

## HEALING BY MEMORY: THE CASE OF VYACHESLAV IVANOV<sup>1</sup>

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There are three main periods in the life of the prominent Russian symbolist poet Vyacheslav Ivanov (1866–1949<sup>2</sup>): before 1917, after 1917 until his emigration in 1924, and his subsequent emigration. During the first and second periods his positions were quite typical of his generation. He had gone through both a faith crisis and a period of atheism, which provoked a suicide attempt<sup>3</sup>. He was also influenced by popular revolutionary and democratic ideas that led him to write his *Paris epigrams* [*Парижские эпиграммы*]<sup>4</sup>. At the time of the first Russian revolution Ivanov was quite a radical man which is reflected in his cycle of poems *A Year of Wrath* [*Година гнева*]<sup>5</sup>, that was later included in the “*Cor ardens*” collection (1911–1912). In April 1917 he wrote a “*Hymn to New Russia*” [*Гимн Новой России*] which called for the liquidation of the Russian monarchy, this «dynastic dictatorship<sup>6</sup>». Soon thereafter he began to feel

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<sup>2</sup> For a selected bibliography about Ivanov see: Pamela Davidson, *Viacheslav Ivanov: a Reference Guide*, New York, G. K. Hall Company, 1996, 382 p.; Robert Bird, *The Russian Prospero: The Creative Universe of Viacheslav Ivanov*, Madison, WI, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006, 310 p.; Viacheslav Ivanov, *Selected Essays*, translated and with notes by Robert Bird, edited and with an introduction by Michael Wachtel, Evanston, IL, Northwestern University Press, 2001, 328 p.

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaj Kotrelev, “Ivanov”, in: *Pravoslavnaja ènciklopedija*, vol. 20, M., Pravoslavnaja ènciklopedija Publ., 2009, pp. 645–652.

<sup>4</sup> See: Sergej Docenko, «Rossija i Evropa v cikle Ivanova Parižskie èpigrammy» [Russia and Europe in Ivanov’s cycle «Paris epigrams»], in: *Velikaja Francuzskaja revolucija i puti russkogo osvoboditel’nogo dviženija. Tezisy dokladov naučnoj konferencii* [The great French revolution and the ways of the Russian liberation movement. Thesis of reports of the scientific conference], A.E. Malts (red.), Tartu, 1989, pp. 77–80.

<sup>5</sup> See: Inna Koreckaja, «Cikl stixotvorenij Ivanova *Godina gneva*», in: *Revolucija 1905–1907 godov i literatura* [The revolution of 1905–1907 and the literature], M., Nauka Publ., 1978, pp. 115–138.

<sup>6</sup> Vjačeslav Ivanov, «Revolucija i narodnoe samoopredelenie» [Revolution and the People’s Self-determination], in: Vjačeslav Ivanov, *Sobranie sočinenij: V 4 t.* [Collected works: In 4 vol.], D. Ivanov and O. Deschartes (red.), vol. 3, Bruxelles, Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1974, p. 359. Henceforth in the article the quotations from this edition (vol. 2, 1974; vol.

that a significant difference existed between the real course of events and his own historiosophical views. This evolution is reflected in his article «The Revolution and the Self-determination of Russia» [*Революция и самоопределение России*, 1917] as well as in the cycle of poems *The Songs of a Time of Troubles* [*Песни смутного времени*, 1917–1918]. This trend is also evident in Ivanov's participation in the anti-Bolshevik collection of articles *De Profundis* [*Из глубины*, 1918] edited by the noted economist and philosopher Peter Struve, in which Ivanov's article «Our language» [*Наш язык*] was published.

Even though he thought the Bolshevik coup to be a catastrophe, he chose to conscientiously cooperate with the Bolshevik authorities: he was one of the organizers and then directors of the Theatrical and Literary departments of the Soviet Ministry of Education in 1918–1920s. At the same time he attempted to leave the Soviet Russia – until he succeeded in 1924, when he settled in Italy for good. Living abroad he held a position that he would never publish his works in any emigre periodicals as he still had ties with Moscow and was officially a Soviet citizen until 1936. Perhaps, there were also other, ethical reasons: according to some sources he promised to People's Commissar Anatoly Lunacharsky not to engage in political activities while abroad.

