized by the French-Soviet treaty of mutual

assistance, signed by a right-wing French administration in 1935, a year before the electoral victory of the socialist-communist Popular Front coalition.⁹²

Communists and their fellow-travellers aside, those members of the French intelligentsia who saw Nazism as a more serious internal and external threat than Stalinism now engaged in a delicate balancing act. Harboring few illusions about the repressive nature of the Soviet state, they bowed to the notion that if one criticized communist theory and praxis, one poured water on the Nazi mill.⁹³ Comintern propaganda successfully equated anti-communism with fascism, a *coup de force* François Furet described as the “collective manipulation of anti-fascist intellectuals,” especially since “fascism” meant different things to different users. The French intelligentsia used it as a blanket term for all extreme-right ideologies, whereas the Comintern employed it in the Stalinist sense of any ideology inimical to Soviet interests. The taboo on anti-communist (read, anti-Soviet) discourse lasted in France until August 1939, but its enforcement grew more lax the farther along one moved to the centre and right of the political spectrum. Thus, after finishing his book on Stalin in mid-1934, the disabused communist Boris Souvarine spent a year looking for a publisher. When, finally, the right-wing Plon brought the book out (over Gabriel Marcel’s objections), the left-wing press flatly ignored it.⁹⁴

The émigré intelligentsia felt keenly the marginalizing potential of this ideological climate. The culminating event of the anti-fascist movement – the Comintern-orchestrated Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture (Paris, June 1935) – left no room for criticizing Stalinism and hosted Soviet writers without extending an invitation to Russian exiles. This intellectual climate is evident in Iakov Shifrin’s response (4 October 1936) to André Gide’s critique of Soviet cultural policies in *Retour de l’U.R.S.S.* (Return from the USSR):

You know how deeply I share your impressions from and reaction to what we saw on our trip [to the USSR]. But have you considered the grave implications of the terrible weight of your testimony *at this point in time*? You know how polarized people are. Few, if any, see shades of grey. The choice is between fascism and communism. To oppose one is to uphold another ... Your book might not only give a mighty weapon to the enemy but also push all the “lukewarm” into his arms. For, alas, today more than ever, the blind wretches cannot see beyond the two camps.⁹⁵



It would be a mistake, however, to equate the end of the second period of intensified émigré francophone activity to the retreat of Russia Abroad from French intellectual and literary life in 1925–28. In the earlier period the professional integration of émigré authors into their host culture was too recent not to be precarious. After all, the story of Shestov’s *Kierkegaard*, whose publication at Gallimard was sabotaged by Malraux, did have a happy ending. Mobilized by Boris Shletser, a group of critics and philosophers (Charles Du Bos, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Paul Desjardins, Jules de Gaultier, Jean Paulhan) raised funds to

bring out the book with Vrin publishers. Furthermore, the year 1937 saw Shestov's consecration in the French field of cultural production, when his lectures on Russian literature were incorporated in the state radio's cultural programming.⁹⁶ In general, the "anti-fascist culture" of the mid-1930s did not provoke the same across-the-board disappearance of émigré authors from French journals and publishing houses as did the parlour bolshevism of the mid-1920s. Instead, émigré francophone activity underwent a significant correction.

Beginning in 1934, there was a noticeable decline in the rate of émigré publications in French. Exiled Russian scholars in the humanities and social sciences are the only exception to this rule; their professional activity was undisturbed by the economic and political crises ravaging the French field of cultural production.⁹⁷ Émigré creative writers, on the other hand, bore the brunt of current conditions, as shown by the relative scarcity of their translated works after 1934, by the growing sparseness of the coverage of émigré literary life in the French press, and by the failure of many in-progress publishing projects.⁹⁸ As the French interest in Russia took a back seat to Germany, those émigré creative writers who continued to publish in French did so by finding a niche market (for example, Remizov and Nabokov collaborated with modernist circles that deemed them aesthetically daring) or by capitalizing on special circumstances, such as Bunin's Nobel prize or Merezhkovskii's image in France as a living Russian classic.⁹⁹

French Catholic circles continued to be open to émigré authors – from creative writers and literary critics (N. Gorodetskaia, M. Slonim, V. Veidle) to philosophers and theologians (N. Berdiaev, S. Frank, L. Zander, V. Zen'kovskii, N. Zernov, M. Zzyzkin). In these cases, spiritual or intellectual consonance with a given French audience overrode economic considerations in editorial decision-making.¹⁰⁰ The attention of the Catholic intelligentsia to Russia Abroad only sharpened in response to the pro-Soviet colouring of the French anti-fascist movement. The emergence of this movement in early 1934 coincided, and this was hardly an accident, with the creation of the Dominican Center for Russian Studies in Paris, *Istina* (Truth), whose activities included gathering information about the Russian emigration and establishing ties to its cultural elite.¹⁰¹ Thus, in the period of 1934–40, the Catholic-affiliated and -inspired press became the main source of regular information about Russian émigré intellectual and cultural life in France.

Unlike creative writers, émigré journalists, publicists, and art critics retained their visibility in the French press, although their distribution across its political spectrum changed considerably. Émigré authors drifted toward centrist periodicals, on both sides of the Left-Right divide, since the mouthpieces of extreme political views shunned them for ideological reasons. The communist and fellow-traveller press treated the exiled intelligentsia as part and parcel of the fascist camp, whereas the journals of the extreme Right ignored them as foreigners. Thus, the émigré Mladorossy Party (Young

Russians), whose theory and praxis echoed those of the monarchist Action française movement and of such quasi-fascist weeklies as *Je suis partout* and *Gringoire*, propagated its ideas through its own French-language journals (*Russie* 1937 [1938, 1939] and *Bulletin d'information du Parti jeune-russe*), indirectly confirming the indifference of French royalists and ultra-nationalists to their Russian homologues. Last but not least, the French extreme Right now boycotted Russian-Jewish exiles.¹⁰² But the exiles were compensated by a welcome reception in the French-Jewish press. Indeed, the reliance of French-Jewish periodicals on the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia (L. Barats, N. Gurfinkel, I. Levin, S. Poliakov-Litovtsev, S. Pozner, G. Sliozberg, M. Vishniak) grew along with the political precariousness of Europe's Jewish communities.

