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MANDEL'STAM AND KUZMIN

While Kuzmin's influence on Mandel'stam's earliest published poetry has occasionally been noted, although not analyzed, Mandel'stam's continuing affinities with Kuzmin in later years have never been systematically traced out.¹ Due perhaps to Kuzmin's increasingly negative remarks about Acmeism during the 1920s,² perhaps to Axmatova's sharp rejection of crucial principles of Kuzminian poetics on behalf of all Acmeists,³ the relationship between the two men has been largely neglected. Mandel'stam's Kuzmin criticism, however, serves as vehicle to a rich tenor of associations with the poetry of both authors. Because he came to make analysis of form into content and meaning into form,⁴ how he framed such critical reaction reveals as much about his literary attitudes as the reaction itself. Shared concern with the role of the name in poetry, gradual elimination of thematic differentiation between prose and poetry,⁵ and incorporation of verbal structures from the later into the former are major elements in this largely one-sided textual dialogue. After reaching a climax, in 1922, when Kuzmin gave the title *Tristia* to Mandel'stam's second collection of verse without consulting him, it becomes for Mandel'stam an intermittent process of purgation, in which imagery associated with a concept of mechanical time he found distasteful is used as if to neutralize continuing allusions to Kuzmin. When viewed against this background, some Mandel'stam poems exhibit an otherwise imperceptible metaliterary level, a constituent of what V. N. Toporov, following Umberto Eco, has termed an

"open text", which through complex references to other writing frees itself from finite interpretation.⁶ To a much lesser extent, certain allusions to Mandel'stam function analogously in Kuzmin texts.⁷ Such attenuation is only natural, since Kuzmin was the elder, established poet, only somewhat artificially cast as mentor to the Acmeists.

The interaction between the two men is in no sense central to the work of either, but this very marginality betokens its significance in Mandel'stam, for whom periphery was to become nucleus: "Uničtožajte rukopis", no soxranjajte to, čto vy načertali sboku, ot skuki, ot neumen'ja i kak by vo sne".⁸ Although both authors recognized the potential transcendency of subordinate elements in art, it was Mandel'stam who made "sopryjaženie slovesnogo materiala po vtorostepennym priznakam"⁹ a key principle of his poetic semantics. By tracing his use of the principle to establish characteristic imagery configurations in his Kuzmin criticism, it is possible to move beyond a search for shared themes or motifs in his other work to an examination of their function within its complex system of signification.

Kuzmin and Mandel'stam may have met originally at one of Fedor Sologub's evenings, or perhaps at a Wednesday gathering in Vjačeslav Ivanov's Tower. It is almost certain that Kuzmin was present at Mandel'stam's "literary baptism" on 16 May 1909 when Mandel'stam read some of his poems at an Akademija meeting in the Tower, for at that time Kuzmin was one of its permanent residents.¹⁰ By 5 September 1909 Mandel'stam was close enough to Kuzmin's nephew, Sergej Auslender, to ask him to request Ivanov to arrange a room for him in Saint Petersburg.¹¹ Autumn of that year saw the composition of Kuzmin's *profession de foi* "O prekrasnoj jasnosti", echoes of which may be heard in Mandel'stam's 1910 essay on François Villon.¹² Sergej Makovskij has recorded that with the founding of *Apollon* Mandel'stam, Gumilev, and Kuzmin all became close friends.¹³ Kuzmin's diary notes a meeting of the three in Carskoe selo on 2 April 1911, and an evening of poetry reading together at Ivanov's two days later; such occasions

must have been fairly frequent.¹⁴ Kuzmin participated with Mandel'stam in the controversies in the Akademija which led to the founding of the "Cex poëtov", but it is clear that he disagreed from the start with Gumilev's theorizing, and as soon as Acmeism became a "school" (a concept he had warned against in a review of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*) he bowed out.¹⁵

Kuzmin's dislike of schools was reflected in his initial published characterization of Mandel'stam in his preface to Anna Axmatova's first book of poems *Večer*. Although in it he grouped Mandel'stam with those members of the youngest generation of poets striving towards subtle, brittle, or fragile poetry, he nonetheless viewed each of them as an individual, carefully defining Mandel'stam's distinguishing trait as "neobyknovenno izoščrennyj analiz naročito-pričudlivyx pereživanij", in contrast to Il'ja Erenburg's mere description of objects conventionally held to be delicate, or Marina Cvetaeva's ironic descriptions of an intimate, somewhat demonstratively pedestrian life.¹⁶