All this is well known to any scholar of Ivanov's life and work<sup>7</sup>. At the same time there exists no comprehensive research dealing with the relationship between his attitude towards the revolution and his theory of memory. There are interesting works that treat these problems separately: Robert Bird's article on Ivanov and the Soviet power<sup>8</sup>, Irena and Omri Ronen wrote on memory and recollection in Ivanov's and Vladislav Khodasevich's poems<sup>9</sup>, Alexander Dobrokhotov<sup>10</sup> and Gennady

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3, 1979; vol. 4, 1987) are cited in square brackets, with the number of the volume and the page.

<sup>7</sup> Nikolaj Kotrelev, «Ivanov», in: *Russkie pisateli: 1800–1917: Biografičeskij slovar'* [Russian writers: 1800–1917: biographical dictionary], vol. 2, M., Bol'shaja rossijskaja ěnciklopedija Publ., 1992, pp. 372–377.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Bird, «Ivanov i sovjetskaja vlast'. Novye materialy» [Ivanov and the Soviet state power. New materials], in *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, M., 1999, no. 40, pp. 305–331; Robert Bird, «Ivanov i massovye prazdnestva sovjetskoj ěpoxi» [Ivanov and mass festivities of the early Soviet epoch], in *Russkaja literatura*, SPb., 2006, n<sup>o</sup>. 2, pp. 174–197.

<sup>9</sup> Irena Ronen, Omri Ronen, ««Pamjat'» i «vospominanie» u Vjačeslava Ivanova i Vladislava Xodaseviča» [«Memory» and «recollection» in Vyacheslav Ivanov and Vladislav Khodasevich], in: *Vjačeslav Ivanov: Issledovanija i materialy* [Vyacheslav Ivanov: Research and materials], K.Ju. Lappo-Danilevskij, A.B. Šiškin (red.), Sankt-Petersburg, Izd. Puškinskogo Doma, 2010, Iss. 1, pp. 133–142. Compare: Nina Segal (Rudnik), «Andrej Belyj i Fedor Stepun: pamjat' i vospominanie» [Andrej Belyj and Fedor Stepun: memory and recollection], in *Toronto Slavic Quarterly*, 2012, n<sup>o</sup> 42, pp. 75–152.

<sup>10</sup> Aleksandr Dobrokhotov, «Vyacheslav Ivanov – «apostol pamjatovanija»: Ob odnom očerke Ž. Niva» [Vyacheslav Ivanov – «Apostle of memory»: About an essay by Georges Nivat],

Obatnin<sup>11</sup> made some pertinent remarks in their contribution to the collection in honour of George Nivat's «A Window from Europe» (*Okno iz Evropy*), George Nivat's own «Vyacheslav Ivanov, A Russian European» (1993)<sup>12</sup> includes a vivid description of Ivanov as an «Apostle of memory» who saw in memory and language two main agents of culture.

Memory and recollection are not synonymous notions. Recollections lead the man into his past, they are linked to the world of passion and suffering, while memory unites the person with something timeless, elevates him above the vain and topical. Memory and recollection are two different movements in a single stream of life: recollections chain the soul to terrestrial, historical things, things that «have been», while memory leads to the celestial, the timeless, and the eternal. Recollections can be linked to Ivanov's understanding of the Dionysian, passionate, chaotic, dark memory, on the one hand, and on the other hand to the Apollonian creative element that brings light and harmony and is closely related to the gift of prophecy. Recollections are a painful condition of a soul that cannot be healed by simply forgetting. Only Memory, Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses, has the healing powers that restore the unity of a human soul and the world. A true symbolist is a prophet, a clairvoyant; he witnesses not only the past but also the coming «Golden Age» of great spiritual freedom of peoples, where he will play the role of a medium in a free human society. A Romantic is a servant of recollections, always in conflict with the recent past and with reality itself, waiting for the «impossible return of the things that have already passed» [*Presentiments and Portents: The new organic epoch and the theater of the future / Предчувствия и предвестия: Новая органическая эпоха и театр будущего*, vol. 2, p. 87]. This explains why Ivanov-émigré is free from the romantic expectations of Russian emigration, from the anguish for that «Golden Age» of pre-revolutionary Russia that has passed and from the hopes of its restoration.