Émigré francophone journalism was now concentrated in the fora of traditional conservatism (*Candide*, *La grande revue*, *Le Mercure de France*, *L'Ordre*, *La Revue de France*, *Revue bleue*), in Catholic-affiliated or -inspired reviews (*Dossiers de l'Action populaire*, *Esprit*, *Études*, *Irénikon*, *La Revue catholique des idées et des faits*, *Sept*, *Temps présent*), in the Jewish press (*Cahiers juifs*, *Le Journal juif*, *La Juste parole*, *Questions d'Israël*, *La Revue juive de Genève*, *L'Univers israélite*), and in the periodicals devoted to international politics and foreign cultures and often run by scholars rather than journalists (*Affaires étrangères*, *L'Année politique française et étrangère*, *L'Économiste français*, *L'Esprit international*, *Le Mois*). These publications largely eschewed the logic of the anti-fascist movement that equated the criticism of Stalinism to Nazism. As a result, they liberally tapped into the expertise of Russian émigrés in international politics and economics, with a stress on the Soviet Union, and in foreign literatures and cultures. And contrary to the situation of the mid-1920s, when only thorough professional integration could guarantee an émigré author's continued presence in the French press, established émigré journalists now competed with a number of fellow exiles just embarking on a francophone career after 1933, at a time that did not seem particularly propitious for such a professional move.¹⁰³

This phenomenon, however, looks incongruous only against the backdrop of émigré cultural mythology, which depicts Russia Abroad as an island in the sea of the pro-Soviet sentiment and concomitant anti-émigré animus nurtured by the French intelligentsia. But even if we set aside the hegemony of the right-wing press (moderate and extreme) in interwar France, which was skeptical of or hostile to the Soviet regime, and turn to the French Left, we must admit that the story of émigré-French interaction is more nuanced than memoirists would have us believe.¹⁰⁴ A case in point is the socialist press – the voice of the left-wing consensus underlying the anti-fascist movement and Léon Blum's Popular Front coalition.

When the organ of the Socialist Party, *Le Populaire*, moderated its criticism of Stalin's regime after 1934, the visibility of its émigré collaborators dropped noticeably. But the same cannot be said about their influence within the newspaper. Orest Rozenfeld, for example, only changed positions, moving from his

post as a foreign affairs critic to that of the daily's editor-in-chief, in which capacity he remained Léon Blum's close political adviser. In other words, even in the heyday of the socialist-communist rapprochement, the Popular Front's vision of the international situation was in many ways shaped by émigré Mensheviks, since Rozenfeld functioned as a bridge between exiled Russian socialists and their French colleagues. Not accidentally, Léon Blum was privy to Nikolai Berdiaev's writings on communism and discussed them with the philosopher.¹⁰⁵ It was also in the heyday of the "anti-fascist culture" that Boris Mirkin-Getsevich became a regular at another socialist daily, *L'Ère nouvelle*, where he avoided open criticism of Russian communism but chastised it nonetheless by treating international politics from the vantage point of a consummate democrat and a scholar of constitutional law. Yet another socialist organ, *La Lumière*, kept a lid on the explicit criticism of Stalin's regime but enlisted a number of Russian émigré contributors who furnished the kind of information about Soviet culture and society that intimated to the reader the odious nature of France's opportunistically chosen ally.¹⁰⁶

Testifying to the ongoing Russian émigré impact on the country's public opinion, French communists and fellow-travellers ratcheted up their journalistic assault on Russia Abroad.¹⁰⁷ While there is little doubt that this campaign to discredit the Russian emigration as a Nazi fifth column emanated from the Comintern at Moscow's behest, it is instructive to note its coincidence with the rise of "anti-fascist culture" in France. The well-informed émigré cultural elite posed a threat to Soviet propaganda. The left-leaning French intelligentsia's philo-Soviet obligation was tenuous, anchored in the chapbook image of the Soviet Union as a rampart of cultural freedom at the height of political terror in Stalin's fiefdom. Testimonies to Stalinism's stifling effect on culture and society, furnished by émigré authors and by Western pilgrims to the USSR, contributed to the steady stream of disillusioned French fellow-travellers.¹⁰⁸ Symptomatically, in the mid-1930s, such mainstays of the moderate Left as Gallimard, the *NRF*, and *Les Nouvelles littéraires* came to favour Russian émigrés over state-controlled Soviet writers.¹⁰⁹ Not without historical irony, the same milieu that once underwrote parlour bolshevism now turned to Russia Abroad, accepting de facto the view of the emigration as the carrier of free Russian art and thought.¹¹⁰

The story of André Gide's flirtation with communism provides a good illustration of the mediating role the Russian émigré intelligentsia could play in the ebb and flow of pro-Soviet illusions among the French cultural elite. Gide's infatuation and disappointment with the Soviet experiment were, at every stage, moderated by émigré opinion. His initial enthusiasm was tempered by Berdiaev's 1932 essay, "Vérité et mensonge du communisme" (Communism's Truth and Fiction), which they discussed in person.¹¹¹ Apprehensive about the fate of cultural freedom under communism – witness his help in publishing Slonim's unflattering anthology of Soviet literature (1935) – Gide took Iakov Shifrin along on his 1936 trip to the USSR.¹¹² He did so despite protests from his hosts, wary that the foreigner's impressions based on the carefully orchestrated

tour would be contaminated by the émigré.¹¹³ Their fears were justified. Suffice it to recall the opening phrase of Shifrin's letter apropos Gide's travelogue: "You know how deeply I share your impressions from and reaction to what we saw on our trip."¹¹⁴ Despite Shifrin's warning about the potential fallout from *Retour de l'U.R.S.S.*, Gide did not purge his relatively mild criticism of Stalinist culture, violating the left-wing taboo and shocking anti-fascist opinion. Yet, the travelogue failed to satisfy Russian émigré commentators, whose reading of the book informed Gide's follow-up to it, *Retouches à mon "Retour de l'U.R.S.S."* (Corrections to My "Return from the U.S.S.R.").¹¹⁵

It is, then, safe to assume that there is more to the story of Russian émigré contacts with the French artistic and intellectual Left than is manifest in print; the ideological climate of the mid-1930s forced some émigré authors to adopt a lower profile without making their opinion less influential. Whether we speak of Gide's informal ties to Russia Abroad, or of Léon Blum's accommodation of the pro-Soviet orthodoxy by making Orest Rozenfel'd less visible yet more powerful at *Le Populaire*, it was on the level of personal rapport, hidden from the public eye, that part of the émigré cultural elite's commerce with the left-wing French intelligentsia took place.

Consequently, French artists and intellectuals of all political convictions have always had access, in print or in person, to a culturally proficient, well-informed, and independent Russian source of news and analysis about Stalinism. This plain fact belies the common interpretation of the French anti-fascist movement's pro-Soviet bias as an idealistic mistake of naive Westerners fooled by the Potemkin village of Soviet propaganda.¹¹⁶ This interpretation obfuscates the cynical double standard of some protagonists of the "anti-fascist culture" in France and the intellectual conformism of others. The present bibliography proves beyond doubt that only by deliberately ignoring the forceful testimony of the exiled Russian intelligentsia could left-leaning French artists and intellectuals maintain their opportunistic vision of Stalin's regime as a rampart of peace and freedom.¹¹⁷



The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, a treaty of non-aggression signed in August 1939, was experienced by the Russian emigration as a vindication of its skepticism vis-à-vis the anti-fascist vision. The unravelling of the Soviet Union's positive image on the French Left removed, virtually overnight, the taboo on criticism of communist ideology and of its Soviet incarnation. The subsequent Soviet attacks on Poland and Finland further blurred the distinction between Hitler and Stalin in French opinion, stimulating demand for commentators who could authoritatively explain the motives and consequences of Soviet foreign policy. Émigré authors were perfectly placed to profit from this set of circumstances as acknowledged specialists in things Russian who were uncompromised by recent pro-Soviet illusions – a quality few left-wing, or even centrist, French intellectuals could boast at the time.