The similarity of Mandel'stam's early poetry to Kuzmin's is not, however, confined to their common ambience of the fragile and the particular, with earth the centre of beauty. Poems such as no.6 "Na bledno-goluboj ěmali" or no.7 "Est' celomudrennye čary", while sharing Kuzminian concern with 'otročennye uzory', 'tonen'kie setki' and 'xrupkost'', represent only the most obvious level of affinity. More subtly, in no.28 "Ja vzdagivaju ot xoloda", the reference to the ball resonates with its numerous occurrences in Kuzmin, where it is constantly associated with the revelation or realization of love.¹⁷ Here the Kuzminian subtexts reinforce the function of the image as polemicizing with symbolism through concretization of the ethereal.¹⁸ But for Mandel'stam the momentary concern with precise but fleeting physical sensations or fragile, ephemeral objects so characteristic of Kuzmin's *Seti* is not sufficient. From the beginning of his career he required the function of memory as well:

Puskaj mgnovenija stekaet mut' -
Uzora milogo ne začerknut'. [No. 8, 11. 11-12]

This necessity is reflected in Mandel'shtam's earliest discussion of Kuzmin's poetry, contained in a review of *Al'manax mus* presumably written in 1916, but unpublished until 1969. In it Mandel'shtam expressed reservations about Kuzmin's approach to poetry, despite an apparently enthusiastic overall reception for his work:

Plenitelen [jasnyj] klassicizm Kuzmina. Sladostno čitat' živuščego sredi nas klassičeskogo poëta, čuvstvovat' getevskoe slijanie "formy" i "soderžanija", [osjazaja samuju ličnost' poëta, ego "ja", kak čistuju formu] ubeždat'sja, čto duša naša ne substancija, sdelannaja iz metafizičeskoj vaty, a legkaja i nežnaja Psixėja. Stixi Kuzmina ne tol'ko zapominajutsja otlično, no kak by pripominajutsja (vpečatlenie pripominanija pri pervom že čtenii), vplyvaja iz zabvenija (klassicizm);

Naverno, tak že xolodny

V raju drug k drugu serafimy.

Odnako klarizm Kuzmina imeet svoju opasnuju storonu. Kažetsja, čto takoj xorošej pogody, kakaja slučaitsja osobenno v ego poslednix stixax, i voobšče ne byvaet.¹⁹

Mandel'shtam's praise for Kuzmin's Goethean blend of form and content is actually an ironic response to Kuzmin's own completely opposite views, expressed in a paper delivered at the "Brođjačaja sobaka" two years earlier, when Kuzmin issued a "prizyv k prostote formy, iskrennosti i složnosti soderžanija, k differenziacii ix do poslednix predelov."²⁰

The magnificent weather emblematic here of Kuzmin's poetry later forms a subtext for the following passage from "Razgovor o Dante":

Tut ja ponjal, čto kamen' kak by dnevnik pogody, kak by meteorologičeskij sgustok. Kamen' - ne čto inoe, kak sama pogoda, vyključennaja iz atmosferičeskogo i uprjatannaja v funkcional'noe prostranstvo. Dlja togo, čtoby čto ponjat', nado sebe predstavit', čto vse geologičeskie izmenenija i samye sdvigi vpolne razložimy na elementy pogody. V štom smysle meteorologija pervičnee mineralogii, ob"emlet ee, omyvaet, odrevlivaet i osmyslivaet.²¹

Beyond its direct meanings, 'kamen'' in this passage makes reference to Mandel'shtam's first book of poems. When read as literary commentary against the background of the 1916 review of *Al'manax mus*, the labelling of stone as the diary of

weather obliquely characterizes Mandel'stam's early poetry as the imposition of sequentiality and memory upon the poet-ics of Kuzmin. In speaking about the precedence of meteorology over mineralogy, Mandel'stam indirectly acknowledges Kuzmin as a legitimate predecessor; the striking use of the verb 'odrevlivaet' is tied on this metaliterary level with Mandel'stam's 1923 characterization of Kuzmin's poetry as the "preždevremennaja starčeskaja ulybka russkoj liriki."²²