Unlike Alexander Blok who in his article «The Destruction of Humanism» [*Крушение гуманизма*] mourned the fall of humanism and was quite sure that «in poor young Russia» «no historical memory was ever preserved<sup>13</sup>», Ivanov had no doubt that the only valuable thing for a Russian is religious feeling. Therefore Ivanov was convinced that the renunciation

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in: *Okno iz Evropy: K 80-letiju Žorža Niva* [A Window from Europe: In Honour of Georges Nivat's 80th birthday], M., Tri kvadrata, 2017, pp. 444–451.

<sup>11</sup> Gennadij Obatnin, «Ešče raz o “pomnit” i “vspomnit” u Vjačeslava Ivanova», in *Ibid.*, pp. 452–471.

<sup>12</sup> Georges Nivat, *Russie-Europe, La fin du schisme: Étude littéraires et politiques*, Lausanne, L'Âge d'homme, 1993, pp. 383–386.

<sup>13</sup> Aleksandr Blok, «Krušenie gumanizma» [The destruction of humanism], in: Aleksandr Blok, *Sobranie sočinenij: V 8 t.* [Collected works: In 8 vol.], V. N. Orlov, A. A. Sokurov, K. I. Chukovskij (red.), vol. 6, M.; L., Gos. izd. xudožestvennoj literatury, 1962, p. 110.

of the religious tradition passed from generation to generation (which in fact is memory) can lead contemporary Russia with all her sicknesses to imminent death [*Revolution and the People's Self-determination*, vol. 3, p. 362<sup>14</sup>].

Healing through memory is linked for Ivanov to repentance according to the laws and canon of the Church. In his article «Revolution and the People's Self-determination», the act of repentance is described in anthroposophic terms as a meeting with the «guard of the threshold» [vol. 3, p. 357]. The man must recognize or remember himself or his «doppelganger» in this «guard of the threshold» in order to understand the viciousness of his past «ego» and at the same time overcome it. Such a personal approach to healing through self-knowledge / remembrance was to be applied to the people as a whole, according to Ivanov. Russia who is «on the threshold of her otherness» will be restored to life like Lazarus of the Four Days of the Gospel of John. She will remember herself in the «guard of the threshold right in front of her, but in a distorted way» [vol. 3, p. 358]. Only this can allow the people of Russia «to cross the threshold of a new life» [vol. 3, p. 358]. Thus revolution must be a thing of a «religious peoples' conscience» [vol. 3, p. 363].

In his article «Steep Slopes: On the Crisis of Humanism. Toward a morphology of modern culture and the psychology of modernity» [*Кручи: О кризисе гуманизма. К морфологии современной культуры и психологии современности*, 1919] the humanism of French revolution which had freed the citizen but enslaved the man and had subsequently led to the «man-god» and madness<sup>15</sup> was replaced by Ivanov with the religious mystical idea of monanthropism, a unity of mankind, of remembrance that «we are all a single Adam», «Allman» [*Steep Slopes: On the Crisis of Humanism*, vol. 3, p. 379–380<sup>16</sup>]. He was not afraid of the elemental force of the revolution because he hoped for the survival of the «eternal» in «the past, which may be stained with blood» among the barbaric debris [*On the*

<sup>14</sup> This difference between Alexander Blok and Viach. Ivanov is also highlighted by Emily Wang, see: Emily Wang, «Viacheslav Ivanov in the 1930s: The Russian Poet as Italian Humanist», in *Slavic Review*, vol. 75, n° 4 (Winter 2016), pp. 899–900, 909.