Thus, as early as the spring of 1939, we witness the third intensification of émigré francophone activity, which peaked after France's declaration of war on Germany and was, therefore, inscribed within the French intelligentsia's war effort.¹¹⁸ In this period, the main ideological factors adversely affecting the position of Russia Abroad in the French field of cultural production – communist propaganda and the pro-Soviet sentiment of the left-wing French intelligentsia – vanished in light of Soviet foreign policy. The Russian emigration found itself, essentially, back in the ideological climate of early-1920s France. As a corollary, the émigré intelligentsia finally triumphed in the battle for cultural authenticity it had been waging against its Soviet counterpart for over a decade.¹¹⁹

Unfettered by the ideological taboos of the mid-1930s, émigré authors now capitalized on the new-found demand for their expertise, substantially increasing their visibility in the press. *La Tribune des nations*, a weekly covering international politics, went from no regular émigré contributors before 1939 to four (A. Gulevich, P. Miliukov, B. Mirkin-Getsevich, V. Nikitin). The same renewed attention of the French intelligentsia was echoed in the appearance of new venues for face-to-face contacts between the émigré and French cultural elites. A case in point was Il'ia Fondaminskii's Parisian salon, which took a sharp turn toward Russian-French intellectual commerce in the fall of 1939.¹²⁰

The new political situation made the ideological orientations of French periodicals secondary to the urgent need for reconceptualizing the Soviet regime and its international role. Thus, a radical-socialist daily, *La République*, which had not previously published émigré authors, opened its pages to Vladimir Drabovich, whereas its ideological nemesis, *L'Ordre*, welcomed Boris Mirkin-Getsevich, despite the publicist's track record of writing for the socialist press. The French far Right finally warmed up to the émigré intelligentsia in which it now saw France's ally against both Stalin and Hitler.¹²¹ Thus, L. Liubimov reappeared in the newly radicalized, quasi-fascist *Je suis partout* after a five-year hiatus, while a coalition of extreme right-wingers sponsored Arsenii Gulevich's Société des amis de la Russie nationale (The Friends of National Russia), complete with its own francophone periodical and book publishing.¹²² And, as if in response to this long-delayed fusion of the French and Russian extreme Right, émigré poet Dovid Knut launched, in early 1939, his francophone weekly *Affirmation*, conceived as a Zionist forum for combating antisemitism.

The increased visibility of Russia Abroad in the period of the “funny war” (*drôle de guerre*) was largely due to the intensified involvement of émigré journalists and publicists in the French press: their commentary on Soviet affairs, international politics, the balance of military forces, and, last but not least, the wave of antisemitism sweeping across Europe overshadowed such formerly prominent aspects of émigré francophone activity as literary fiction, memoirs, philosophical essays, and art criticism. Only the writings of Zinaida Shakhovskaia and Ivan Lukash provided the French reader with new Russian émigré literature. Their francophone breakthrough was all the more unusual when even such an extensively translated émigré novelist as Mark Aldanov was

now devoting himself to political journalism. Largely reflecting this thematic orientation, as well as the conditions of a war-time economy, the press overshadowed book publishing as the dominant forum in the third and final period of intensified émigré francophone activity, cut short by the French military debacle of May-June 1940.



This overview has aimed to identify and describe the general patterns of Russian émigré participation in French intellectual and literary life between the two world wars, as well as the main forces shaping the position of Russian exiles in the French field of cultural production. What lies ahead for the students of European art and thought is the investigation of the effects this sustained and large-scale commerce between the Russian and French cultural elites may have had on specific authors or groups of authors – an investigation that requires the rereading of many forgotten texts and the exploration of hitherto ignored archival collections pertaining to the individuals involved in émigré-French interaction and to French journals and publishing houses with Russian émigré collaborators.

The following bibliography lays the factual foundations for and facilitates a variety of comparative inquiries into the aesthetic and intellectual trajectories of Russian and French writers, critics, philosophers, theologians, scholars, and politicians. It allows us to scrutinize, simultaneously, the place of French critical opinion and specific trends in French art and thought in the aesthetic and intellectual evolution of Russian émigré writers, and the impact of Russian exiles on their host culture, which becomes all too obvious by the mid-1930s when French commentators begin to wonder about the long-term ramifications of the Russian emigration's presence in their country's literary and intellectual life.¹²³ The uses of the bibliographical information compiled in this volume are not limited to art and philosophy; they encourage investigations in a variety of domains – from the history of European political thought, for example, to that of international and constitutional law, and from Christian theology to Jewish studies. Together, these inquiries into the intellectual and aesthetic cross-fertilization of the Russian and French intelligentsias, unprecedented in modern European history in its scope and intensity, have the potential of modifying the commonly accepted vision of Russian, French, and larger European cultural and intellectual life in the twentieth century.

NOTES

- 1 With the exception of M. Aldanov, these are writers whose artistic renown long predated their expatriation: K. Bal'mont, I. Bunin, Z. Gippius, G. Grebenshchikov, A. Kuprin, D. Merezhkovskii, A. Remizov, I. Shmelev, etc.
- 2 See Livak, "Geroicheskie vremena," 160–8; Livak, "Histoire de la littérature russe en exil: la 'période héroïque' de la jeune poésie russe à Paris," *Revue des études slaves* 73, no. 1 (2001): 133–50. Annick Morard, *De l'Émigré au déraciné: une génération*