Marina Cvetaeva recorded the tremendous impact which Kuzmin's reading of the poem quoted from in Mandel'stam's review had on her, and since Mandel'stam was also present at the time, perhaps he experienced a similar response.²³ However, his attraction to the particular lines he cited may be more easily understood in the context of his own use of the word 'serafim' in his poetry.²⁴ In "Ajja-Sofija" they sound a death-knell:

I serafimov gulcoe rydan'e
Ne pokorobit temnyx pozolot. [No. 38, 11. 19-20]

In a poem about Poe from the same year, the 'serafim' image represents the essentially irrational, which can reduce Mandel'stam's beloved word to noise:

Značen'e - sueta, i slovo - tol'ko šum,
Kogda fonetika - služanka serafima. [No. 40, 11. 7-8]

This is its meaning later as well, in the 1920 poem "Ja v xorovod tenej...":

Ja v xorovod tenej, toptavšix nežnyj lyg,
S pevučim imenom vmešalsja,
No vse rastajalo, i tol'ko slabyj zvuk
V tumannoj pamjati ostalsja.

Snačala dumal ja, čto imja - serafim,
I tela legkogo dičilsja,
Nemnogo dneja prošlo, i ja smešalsja s nim
I v miloj teni rastvorilsja. [No. 123, 11. 1-8]

The fifth line of this poem suggests that a change has taken place in Mandel'stam's conception of 'imja', that he feels he was mistaken in considering it identifiable with 'serafim'. This would suggest that it was Mandel'stam's struggle with the concept of the name which may have made the lines he quoted from Kuzmin's collection *Vožatyj* so memorable for him. Although tempted by Kuzmin's evocation of a love which has

passed beyond the need for physical expression, Mandel'stam ultimately rejects this solution to the problem of 'imja' in "Ja v xorovod tenej...". For Kuzmin the name disguises the essence:

Bledny vse imena, i stary vse nazvan'ja, -
Ljubov' že každyj raz nova.²⁵

Zabyto imja zdes' i otčestvo,
Liš' serdca ne zabyta bol'.²⁶

In his short stories "Antrakt v ovrage" and "Sekret o. Gervasijsa" changes of place-names are viewed as irrelevant to the basic nature of the locality.²⁷ Throughout his work, Kuzmin uses chains of personal names related by the principle of *sopryaženie po vtorostepennym priznakam* to connect the various avatars of his archetypal characters.²⁸ In contrast, for Mandel'stam the name, like the word, *is* the essence, its loss or alteration is cause for lament:

Nam ostaetsja tol'ko imja -
Čudesnyj zvuk, na dolgij srok.
Primi ž ladonjami moimi
Peresypaemyj pesok. [No. 90, 11. 29-33]
Triždy blažen, kto vvedet v pesn' imja;
[No. 136, 1. 37]

Ne zabyvaj menja, kazni menja,
No daj mne imja, daj mne imja:
Mne budet legče s nim - pojmi menja,
V beremennoj glubokoj sini. [No. 139, 11. 6-7]

A characteristic feature of the ominous "them" in poem no. 328 is their namelessness:

Net imeni u nix. Vojdi v ix xrjašč,
I budeš' ty naslednikom ix knjažestv.
[No. 328, 11. 6-7]

The relationship between Mandel'stam and Kuzmin in the concept of 'imja' is most directly evidenced by Mandel'stam's poems no. 66 and no. 71:

Pust' imena cvetuščix gorodov
Laskajut slux značitel'nost'ju brennoj.
Ne gorod Rim živet sredi vekov,
A mesto čeloveka vo vselennoj. [No. 66, 11. 1-4]

A golub' ne boitsja groma,
Kotorym cerkov' govorit;
V apostol'skom sozvuč'i: Roma!
On tol'ko serdce veselit.