<sup>15</sup> Here is what Ivanov says about the slogans of the French revolution in his article «Byronism as an Event in the Life of the Russian Spirit» [*Байронизм как событие в жизни русского духа*, 1916]: «The French formula was rationalistic, superficial and, in fact, negative; freeing a citizen, it enslaved a man in him; it considered a person as somebody who needs to be subjected to equalizing restriction and restraint; it was the fruit of the tyranny of the multitude over each one, it fixed this tyranny and thus deprived the multitude of the spirit of free conciliarity; it was designed to be universally binding regardless of the admission or denial of the divine, of the ontological dignity of the individual, and this design took away from it the character of a moral imperative, turning it into a purely external legislative provision in which the concept of “brotherhood” as a compulsory norm, sounds as blasphemous disharmony» [vol. 4, p. 293].

<sup>16</sup> Viacheslav Ivanov, *Selected Essays*, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

*Joyful Craft and the Joy of the Spirit / O veselom remesle i umnom veselii*, vol. 3, p. 77<sup>17</sup>]. He feared more the revolutionaries themselves who pushed the people to the oblivion of God, their own soul and ultimately the «shrines of their fathers», the «Homeland», the honour of the country [*Revolution and the People's Self-determination*, vol. 3, p. 357, 359–360]. Those who think that Russia has nothing to repent about and those who in self-justification are opposed to the country are people possessed by «civil suicide» [vol. 3, p. 356]. One needs to recognize «Russia herself in her distorted, sick and mad traits» [vol. 3, p. 357] and ourselves with her in order for repentance for all people to accrue. As in the poem «Yes, we have lighted this fire» [*Да, сей пожар мы поджигали*, 1919], dedicated to his friend and poet Georgy Chulkov (1879–1939), he addresses the guilt of the intellectuals (in Ivanov's original text it is not "the intellectuals", but always "we") who tried to impose on people an image of a different Russia and taught them «to hate the past Russia with her traditions and historical memory, religion and state» [vol. 3, p. 357]. These intellectuals («we») who «erased all the old inscriptions from the people's soul so that we could write there, on its bare and empty tablet, our own new Charter of groundless "man-godhood"», should be the first «to start universal repentance». They should first put an end to the «state of universal subjugation to the demons of depravity and gloom, amnesia and frenzy» [vol. 3, p. 356]. When a «mystical socialization of a conscience» takes place, when the «acceptance of an individual will and guilt by all humanity, understood as a living universal-personal unity» happens, then «ancient memory and new presentiments» will meet in a renewed universal religious and mythological conscience [*Steep Slopes: On the Crisis of Humanism*, vol. 3, p. 382<sup>18</sup>].

All these ideas more or less explicitly expressed may be found in Ivanov's article «Discourse on the Orientations of the Modern Spirit» [*Discorso sugli orientamenti dello spirito moderno*, 1934<sup>19</sup>]. Even if Ivanov does not explicitly talk there about the events of 1917, the title of the 1934 article is somewhat close to the subtitle of his article from 1919, namely

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>19</sup> Vjačeslav Ivanov, «Discorso sugli orientamenti dello spirito moderno» [Razmyšlenija ob ustanovkax sovremennogo duxa], in: Vjačeslav Ivanov, *Sobranie sočinenij: V 4 t.* [vol. 3, pp. 451–484]. This article was written and published in Italian in 1934 in a special issue of the journal *Convenio [Il Convegno]* dedicated to Ivanov. Its latter parts – the sixth and the seventh – represent the report delivered by Ivanov in San Remo on April 10, 1933 which later appeared in the form of a separate article «Il mito di Edipo» [«The Oedipus Myth»] in the August 1933 issue of the pro-catholic Italian art and literary magazine *Il Frontespizio*. Emily Wang analyses this article in the context of Ivanov's disagreement with Benedetto Croce, polemics with A. Pelligrini, «The Correspondence from Two Corners» and Ivanov's attitude to National Socialism, see: Emily Wang, «Viacheslav Ivanov in the 1930s: The Russian Poet as Italian Humanist», *op. cit.*, pp. 902–918.