- d'écrivains russes à la lumière du modernisme français (1920-40)*. Dissertation, Université de Genève (2009), 20–117.
- 3 These are P. Aksel'rod, N. Avksent'ev, V. Burtsev, F. Dan, A. Kerenskii, Iu. Martov, V. Rudnev, B. Savinkov, E. Semenov, M. Vishniak, etc.
 - 4 See Gippius's letter to Vera Bunina (4 May 1933), in Temira Pakhmus, ed., *Stranitsy iz proshlogo* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 180.
 - 5 For a political and sociological overview of the French press, see Christophe Charle, *Le Siècle de la presse, 1830–1939* (Paris: Seuil, 2004). Olivier Corpet, "La Revue," in Jean-François Sirinelli, ed., *Histoire des droites en France*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 2: 169–209, at 174–8. Christian Delporte, *Les Journalistes en France, 1880–1950* (Paris: Seuil, 1999). Raymond Manevy, *La Presse de la III^e République* (Paris: J. Foret, 1955).
 - 6 Waleffe, "Russophilie," 2. See a selective list of francophone public events involving émigré writers and intellectuals in Lev Mnukhin et al., *L'Émigration russe: chronique de la vie scientifique, culturelle et sociale, 1920–1940*, 4 vols (Paris: YMCA, 1995–97). See also Livak, "L'Émigration russe et les élites culturelles françaises, 1920–1925. Les débuts d'une collaboration," *Cahiers du monde russe* 48, no. 1 (2007): 23–43, at 31–2.
 - 7 Temira Pakhmus, "Zinaida Gippius: Istoriia emigrantskoi intelligentsii," *Russian Language Journal*, 26, nos 94–95, 1972: 3–19, at 3.
 - 8 Jean Guéhénno, "Le Goût des livres étrangers," *La grande revue* 113, no. 1 (1924): 510–12, at 511. See also Dominique Braga, "Les dernières traductions," *L'Europe nouvelle* 1 (6 January 1923): 19; Dominique Braga, "Littérature européenne," *Le Crapouillot* (16 July 1923): 8. Edmond Jaloux, "Sur les Traductions," *Les Nouvelles littéraires* 29 (5 May 1923): 2. André Pierre, "Traductions françaises d'écrivains russes modernes," *L'Europe nouvelle* 29 (22 July 1922): 919.
 - 9 Dominique Braga, "Littérature russe," *L'Europe nouvelle* 31 (5 August 1922): 976. See also Shestov's remarks about the interest of French intellectuals in things Russian, in his letter to Max Eitington, 7 September 1923 (Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 263).
 - 10 Manevy, *La Presse de la III^e République*, 156.
 - 11 "La France reconnaît le gouvernement Wrangel," *Le Petit Parisien* 15871 (12 August 1920): 1. "Wrangel reconnaît les dettes russes," *Journal d'Alsace* 235 (31 August 1920): 1.
 - 12 Nicolas Brian-Chaninov, *La Tragédie moscovite* (Paris: Spès, 1925).
 - 13 Claude Anet, *Ariane* (1921), Jean Vignaud, *Niky* (1922), Paul Morand, *Ouvert la nuit* ("La Nuit turque," 1922), Etienne Burnet, *Loin des icônes* (1923), Georges Imann, *L'Enjoué* (1923), Francis Carco, "Vérotchka l'étrangère" (1923), Serge de Chessin, *Les Épaves blanches* (1924), etc. See also Schor, *L'Opinion française*, 153–6. On Russian reactions to this phenomenon, see Reznikova, *Ognennaia pamiat'*, 89–90.
 - 14 See Appendix C: Russian Emigration in the French Press, in the present bibliography.
 - 15 Schor, *L'Opinion française*, 341–4. A testimony to this interest is to be found in the Russian collection of the Jesuits housed in the library of Lyon's École normale supérieure.
 - 16 M.C. Jacquemaire, "Littérature russe," *L'Écho national* 538 (1 July 1923): 2.
 - 17 See I. Shmelev's letters to M. Khandamirov (22 February, 20 April, 20 August 1924; 26 February, 31 March, 1 August, 18 December 1925) in G. Jaugelis, "Korrespondentsiia russkikh pisatelei s Lundsскими slavistami," *Slavica Lundensia* 2 (1974): 42–79. Z. Gippius's letter to I. Bunin (7 July 1921), in Pakhmus, *Stranitsy*, 85.
 - 18 L. Blumenfeld, "Ivan Bounine," *Les Hommes du jour* 74 (19 August 1922): 14. See also Edmond Jaloux, "L'Année littéraire étrangère," *L'Éclair* 12362 (7 January 1923): 2. André Mazon, "Publications," *Revue des études slaves* 3, nos 1–2 (1923): 141–4, at 143;

- André Mazon, "Publications," *Revue des études slaves* 7, nos 3–4 (1927): 275–81, at 280. See Gippius's complaints that the translation of her book is taking too long because her translator, Paul de Chèvremont, is too style-conscious (letters to V. Zlobin [25 February and 1 December 1922], in Pakhmus, *Stranitsy*, 318–20).
- 19 Letters to V. Zlobin (1 December, 4 December 1922), in Pakhmus, *Stranitsy*, 320–3.
- 20 See her letters to V. Zlobin (18 February and 5 November 1922) and to V. Bunina (4 May 1933), in Pakhmus, *Stranitsy*, 179–80, 311, 315.
- 21 "Nos projets pour 1923," *La Revue de Genève* 6, no. 31 (January 1923): 123–4, at 123. "Le Diner de la Revue de Genève," *La Revue de Genève* 9, no. 47 (April 1924): 526–27. Before 1925, it indeed published Aleksinskii, Bal'mont, Bunin, Kuprin, Merezhkovskii, Miliukov, and Remizov.
- 22 See Shletser's letters to Paul Boyer (4 October 1923), N.A.Fr. 18862 ff 218–19, Bibliothèque nationale de France; and Charles Du Bos (1 May 1922; 26 May and 8 July 1923), Ms 26685, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet (Doucet hereafter). See also Charles Du Bos, *Journal 1921–1923* (Paris: Corrêa, 1946), 315–16. Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 220, 234.
- 23 See the following correspondence: B. Shletser to Ch. Du Bos (25 July 1922; 31 January, 8 July, 19 August 1923), Ms 26685, Doucet. L. Shestov to the Lovtskiis (12 February, 15 March, 22 March 1922; 29 August and 31 August 1923) and to his wife (3 August 1923); Ch. Du Bos and Jules de Gaultier to Shestov (21 May, 24 July, 22 November 1923), in Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 230–5, 260–2. On Pontigny's role in émigré-French contacts, see Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 253–4.
- 24 See Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 256. Shestov's letter to Max Eitington (9 November 1923), in Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 300. Reznikova, *Ognennaia pamiat'*, 88, 125.
- 25 See letters by Benjamin Crémieux (20 March 1922), Paul Desjardins (11 August 1922), André Gide (13 July, 9 August, 22 August 1922), Roger Martin du Gard (20 November 1933), and Jacques Rivière (28 September 1922), to Ivan Bunin, Ms 1066/2166, Ms 1066/2209, Ms 1066/ 2771–3, Ms 1066/3804, Ms 1066/4769, Leeds Russian Archive, Leeds University (Leeds hereafter). Bunin's letters to Gide (13 and 18 August 1922), Ms Y 99–1, Doucet. François Chaubert, *Paul Desjardins et les décades de Pontigny* (Paris: Septentrion, 2000), 111.
- 26 See Bunin's undated letter to Edmond Jaloux, Ms 6817000, Doucet.
- 27 Consider Marina Tsvetaeva's failure to convince editors of the quality of her translations of Pushkin's poetry. See her letter to André Gide (1937), in E. Etkind, V. Lossky, eds, *Marina Tsvetaeva: pesn' zhizni* (Paris: YMCA, 1996), 384. V. Veidle, "Iz knigi 'O poetakh i poezii,'" in L. Mnukhin, L. Turchinskii, eds, *Marina Tsvetaeva v vospominaniakh sovremennikov: gody emigratsii* (Moscow: Agraf, 2002), 264–7, at 266. See also L. Mnukhin's annotations to M. Tsvetaeva, V. Rudnev, *Nadeius' – sgovorimsia legko* (Moscow: Vagrius, 2005), 188.
- 28 Vasilii Ianovskii, *Polia Eliseiskie* (New York: Serebrianyi vek, 1983), 18, 200. See also Z. Shakhovskai's role as a literary agent, mentioned in her *V poiskakh Nabokova* (Moscow: Kniga, 1991), 126–7; and in V. Ianovskii's letter (15 November 1934), Zinaida Schakovskoy Papers, Box 1, Folder 26, Amherst Center for Russian Culture (Amherst hereafter).
- 29 Boutchik, *La Littérature russe en France*, 35.
- 30 On I. Gal'perin-Kaminskii, see "Le Théâtre en Russie," *Comoedia* 4274 (4 September 1924): 1. On L. Savitskaia, see "Pis'ma Konstantina Bal'monta Liudasa Gire (1928–1931)," *Baltiiskii arkhiv* 5 (1999): 107–64, at 131–2. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, 47. Fitch, *Sylvia Beach*, 61–2. On J.-W. Bienstock, see "Wladimir Bienstock." *Paris-soir* 525 (13 March 1925), 1, and the obituaries in *Le Mercure de France* 243, no. 835 (1 April 1933): 244–5, *Comoedia* 7340 (15 March 1933): 3, *Le Figaro* 74 (15 March 1933): 5. On N. Brian-Chaninov, see "Les Livres d'histoire,"