Ja povtorjaju što imja
Pod večnym kupolom nebes,
Xot' govorivšij mne o Rime
V svjaščennom sumrake isčez! [No. 71, ll. 5-12]

These poems are a polemic response to the following passage from the conclusion of Kuzmin's 1909 novel *Nešnyj Iosif*:

I potom [...] Iosif podošel k oknu i [...] stal tverdit' "Roma, Roma" poka zvuki ne utratili dlja nego značen'ja i što-to vliilos' v dušu ogromnoe, kak nebo ili kupol cerkvi [...]²⁹

For Kuzmin repetition eliminates earthly meaning and reveals a nameless essence; for Mandel'stam meaning is concentrated in the repetition, and it is ultimately the original speaker that disappears.

* * *

The early post-revolutionary period saw Mandel'stam and Kuzmin sharing an interest in the theories of rhythmic movement propounded by Emile Jacques-Dalcroze. Both men participated in the studios of rhythmic movement in Petrograd, and at the beginning of the 1920s even took part in a masquerade organized by them.³⁰ Kuzmin had used eurhythmics as a motif in his 1914 novel *Plavažušče putešestvužušče*, while Mandel'stam employed it as the governing metaphor of his 1920 article "Gosudarstvo i ritm".³¹ This article contains yet another reminiscence of Kuzmin's early work: compare Mandel'stam's "Nad nami varvarskoe nebo, i vse-taki my ělliny"³² with Štrup's famous assertion in Kuzmin's first novel *Kryl'ja*: "My - ělliny, ljubovniki prekrasnogo, vakxanty grjađuščej žizni".³³ Such concern for origins and general characterizations marks not only Mandel'stam's prescriptions for the masses but also his discussions of major writers in the early 1920s.

In his 1922 essay "Pis'mo o russkoj počzii", Mandel'stam concisely formulates the fundamental movement of Kuzmin's work:

Kuzmin prišel ot volžskix beregov s raskol'nič'imi pesnjami, ital'janskoj komediej rodnogo domašnego Rima i vsej staroj evropejskoj kul'turoj, poskul'ku ona stala muzykoj - ot koncerta v palacco Pitti Džordžone do poslednix poem Debjussi.³⁴

On the surface this characterization seems to consign Kuzmin

to the outmoded symbolist definition of poetry as born from the spirit of music, but Mandel'stam's choice of illustrations generates more subtle levels of meaning. The reference to Giorgione's "Concert" is actually to a painting of Titian at the Pitti Palace, while Debussy's music is famed for its attempt to transmit a picture in sound.³⁵ Thus Mandel'stam discerned in Kuzmin a transition from aural to visual imagery. Kuzmin himself used this movement from 'glas' to 'glaz' as an organizing principle in his 1922 cycle "Stixi ob iskusstve", and was to employ it again in ordering the critical essays in his 1924 collection *Uslovnosti*, which proceeds from operetta to drama to poetry to painting.

The reference to Debussy, the only one in all of Mandel'stam's critical prose, may have been prompted by Kuzmin's 1915 poem "K Debjussi" in *Vožatyj*.³⁶ Several images from this poem had appeared in Mandel'stam's poem no.108 "Sestry - tjažest' i nežnost'".

How does the Kuzminian layer of association function within Mandel'stam's poetry? A preliminary answer to this question may be found by examining poem no.108:

Sestry - tjažest' i nežnost' - odinakovy vaši primety.
Međunicy i osy tjaželuju rozu sosut.
Čelovek umiraet, pesok ostyvaet sogretyj,
I včerašnee solnce na černyx nosilkax nesut.

Ax, tjaželye soty i nežnye seti,
Legče kamen' podnjat', čem imja tvoe povtorit'!
U menja ostaetsja odna zabota na svete:
Zolotaja zabota, kak vremeni bremja izbyt'.

Slovno tamnuju vodu ja p'ju pomutivšijsja vozdux.
Vremja vspaxano plugom, i roza zemleju byla.
V medlennom vodovorote tjaželye nežnye rozy,
Rozy tjažest' i nežnost' v dvojnye venki zaplela.

D. M. Segal has explicated the internal semantics of this poem in some detail, touching also on some of Mandel'stam's direct explanations of its imagery.³⁷ Here I would like to consider it from the point of view of the semantic fields it generates through imagery drawn from Kuzmin's poetry or otherwise associated with him.