«*Steep Slopes: On the Crisis of Humanism. Toward a morphology of modern culture and the psychology of modernity*».

According to Ivanov, while materialism is vehemently supported by «militant Marxists only for purposes of demagogical education», «the binomial: Jacobinism, integral Marxism», having acquired the power, spoils entire nations and infringes on «national spiritual life» [vol. 3, p. 455 - 457<sup>20</sup>]. Modern philosophers, from Henri Bergson and Maurice Blondel to Oswald Spengler, «couldn't oppose in a creative way [...] spiritual disorientation», the loss of God the Father [vol. 3, p. 461<sup>21</sup>].

Ivanov thought that the absence of religiosity is not a «special trait» of modernity in itself and does not express a «specific *forma mentis* of previous generations» as «it is a hereditary evil» [vol. 3, p. 477<sup>22</sup>]. Modern man must «overcome, atone for the evil of the previous epoch, that was an epoch of parricide» [vol. 3, p. 477<sup>23</sup>] that gave birth in a human soul to a «horror of fate and fear», this «gloomy shadow, inseparable from the denial of God» [vol. 3, p. 481<sup>24</sup>]. «The Prince of This World as the Holy Writ sometimes calls the Devil forms human society according to the model presented by the Legion, the manifold uniformity of devils, that dwelt within the man described in St. Mark (5, 9), that Legion that was driven away from man was thus freed» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>25</sup>]. According to Ivanov, «the blow of Brutus was struck by the deists of the French revolution who, while atomizing the society with their loud proclamation of Freedom and Equality, silently destroyed the principle of Fatherhood, having replaced it with the artificial, deceitful, and false notion of Brotherhood» [vol. 3, p.

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<sup>20</sup> In Italian: «[...] e nonostante il fallimento delle scuole nemmeno il funesto retaggio del dottrinarismo puro, per quanto superato in principio (accenno al binomio: giacobinismo, marxismo integrale) cessa, tosto che è pervenuto al potere, d'infestare nazioni intere e d'attentare alla vita spirituale di popoli. » [vol. 3, p. 454].

<sup>21</sup> In Italian: « E tanto basta intorno ai filosofi, i quali, se non hanno tutti contribuito, nemmeno hanno saputo efficacemente resistere a quel disorientamento spirituale che è purtroppo il rovescio del naturale orientamento della vitalità nostra verso il generoso sole» [vol. 3, p. 458].

<sup>22</sup> In Italian: «Sarebbe tale se fosse un'espressione originale della *forma mentis* delle ultime generazioni. Fu invece innestata dai nostri avi. È un male ereditario, e tanti indizi di cui non ho voluto parlare esplicitamente fanno sperare che tenda verso una guarigione» [vol. 3, p. 472].

<sup>23</sup> In Italian: « Siamo chiamati ad espiare ed a volger al meglio il retaggio dell'epoca precedente, che fu, poichè ben merita questo nome, l'epoca del grande parricidio» [vol. 3, p. 472].

<sup>24</sup> In Italian: « È Kierkegaard che l'ha additata per primo, quale ombra fosca inseparabile dalla negazione di Dio» [vol. 3, p. 476].

<sup>25</sup> In Italian: «Il principe di questo mondo, come la Scrittura chiama talvolta il Diavolo, sta fabbricando una società umana all'immagine di quella Legione, la cui unificata molteplicità è nettamente definita nel racconto di S. Marco (V, 9) sopra la guarigione dell'ossesso Gadareno [...]» [vol. 3, p. 480].