- La Revue de Paris* 4 (15 July 1929): 448–51. P. Hanski, “Les Inquiétudes intellectuelles et religieuses chez les émigrés russes,” *Études* 171 (5 May 1922): 318–22. On E. Semenov, see his papers in the Boris Nikolaevskii Collection, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (Hoover hereafter): letters to Nikolaevskii (1938–39, 1941), Box 241, Folders 1 and 6; “Vospominaniia o Lve Tikhomirove,” Folder 2; “Civil War in the North,” Folder 9.
- 31 Elena Izvol'skaia, *Light before Dusk* (New York: Longmans, 1942), 3. “Marc Séménoff,” *Paris-soir* 878 (2 March 1926): 1. “Maurice Parijanine,” *Le Mercure de France*, 280, no. 947 (1 December 1937): 435–7. On H. Mongault, see André Mazon, “Nécrologie,” *Revue des études slaves* 22, nos 1–4 (1946): 303–4.
- 32 See Gide's demurring response (11 September 1941) to Bunin's complaints about Mark Slonim's translation of Bunin's *La Délivrance de Tolstoï* (1939), Ms 1066/2776, Leeds.
- 33 As late as 1925, I. Shmelev informed M. Khandamirov (23 April), “[*The Sun of the Dead*] has not yet come out in book form because Henri Mongault is dragging out its translation after making me decline the offers of two other translators” (Jaugelis, “Korrespondentsiia,” 68). See also K. Bal'mont's letters (11 June, 14 July, 2 December 1923) in “Pis'ma K.D. Bal'monta k Dagmar Shakhovskoi,” *Zvezda* 9 (1997): 151–77, at 157–63.
- 34 See Burtsev, “Union,” Boris Nikolaevsky Collection, Box 148, Folder 13, Hoover.
- 35 These are G. Aleksinskii, V. Burtsev, A. Dikgof-Derental', V. Drabovich, B. Savinkov, V. Viktorov-Toporov. The periodicals concerned are *L'Avenir*, *Correspondance universelle*, *L'Echo de Paris*, *L'Éclair*, *L'Entente*, *La France libre*, *Journal des débats*, *Le Matin*, *Le Radical*, *Les Pages modernes*, *La Victoire*. See Burtsev's reports in Boris Nikolaevsky Collection (Hoover): “Otchet o deiateľ'nosti Bureau de presse russe ‘Union,’” Box 148, Folder 13; “Ob izdanii ‘Obshchego dela’ i ‘La Cause Commune,’” Box 151, Folder 41. See also “Russes et Polonais,” *La Croix*, 11418 (3 June 1920): 1.
- 36 See Charle, *Le Siècle de la presse*, 304.
- 37 Livak, “L'Émigration russe et les élites culturelles françaises,” 29–36. See accounts of the French Section's activities in Fonds du Comité de secours aux écrivains et aux savants russes en France, F delta rés. 832, Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine, Nanterre.
- 38 See, for example, the letters sent to Edmond Jaloux by K. Bal'mont (5 March 1923), I. Bunin (27 July 1923), A. Kuprin (23 November 1923), D. Merezhkovskii (December 1922), and A. Remizov (5 November 1936), MS 6781, MS 6816α, MS 6850, MS 6854, MS 68652, Doucet. See also V. Nabokov's estimate that A. Levinson's laudatory essay “was of great help” in securing the French publication of *Zashchita Luzhina* (The Defense, 1930): A. Dolinin, E. Belodubrovskii, “Pis'ma V.V. Nabokova k G.P. Struve,” *Zvezda* 11 (2003):115–50, at 130.
- 39 On the failed project and Les Amis des lettres russes, see Livak, “L'Émigration russe et les élites culturelles françaises,” 33–9; Livak, “Rannii period russkoi emigratsii,” 416–51.
- 40 See Livak, “L'Émigration russe et les élites culturelles françaises,” 39–41. André Gide, Jacques Schiffrin, *Correspondance* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 7–9.
- 41 See Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 254, 351–8.
- 42 “Informations littéraires,” *L'Europe nouvelle* 354 (29 November 1924): 1599.
- 43 Pakhmus, “Zinaida Gippius: Istoriia,” 3. Reznikova, *Ognennaia pamiat'*, 89.
- 44 As per the bibliographical data in Alekseev's *Literatura russkogo zarubezh'ia*.
- 45 “Légion d'honneur. – La Croix de M. André Levinson,” *Comoedia* 5493 (21 January 1928): 1. Baranova, *Zhizn'* 1: 333–6.
- 46 This image was further stimulated by the confusion of Russians and Ukrainians during the 1927 trial of Samuil Shvartsbard for the assassination of the exiled