Earlier critics have occasionally been drawn intuitively to this poem as a paradigm for Mandel'stam and Kuzmin. In

1923 Konstantin Močul'skij made reference to it by entitling a joint review of *Tristia* and *Paraboly* "Tjažest' i legkost'",³⁸ Later Georgij Ivanov used it to characterize the shortsightedness of Kuzmin's critics:

"Sestry, tjažest' i nežnost' - odinakovy vaši primety..." Sestry "prekrasnaja jasnost'" i "opasnaja legkost'" - vaši primety tože odinakovy, dlja nevnimatel'nyx, dlja neželajuščix byt' vnimatel'nyimi glaz...³⁹

The 'opasnaja legkost'' that Ivanov mentions echoes, albeit by chance, the 'opasnaja storona klarizma' pointed out in Mandel'stam's first Kuzmin review.

The image of sisters in the poem's first line, in addition to its obvious associations with Mandel'stam's poems on Raxil' and Lija, recalls a correspondence between Mandel'stam's and Kuzmin's prose.⁴⁰ In "Putešestvie v Armeniju" Mandel'stam writes: "Razluka - mladšaja sestra smerti".⁴¹ Kuzmin uses an analogous construction in his introduction to *Čudesnaja žizn' Iosifa Bal'zamo, grafa Kalioastro*: "Voobraženie - mladšaja sestra jasnovidenija".⁴² These are the only examples of this formula in the two men's writing. In Mandel'stamian terms, then, Lija, the elder sister, is to be identified with clairvoyance and death, while Raxil' is associated with parting and imagination. These pairings are operative as semantic fields in a number of Mandel'stam's poems, notably "Tristia" itself.⁴³

G. A. Levinton connects the wasp imagery of the second line of the poem with Kuzmin's line "nado mnoju v'jutsja osy" from a 1912 poem in *Glinjanye golubki*:⁴⁴

Nado mnoju v'jutsja osy...
Tjažki, tjažki stali kosy...
Golova tjažela!
Obošla ja vse otkosy, -
Veterka ne našla...
Ne našla.

Rasplastalas' v nebe ptica
Len' v dolinu mne spustit'sja,
Gde protek ruček.
Kto že dast' vody napit'sja?
Milyj brat, on dalek...
On dalek.

Ne pridet, ne sjadet rjadom.
Vse guljaet on po grjadam,
I odna ja, odna.
Solnce, vstalo ty nad sadom,
Dušu p'eš' vsju do dna...
Vsju do dna.

Solnce dvinetsja k zakatu...
Ja pojdu navstreču k bratu,
Tak znakom štot put'!
Operšisja na lopatu,
On prižmet k serdcu grud',
K serdcu grud',

Milyj bratec moj, kogda že
Otdoxnu ot skučnoj prjaži
Snov dokučnyx moix?
I na oblačnom na krjaže
Vstanet tix naš ženix,
Naš ženix?⁴⁵

The line cited by Levinton is only one of many remarkable correspondences between the two poems. Kuzmin combines images of heaviness with wasps; the sun, as in Mandel'stam's poem, belongs to the past. Thirst for air and water permeates both poems, and both are meditations on time. But what for Kuzmin is all concentrated anticipation, in Mandel'stam is transformed into the slow whirl of integration. The persona in Kuzmin's poem is tired of the yarn of her boring dreams; Mandel'stam seems to be answering her in "Tristia" with the line

I ja ljublju obyknoven'e prjaži: [No. 104, l. 17].

The pairing of 'soty' and 'seti' in line 5 of no.108, while independently motivated by parallelism with the semantic and sound correspondences set up between 'tjažest'' and 'nežnost'' in line 1, also has a metaliterary function. *Soty* was the title of Anna Radlova's first collection of poetry, while *Seti* was Kuzmin's first book of verse. Mandel'stam thus links the poems of the sister of his brother's wife with those of her literary sponsor.⁴⁶ The implied identification of Radlova with heaviness and bees contrasts with Axmatova's oblique presence in the poem through her association with wasps.⁴⁷ The rivalry between the "two Annas", which intensified during the early 1920s, was to be reflected in the literary interaction between Mandel'stam and Kuzmin. Although

Kuzmin was Radlova's ardent supporter, Mandel'stam would persistently associate him with Axmatova, with whom Kuzmin's relations had soured. Kuzmin in turn would be equally persistent in pairing Mandel'stam with Radlova, whose poetry Mandel'stam considered to be full of dubious solemnity.