482<sup>26</sup>]. «Atomization of society» that has a «depersonalization of every single man» as its goal, is the slogan of the extremists, who proclaim «collectivism to be an ideal future of man *urbi et orbi*» [vol. 3, p. 483–484<sup>27</sup>]. It is not for nothing that «old de La Mettrie is highly praised in contemporary Russia for his invention of *a machine-man*» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>28</sup>]. Ivanov is convinced that «in order not to be pulverized into a dust where there is nothing but dead souls or a nebula of atoms without an “ego” it is incumbent to reanimate the personality» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>29</sup>].

Modern «optimists of despair» propose to replace religion with utilitarian and rational sociology, a «calm “irreligiosity of the future” (*irréligion de l’avenir*)» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>30</sup>]. Ivanov writes that in order to understand the aims of the modern spirit he needs to undertake an «ascent to the stratosphere of metaphysics and mysticism» [vol. 3, p. 462-463<sup>31</sup>] to discern signs of modernity in old cults. According to Ivanov the prophetic myth of the Oedipus-parricide is most representative of the tragic fate of the human spirit<sup>32</sup>. Modern civilization has fallen into «Oedipus’s blindness» [vol. 3, p. 481<sup>33</sup>] in its will to rule Nature that subsequently has

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<sup>26</sup> In Italian: «Un colpo di Bruto fu portato dai deisti della rivoluzione francese, la quale, atomizzando la società colla spettacolosa proclamazione di Libertà e d’Uguaglianza, aboliva tacitamente il principio di Paternità, sostituendogli la fittizia e menzoniera Fraternità» [vol. 3, pp. 476, 478].

<sup>27</sup> In Italian: «L’atomizzazione della società a cui fu accennato è anche spersonalizzazione dei singoli. La vita dell’uomo viene meccanizzata e ridotta a determinato funzionamento nella cooperazione più o meno collettivistica. Gli estremisti del collettivismo proclamano quest’ideale dell’uomo futuro *urbi et orbi*» [vol. 3, p. 480].

<sup>28</sup> In Italian: «Il vecchio Lamettrie è molto lodato nella Russia odierna per la sua invenzione dell’*homme-machine*» [vol. 3, p. 480].

<sup>29</sup> In Italian: «Per non essere triturati in un pulviscolo di anime morte, in una nebulosa di atomi senza io, noi dobbiamo vivificare la personalità» [vol. 3, p. 480].

<sup>30</sup> In Italian: «[...]è più prudente l’osservare di lontano il lento agonizzare delle antiche credenze, il loro trasformarsi a poco a poco in sociologia, in quella pacata *irréligion de l’avenir* che ci promette tutto quello che si cercava nei culti ridotto ad una giusta misura saggia, ragionevole ed utilitaria, senza estasi e fanatismi, senza il sacrificio barbaro del povero intelletto, il quale ormai conosce la propria natura, i suoi limiti e i suoi diritti, come pure il meccanismo psicologico delle sue sorpassate illusioni infantili. Né vorranno mai ammettere questi ottimisti della disperazione che siano spiritualmente disorientati [...]» [vol. 3, p. 470].

<sup>31</sup> In Italian: «Per valutarne la portata ed insieme il pericolo, mi vedo anch’io costretto (tanto trascendente è il problema) a tentare, figurativamente parlando, un volo, ad osare una ascensione nella stratosfera metafisica e mistica» [vol. 3, pp. 460, 462].

<sup>32</sup> See: vol. 3, p. 477. In Italian: «L’immagine più profondamente significativa, più altamente tragica, più faticosa dei destini dello spirito umano, quali appaiono fin d’ora distintamente al nostro sguardo attonito nei loro lineamenti formidabili, al pari di orride cime che accerchiano il nostro sito, io la trovo nell’antico mito orrendo e numinoso di Edipo» [vol. 3, p. 472].