- Ukrainian leader Simon Petliura, which drew public attention to the pogroms committed by anti-Soviet forces during the civil war. See Appendix C: Russian Emigration in the French Press.
- 47 Joseph Kessel, “La nouvelle littérature russe,” *La Revue de Paris* 5 (15 September 1925): 310.
- 48 Claude Barjac, “A Travers tout l’imprimé,” *La Grande revue* 130, no. 10 (October 1929): 697. Boris Shletser, “Lettres russes,” *La Revue européenne* 4, no. 23 (1 January 1925): 70. Philippe Soupault, “Vogue des traductions,” *L’Intransigeant* 18322 (19 December 1929): 4. See also Ernest Gaubert, “Une année de traductions,” *Le Quotidien* 3247 (5 January 1932): 4. “Sur l’Invasion du roman étranger,” *Balzac* 20 (15 October 1933): 4.
- 49 That Shletser was under pressure is clear from the role of Brice Parain, a member of the first French diplomatic mission to the USSR, in the selection of authors for the series. Parain insisted on the inclusion of I. Erenburg, Vs. Ivanov, K. Fedin, B. Pil’niak, M. Sholokhov, and N. Tikhonov (Pierre Assouline, *Gaston Gallimard* [Paris: Baland, 1984], 123–4).
- 50 Sophie Levie, *Commerce. 1924–1932* (Rome: Fondazione Camillo Caetani, 1989), 24, 199. See also Dmitrii Mirskii, “Kriticheskie zametki,” *Versty* 3 (1928): 155–60, at 160.
- 51 Zinaida Gippius and Dmitry Merezhkovsky Papers, Series 2, Box 4, Folder 3, Amherst.
- 52 See Il’ia Erenburg, “La Littérature russe après la révolution,” *Les Nouvelles littéraires* 169 (9 January 1926): 6. Vladimir Pozner, *Panorama de la littérature russe contemporaine* (Paris: Kra, 1929), 356–7. Vladimir Pozner and Il’ia Zdanovich, “Septième réunion. 29 avril 1930. Les Débats,” in Leonid Livak, Gervaise Tassis, eds, *Le Studio franco-russe, 1929–1931* (Toronto: Toronto Slavic Library, 2005), 231–50, at 232–3, 243–4. See also Livak, *How It Was Done in Paris*, 33, 38.
- 53 Bunin did not publish in *La nouvelle revue française* because he did not want to “wait for his turn” in the backlog of the journal’s commitments to Russian authors. See Jacques Rivière’s letter to Bunin (28 September 1922), Ms 1066/4769, Leeds.
- 54 André Pierre, “Connaissance de la Russie,” *La Quinzaine critique des livres* 3 (1929): 114. Guy Crouzet, “Carnet des jeunes lettres,” *La grande revue* 125, no. 2 (February 1928): 678–9.
- 55 “Maurice Parijanine,” 435–7.
- 56 See Rolland’s letters to Bunin (3 January, 10 June 1922; 21 December 1923), Ms 1066/4780–2, Leeds. See also I. Bunin, K. Bal’mont, “Le Martyre des écrivains russes. Lettre à Romain Rolland,” *L’Avenir* 3592 (12 January 1928): 1. R. Rolland, “Réponse à Constantin Balmont et à Ivan Bounine,” *Europe* 16 (15 February 1928): 246–52.
- 57 G. Aleksinskii writes in *La grande revue*, F. Dan and O. Rozenfel’d in *Le Populaire*, V. Fokht and N. Gorodetskaia in *L’Intransigeant*, E. Izvol’skaia in *Le Correspondant*, V. Kokovtsov in *La Revue des deux mondes*, L. Liubimov in *Candide*, A. Pilenko in *L’Avenir*, E. Semenov in *Le Mercure de France* and *L’Ordre*, and V. Sukhomlin in *Le Quotidien*.
- 58 *L’Univers israélite* welcomed L. Barats, S. Pozner, G. Sliozberg, and N. Gurfinkel’. The latter also collaborated, along with M. Vishniak, in *Cahiers juifs* and in *Nouvelle revue juive*.
- 59 N. Arsenëv, S. Bulgakov, G. Fedotov, G. Florovskii, N. Losskii, G. Maklakov, B. Vysheslavtsev, L. Zander, and N. Zernov.
- 60 See Catherine Depretto, “Le Département d’études romanes et germaniques de l’université de Saint-Pétersbourg,” *Revue des études slaves* 126, no. 1 (2005): 75–86.
- 61 See Dzovinar Kévonian, “Les Juristes juifs russes en France et l’action internationale dans les années vingt,” *Archives juives* 34, no. 2 (2001): 72–94.

- 62 Iurii Fel'zen, "Parizhskie vstrechi russkikh i frantsuzskikh pisatelei," *Segodnia* 252 (12 September 1930): 5.
- 63 Pierre Audiat, "Seize mois de mariage avec l'U.R.S.S.," *L'Européen* 33 (27 November 1929): 4. "L'Expérience soviétique. – Elle a cessé d'être passionnante," *L'Indépendance belge* 105 (14 April 1932): 14. Noël Sabord, "U.R.S.S. ou le dilemme du voyage inutile," *Paris-midi* 2258 (6 June 1932): 1. See also Fred Kupferman, *Au Pays des Soviets. Le voyage français en Union soviétique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), 173–81.
- 64 See, for example, a series of letters in the daily *Avenir*: Bunin (3 November 1927), Chirikov (1 December 1927), Gippius (5 March 1928), Kuprin (27 December 1927), Lukash (1 December 1927), Shmelev (3 November 1927), B. Zaitsev (20 December 1927). For a detailed treatment of an exchange between émigrés and French intellectuals (the "Maiakovskii Affair"), see Livak, "Nina Berberova et la mythologie culturelle de l'émigration russe en France," 464–6.
- 65 Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 259.
- 66 On the political divisions in the French press, see Bellanger, *Histoire générale* 3: 461, Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Plon, 1958), 137, Delporte, *Les Journalistes*, 227, Michel Winock, *Le Siècle des intellectuels* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 333–4.
- 67 Francine du Plessix, *Them: A Memoir of Parents* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 123–4, 133.
- 68 Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 248, 258. See also Livak, *How It Was Done in Paris*, 34.
- 69 On O. Rozenfeld, see André Lieblich, *From the Other Shore: Russian Social Democracy after 1921* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1997), 224–5. See also Rozenfeld's correspondence with émigré socialists, in Boris Nikolaevski Collection, Series 53, Box 87, Folder 26, Hoover.
- 70 On the political leanings of French publishing houses, see Pascal Fouché, "L'Édition. 1914–1992," in Sirinelli, *Histoire des droites en France* 2: 258–70.
- 71 See Appendix C: Russian Emigration in the French Press.
- 72 G. Aleksinskii, "Les Russes hors de la Russie," *La grande revue* 131, no. 2 (1930): 601–632, at 616. P. Kovalevskii, *Les Études littéraires russes en France* (Paris: Rodstein, 1933), 9–11. See also I. Shmelev's letter to M. Khandamirov (July 1930), in Jaugelis, "Korrespondentsiia," 94.
- 73 See A. Vasilev, "Grigorii Leonidovich Lozinskii," *Novyi zhurnal* 4 (1943): 364–6. T. Viktorova, "Pis'ma K.V. Mochul'skogo k A.M. Remizovu," *Vestnik RKhD* 193 (2008): 212–19. V. Veidle's letter (21 March 1975) in Iurii Ivask Papers, Series 1, Box 6. Folder 64, Amherst. G. Lozinskii's correspondence related to his work at *Le Mois* is preserved by his daughter, Marina Gross-Lozinskaia (Munich).
- 74 Vladimir Veidle owed his entrance into Gabriel Marcel's circle to his essays in *Le Mois*. See G. Marcel's letter (5 December 1932), Collection Weidle, Box 1. Bakhmeteff Archive, The Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University (Bakhmeteff hereafter).
- 75 See Gleb Struve's testimony in Dolinin, Belodubrovskii, "Pis'ma," 145.
- 76 Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 248–50, 260–2. Izvol'skaia, *Light before Dusk*, 70, 85–6, 104. Svetlana Savenko, "Zhit' stanovitsia vse trudnee i trudnee ... ' Parizhskie gody Artura Lur'e," *Russkoe evreistvo v zarubezh'e* 4 (2002): 378–89, at 386.
- 77 The beneficiaries include G. Adamovich, N. Berberova, N. Berdiaev, S. Frank, N. Gorodetskaia, E. Izvol'skaia, G. Kuznetsova, A. Remizov, Iu. Sazonova, L. Shestov, V. Veidle, B. Zaitsev, etc.
- 78 Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle, *Les Non-conformistes des années trente* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 28–30, 39, 87–8. Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 242, 248, 260–3.
- 79 See Livak, *How It Was Done in Paris*, 38–44.
- 80 For its history and the transcripts of its meetings, see Livak and Tassis, *Le Studio franco-russe*.