<sup>33</sup> In Italian: «Ma per quel tempo bastava, come sembra bastare finora alla civiltà ricaduta nella cecità edipodea: l’uomo signoreggiava, la Natura gli era sommessata» [vol. 3, p. 476].

to «exact revenge upon its traitors» [vol. 3, p. 471<sup>34</sup>]. The disruption of world harmony leads «in our times to a sense of fear rising from the depth of a parricide culture» while the «newest philosophy» appears to be a philosophy of fear, from Søren Kierkegaard to Martin Heidegger [vol. 3, p. 481<sup>35</sup>]. Such a philosophy is opposed by Ivanov to the idea of a religious mystical monanthropism. In monanthropism «humankind as a whole participates in a divine act of atonement». At the moment of the Resurrection Nature «will be saved in its entirety» because it is a «human body», and a Human as a «unity of many separate immortal personalities» is a «mystical body of Christ» [vol. 3, p. 467<sup>36</sup>].

Parricide directed at God «is in fact a suicide attempt or an attempt to kill a spiritual man» [vol. 3, p. 482<sup>37</sup>]. But the «higher “ego”» in a person cannot be destroyed even if the powers that are rebelling against God take over his «inner world», enslave his mind, bury him alive «in a cave under a stone» [vol. 3, p. 482<sup>38</sup>]. Only a soul that has cried out to God, the soul that has cried like the sisters of the Lazarus of the Gospels can bring this «higher “ego”» back to life [vol. 3, pp. 478, 482]. According to Ivanov, that is why now people have to take special care of their human souls, of Anima<sup>39</sup>, without which «no uniting of a personality is possible» [vol. 3, p. 483<sup>40</sup>]. This goal cannot be reached «through democratic freedoms based on French revolutionary notions», the use of which «leads not to the

<sup>34</sup> In Italian: « Se davvero geme e aspetta da noi la sua liberazione, non sarebbe forse d'altronde logico, se vedendosi delusa e tradita si vendicasse dei traditori?» [vol. 3, p. 468].

<sup>35</sup> In Italian: «Ecco ciò che si avvera esattamente nell'età presente: un sentimento d'angoscia scaturisce dal fondo della coltura parricida. La novissima filosofia è quella dell'angoscia. È Kierkegaard che l'ha additata per primo, quale ombra fosca inseparabile dalla negazione di Dio. Heidegger, il più rinomato tra i filosofi dell'ultima ora, ne fa il centro della sua speculazione» [vol. 3, p. 476].

<sup>36</sup> In Italian: «La natura si salva tutta quanta col corpo glorificato dell'uomo integrale nella futura risurrezione perchè essa è il corpo dell'uomo, e l'Uomo, che è uno nella molteplicità delle persone individuali ed immortali in cui si realizza è, quale unità (*«ut sint unum»*), il corpo mistico di Cristo» [vol. 3, pp. 464].

<sup>37</sup> In Italian: «Ma il Padre nostro che è in Cielo — in quel Cielo che ci trascende ancor quando si rivela e si attua in noi — non può essere ucciso dagli uomini e il parricidio ordito contro di Lui significa realmente un tentativo di suicidio o d'omicidio spirituale» [vol. 3, p. 478].

<sup>38</sup> In Italian: «Nemmeno l'*io* superiore dell'uomo può essere estermiato in lui dalle forze rivoltose che prendono il sopravvento nella sua città interna, e fatto morire, se non sia già morto da sè, il che nei testi sacri equivale all'ultima perdizione; ma spodestato ed imprigionato, e persino ridotto in istato d'incoscienza e d'assopimento simile alla morte, e seppellito vivo sotto un sasso» [vol. 3, p. 478].

<sup>39</sup> Ivanov takes this image from Paul Claudel's parable «Animus et Anima» (1925).

<sup>40</sup> In Italian: «L'età presente ha bisogno di coltivare l'anima. Essa è necessaria per l'integrazione della personalità » [vol. 3, p. 480].

freedom of personality but to its atomization» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>41</sup>]. The «only path that can be taken is the path of the spirit» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>42</sup>]. Modern people believe in progress only, «feeding themselves like the Lotus-eaters with the stupefying juices of forgetfulness» [vol. 3, p. 471<sup>43</sup>]. Speaking about the Oedipus myth, Ivanov turns once more to anthroposophic terminology<sup>44</sup>. Ivanov suggests that just as Oedipus with his total immersion in the sphere of darkness, encounters Antigone his double in the sphere of light and through this meeting reaches a spiritual healing, modern man survives the suicidal temptation of parricide and abandonment by God. He loses his former prophetic clairvoyance and plunges into the darkness of oblivion and spiritual blindness. Still he must be healed and regain his soul. To find true guidance the memory of God is necessary. It is only «natural to seek in an anagogical manner the supreme Sun and eternal stars, », i.e. to seek «godly Love» [vol. 3, p. 484<sup>45</sup>].

It is clear that the analysis of Ivanov's thoughts mostly confirms the idea of the famous Russian scholar Sergey Averintsev that «the problem of "*Vyacheslav Ivanov and Revolution*" cannot be reduced to a more narrow and particular question "*Vyacheslav Ivanov and the October Revolution*" (even if formulated somewhat more broadly, "*Vyacheslav Ivanov and the Russian Revolution*"<sup>46</sup>)». The Russian thinker looked differently at the problems that «are widespread and banal in their actuality», because he understood that Bolshevism or National Socialism with their crimes «are not the only meaningful aspect of the problem» and that totalitarianism is «an expression of a more serious anthropological crisis<sup>47</sup>». Such a crisis was diagnosed by Ivanov from a spiritual point of view, while he proposed to heal it by keeping the memory of man's belonging to all mankind and at

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<sup>41</sup> In Italian: «Ma questo scopo non si raggiunge per mezzo d'istituzioni, tanto meno per mezzo delle libertà democratiche basate sui principi della rivoluzione francese, che hanno già portato il loro frutto d'atomizzazione» [vol. 3, p. 480].

<sup>42</sup> In Italian: «L'unica via è la via dello spirito» [vol. 3, p. 480].

<sup>43</sup> In Italian: «[...] e noi incoraggiati dalle prove così tangibili del nostro continuo avanzare di bene in meglio esaltiamo la vita, nutrendoci come i lotofagi dei sughi stupefacenti dell'oblio» [vol. 3, p. 468].

<sup>44</sup> Emily Wang does not perceive this anthroposophic context believing that Ivanov is simply christianizing a pagan myth, see: Emily Wang, «Viacheslav Ivanov in the 1930s: The Russian Poet as Italian Humanist», *op. cit.*, pp. 910.

<sup>45</sup> In Italian: «Né questo può essere altro che verso l'almo Sole e le eterne stelle concepite nel senso anagogico: verso l'Amor divino dunque che «mosse dapprima quelle cose belle», come dice il più grande poeta della cristianità [Dante Alighieri], — verso «l'Amor che muove il Sole e l'altre stelle» [vol. 3, p. 480]. About Vyacheslav Ivanov's perception of Dante see: Pamela Davidson, *The Poetic Imagination of Vyacheslav Ivanov: A Russian Symbolist's Perception of Dante*, Cambridge etc., Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989, 319 p.

<sup>46</sup> Sergej Averincev, «*Skvorečnic vol'nyx graždanin...*» *Vjačeslav Ivanov: put' poëta meždu mirami* [«Citizen of Free Birdhouses...» Vyacheslav Ivanov: the Poet's Path between Worlds], SPb., Aleteja, 2001, p. 164.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

the same time to the Celestial Homeland. Vyacheslav Ivanov tried to find in real historical events not only the future of his homeland plunged into a revolutionary whirlpool, but also the solution to the problems of «universal memory», «universal brotherhood» and «universal fate<sup>48</sup>».

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<sup>48</sup> Vjačeslav Ivanov, «Vselenskoe delo», in: Vjačeslav Ivanov, *Rodnoe i vselenskoe: Statii* [Matters native and universal: Essays], M., Izd. G.A. Lemana i S.I. Saxarova, 1918, p. 5.