- 81 These included journals (*Cahiers 1929–30*, *Cahiers de la quinzaine*, *France et monde*, *La Revue française*, *L'Intransigeant*) and publishers (Saint-Michel, Desclée De Brouwer).
- 82 A similar trend is manifest at other émigré-French encounters. Witness the tension around the soirée “André Gide and the USSR,” organized by *Chisla* (see G. Adamovich’s letter to A. Gide [24 March 1933], Y. 868.1, Doucet); or the opinion of *L’Humanité’s* editor P. Vaillant-Couturier that émigrés “ruined” another 1933 meeting devoted to Gide’s conversion to communism (see M. Slonim’s letters [29 March, 20 April 1972] to G. Struve, in Gleb Struve Collection, Box 137, Folder 1, Hoover).
- 83 Pascal Fouché, “L’Édition littéraire, 1914–1950,” in H.-J. Martin et al., eds, *Histoire de l’édition française*, 4 vols (Paris: Promodis, 1986), 4: 189–241, at 220. Loubet del Bayle, *Les Non-conformistes*, 14, 19. Weber, *L’Action française*, 343.
- 84 See Gide’s diary (16 March 1943), in *Journal 1939–1949* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 212.
- 85 As per the bibliographic data in Alekseev’s *Literatura russkogo zarubezh’ia*.
- 86 Raymond Aron, *Le Spectateur engagé* (Paris: Fallois, 2004), 42.
- 87 See Appendix C: Russian Emigration in the French Press. See also Shmuel Bunim, “Russes et Juifs russes dans les colonnes du *Parizer Haynt*,” in W. Moskovich et al., eds, *Evrei Rossii – immigranty Frantsii* (Jerusalem: Gesharim, 2000), 152–71, at 167.
- 88 Jean-Jacques Becker, “Les Origines du Front populaire,” in Michel Winock, ed., *Les Années trente* (Paris: Seuil, 1990), 86–91, at 91. Winock, *Le Siècle des intellectuels*, 149–50, 300–1.
- 89 Danielle Bonnaud-Lamotte et al., “1933, année normative?” in Anne Roche, Christian Tarting, eds, *Des Années trente: groupes et ruptures* (Paris: SNRS, 1985), 29–56, at 29–31. Charle, *Le Siècle de la presse*, 263. Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Je suis partout, 1930–1944* (Paris: La Table ronde, 1973), 111. Winock, *Le Siècle des intellectuels*, 340.
- 90 See Crémieux’s letters (28 February, 18 March 1934), Ms 1066/2167–8, Leeds.
- 91 Baranova, *Zhizn’* 1: 358–9, 2: 131–3. Benjamin Fondane, *Rencontres avec Léon Chestov* (Paris: Plasma, 1982), 71.
- 92 Becker, “Les Origines du Front populaire,” 89–90. Furet, *Le Passé d’une illusion*, 354. J.-N. Jeanneney, “La Solitude d’Henri de Kérillis,” in Winock, *Les Années trente*, 134–47, at 140–2. Kupferman, *Au Pays des Soviets*, 173–81.
- 93 This is true even for such a notorious fellow-traveller as André Malraux. See Raymond Aron, *Mémoires* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2003), 91.
- 94 Aron, *Le Spectateur engagé*, 47, 50. Furet, *Le Passé d’une illusion*, 377, 384, 453–69.
- 95 Gide, Schiffrin, *Correspondance*, 82–3.
- 96 Baranova, *Zhizn’* 2: 146–7, 167.
- 97 In fact, they became more active as they accumulated social and cultural capital in French academic circles. Witness the 1936 launch of P. Miliukov’s and A. Mikhef’son’s book series Bibliothèque d’études sur la Russie contemporaine, published by Marcel Giard.
- 98 These include Vladislav Khodasevich’s *Derzhavin* (1931), translated by Thérèse Monceaux; Gaito Gazdanov’s *Vecher u Kler* (An Evening at Claire’s, 1930); Vasilii Ianovskii’s and Iurii Fel’zen’s failed collaboration in Gabriel Marcel’s “Feux croisés” series at Plon (Ianovskii, *Polia Eliseiskie*, 277), which also reneged on its promise to bring out Viacheslav Ivanov’s 1932 book on Dostoevskii (A. Shishkin, “Frantsuzskaia literaturnaia kul’tura i russkaia emigratsiia: sluchai Viacheslava Ivanova,” in Jaccard, *Russkie pisateli v Parizhe*, 405–30, at 420–4). Nabokov’s *Priglasenie na kazn’* (Invitation to a Beheading, 1934) and Remizov’s *Podstrizhennymi glazami* (With Trimmed Eyes) were accepted by Gallimard before 1939 (Shakhovskaia, *V poiskakh Nabokova*, 27; Reznikova, *Ognennaia pamiat’*, 121). Petr Bitsilli’s book on the Italian Renaissance theatre was translated by Nina Gurfinkel’ for Léon Chancerel’s series

- “Bibliothèque de l’amateur de théâtre” (M. Birman, “N.L. Gurfinkel’ – perevodchik i izdatel’ trudov P.M. Bitsilli,” *Russkoe evreistvo v zarubezh’e* 5 [2003]: 33–40, at 35).
- 99 Characteristically, Ivan Bunin’s concurrent attempts to promote other émigré writers using his connections in French literary circles remained fruitless. See his letter to Edmond Jaloux on behalf of Boris Zaitsev (5 October 1933), MS 6817α, Doucet.
- 100 Jacques Maritian wrote to Vladimir Veidle (9 December 1937) about a manuscript that finally remained unpublished: “Stanislas Fumet sent me your study of the three Russias, which I have read with great interest ... I would like to publish it in ‘Les Îles.’ At this point, I cannot give absolute assurances because I may run into some financial objections (we have already given Russia a lot of attention). But I hope to overcome them, should they arise; I promise to do my best.” Collection Weidle, Box 1, Bakhmeteff. See also Veidle’s description of the French reception of his book *Les Abeilles d’Aristée* (1936) in a letter to Iu. Ivask (26 April 1972), Iurii Ivask Papers, Box 6, Folder 64, Amherst.
- 101 “Le Centre dominicain d’études russes ‘Istina,’” *Russie et chrétienté* 1, no. 1, Supplément (April 1934): 1–3. G. Goyau, “Pour l’Union des Églises. – Un centre russe à Paris,” *Le Soir* 28 (28 January 1937): 1.
- 102 At the time of its launch, in 1930, *Je suis partout* considered the Russian-Jewish critic Andrei Levinson for the position of its editor. By 1936, the radicalized journal became openly antisemitic (Dioudonnat, *Je suis partout*, 29, 253). Thus, in his 1941 memoirs, the journal’s editor, Robert Brasillach, berates Lev Shestov’s role in French intellectual life by citing his Jewish origins (*Notre avant-guerre* [Paris: Plon, 1958], 32).
- 103 The following veterans were especially active: G. Aleksinskii, N. Arsenëv, E. Izvol’skaia, A. Kerenskii, E. Semenov, G. Shkliaver, N. Zvorykin. The novices included P. Berlin, K. Elita-Vil’chkovskii, I. Levin, Iu. Mandel’shtam, A. Mishagin-Skrydlov, A. Saltykov.
- 104 Bellanger, *Histoire générale* 3: 485. Charle, *Le Siècle de la presse*, 252. J.-M. Charon, J.-L. Pouthier, “La Presse,” in Sirinelli, *Histoire des droites en France* 2: 154.
- 105 Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 258–9.
- 106 These are V. Chernov, O. Chernova-Kolbasina, G. Evangulov, M. Gofman, N. Gurfinkel’.
- 107 See the articles published in 1932–34 by *L’Humanité*, *Le Crapouillot*, *Lu*, *Monde*, and *Le Temps*. Appendix C: Russian Emigration in the French Press, “Political Life”.
- 108 Zinovii L’vovskii, “La Guerre littéraire en Russie soviétique,” *Le Mercure de France* 241, no. 831 (1 February 1933): 579–88. Boris Souvarine, “Misère de la littérature soviétique,” *Le Figaro* 121–2 (2 May 1937): 7–8. See also Furet, *Le Passé d’une illusion*, 478.
- 109 The émigré authors published by Gallimard in 1934–40 include N. Berdiaev, I. Bunin, M. Gofman, D. Merezhkovskii, V. Nabokov, B. Nikolaevskii, etc. In the same period, the *NRF* published, among others, V. Nabokov, A. Remizov, Iu. Sazonova, L. Shestov, V. Veidle.
- 110 See, for example, Henri de Montherlant, “Partageons la liberté,” *Candide* 668 (31 December 1936), 9; “Un appel des écrivains français,” *Candide* 668 (31 December 1936), 9.
- 111 Berdiaev, *Samopoznanie*, 257–8.
- 112 See M. Slonim’s letter (29 March 1972), in Gleb Struve Collection, Box 137, Folder 1, Hoover.
- 113 See the diary of Maria Van Rysselberghe (5 and 31 May 1936) in *Les Cahiers de la Petite Dame II. Cahiers André Gide* 5 (1974), 539, 541.
- 114 See also the diaries of Gide, 3 September 1936, *Journal, 1889–1939* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), 1252–3 and Van Rysselberghe, 23–26 September 1936, *Les Cahiers de la Petite Dame*, 558–60.

- 115 See his exchange with A. Kerenskii (15 December 1936; 19 February 1937), y. 1246.1–2, Doucet.
- 116 This view holds sway in the most lucid histories of the French Left, from François Furet's *Le Passé d'une illusion* to Christian Jelen's *L'Aveuglement* (Paris: Flammarion, 1984).
- 117 This attitude is epitomized by André Malraux, who boycotted Russian émigrés in social situations at this time (Izvol'skaia, *No Time to Grieve*, 177), and thwarted Gallimard's publication of Shestov's *Kierkegaard* after returning from the First Congress of Soviet Writers, where he had spoken about the importance of cultural freedom.
- 118 See, for example, the recommendations sent by Stanislas Fumet (6 October 1939), Frédéric Lefevre (22 September 1939), Gabriel Marcel (28 September 1939), Jacques Maritain (4 October 1939), Jean Paulhan (3 October 1939), and Paul Valéry (5 October 1939) to the Propaganda Office of the Commissariat général de l'information on Vladimir Veidle's behalf (Collection Weidle, Box 1, Bakhmeteff).
- 119 "Soyons équitables. – Il y a Russie et Russie," *Le petit bleu* (12 October 1939), 1. H. Lemery, "Il y a Russes et Russes," *Paris-soir* 5877 (20 October 1939), 2.
- 120 Ianovskii, *Polia Eliseiskie*, 64. Izvol'skaia, *Light before Dusk*, 160.
- 121 Berens, "L'Émigration russe," *La Flèche de Paris* 182 (11–18 August 1939): 7. "Chez les Russes de Paris," *Le Journal* 17115 (30 August 1939): 3. L. Léontin, "Les Volontaires de la liberté en péril au service de la France," *Vu et lu* 601 (20 September 1939): 1160. "Anticommunistes de toujours. – Réfugiés russes," *Le petit bleu* (23 January 1940): 1.
- 122 Henry Lemery, "Préface," in A. Gulevich, *L'Heure de la Russie nationale* (Paris: La Société des amis de la Russie Nationale, 1940), 7–8.
- 123 Léo Crozet, "France et Russie littéraires," *L'Européen* 274 (8 February 1935): 10.

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THE PRESENT BIBLIOGRAPHY follows the citation format currently in use by the Modern Language Association of America. However, a number of exceptions have been made in order to save space.

Frequently used terms are abbreviated as follows: Brussels (B.), Paris (P.), illustrations (ill.), interview (int.), introduction (intr.), no publisher (n. p.), pages (p.), plates (pl.), translation (tr.). Thus, Ivan Bunin's collection of stories in Maurice Parijanine's translation, brought out in Paris by Bossard in its series "Les textes intégraux de la littérature russe" is cited as

Le Monsieur de San-Francisco, tr. M. Parijanine. P.: Bossard, 1921. 250 p.
"Les textes intégraux de la littérature russe."

Vladimir Nabokov's novel, translated by Denis Roche and published, with Andrei Levinson's introduction, in Fayard's book series "Univers" is cited as

La Course du fou, tr. D. Roche, intr. A. Levinson. P.: Fayard, 1933. 320 p.
"Univers."

Periodical titles are given without the opening definite article (e.g., *L'Aube* appears as *Aube*; *Le Mois* as *Mois*), whereas long or frequently recurring titles are abbreviated. For a full reference, one needs to look up the name of a given periodical in Abbreviations (below) and then refer to Primary Sources at the end of the bibliography.

Where such information is available, the volume and number of a periodical are given in roman and arabic numerals respectively, separated by a colon; the date begins with the day (arabic numeral), followed by the month (roman numeral), and the year, separated by periods. If an article is the product of an interview, its title is followed by [int.], with the interviewer's name included, if available. For example, Mark Aldanov's article in *Le Monde slave* (volume 3, issue 12, December 1926) appears as

"Speranskij et les Décabristes." *MS*, III:12, XII.1926, 432-48.

Tat'iana Aleksinskaja's article in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (issue 209, July 30, 1922) appears as

"Un front 'antirusse' ou 'prorusse'?" *JdD*, 209, 30.VII.1922, 3.

Aleksandr Kerenskii's interview in *Excelsior* (issue 3517, July 29, 1920), appears as

"La Question russo-polonaise" [int. M. Pays]. *Exlr*, 3517, 29.VII.1920, 2.

The individuals writing about, interviewing, or translating the work of Russian émigrés are cited by their initials and surnames only. Their full names are given