It is in the light of the metaliterary presence of Kuzmin in the second stanza of no.108 that Mandel'stam's alterations to line 6 should be viewed. The change from the original reading: "Legče kamen' podnjat', čem vymolvit' slovo - ljubit'," to its final form as cited above indicates renewed concern with 'imja', a theme Mandel'stam repeatedly associated with Kuzmin.

Clarification of the referent of 'tvoe' in line 6 and of 'zapplela' in line 12 is provided by a second Kuzminian subtext to the poem:

K Debjussi

Kakaja novaja ljubov' i nežnost'
Prinesena s serebrjanyx vysot!
Lazurnaja, svjataja bezmjatežnost',
Nebesnyx pčel međvjanyj, legkij sot!

Fontan Verlena, lunnaja poljana
I alost' žertvennyx otkrytyx roz,
A v nežnyx, preryvajuščixsja piano
Zvenit polet klassičeskix strekoz.

Pust' govorit nam o siamskix devax,
Dalekix stran plenjaet krasota, -
V razdroblennyx, čut' zyblemyx napevax
Slyšna tvoja, o Mocart, prostota.

I legkaja, vostoržennaja Muza,
Gotovja nežno lepestki venca,
Starinnogo privetstvuet francuza
I nebyvaloju nežnosti tvorca!⁴⁸

It is ultimately the Muse, then, whose name is so difficult to repeat, and who weaves the double wreaths of roses. Kuzmin's poem provides the missing semantic link between 'tjažest'' and 'nežnost'' through its association of 'nežnost'' with 'legkost''.⁴⁹ Mandel'stam's use of the epithet 'tjaželye' with 'soty' can be seen as a polemical response to line 4 of "K Debjussi".

The layer of Kuzmin references in no.108 thus has a complex part to play in the poem's structure of significa-

tion. It serves both as contrasting ground and supplementary figure, creating tension on the one hand but resolving it on the other. The association of the themes of nets and time made here continue those established in no.103 "Sumarki svo-body", while anticipating those to be created in such poems as "V raskosy'j blesk zerkal zabrosiv seti" from Kuzmin's *Paraboly*.⁵⁰ The allusions to Kuzmin operate on this deep level of the poem as well as on the more superficial one of metaliterary polemic.

No.108 was included in Mandel'stam's second book of poems, published in 1922. According to his wife, this volume was compiled from a haphazard collection of drafts taken abroad by the publisher.⁵¹ Mandel'stam had nothing to do with the ordering of the poems and did not even choose the title: *Tristia* was named by Kuzmin, then one of the editors at the Petropolis publishing house, without consulting the author. Mandel'stam's reaction was to rename the next edition *Vtoraja kniga*, restoring the title "Tristia" only in 1928, for the second section of *Stizotvorenija*. *Vtoraja kniga* was thus more than a colourless appellation, for it was a powerful application of time, in that aspect which for Mandel'stam was its most negative attribute: pure sequentiality.⁵² His use of such negative temporally-based imagery to efface Kuzmin's intrusion into his work initiated an association which would be employed to great effect in his post-1922 criticism, as well as in "Egipetskaja marka" and (as we have seen) in "Razgovor o Dante".

In late summer, 1922, perhaps in connection with the publication of *Tristia*, the Mandel'stams paid a visit to Petrograd,⁵³ where Mandel'stam was invited by the Radlovs to take part in the founding of a new literary group.⁵⁴ Nadežda Mandel'stam gives a jaundiced picture of Kuzmin's role in this encounter:

Tam sobralis' Kuzmin s Jurkunom i, kažetsja, s Olen'koj Arbeninoj, xudožnik Lebedev, muž vtoroj sestry - Sarry Darmolatovoj ili Sarry Lebedevoj, buduščego skul'ptora, i ešče neskol'ko čelovek, i ja opjat' uslyšala, kak Mandel'stama zamanivajut v ob"edinenie ili sojuz - na etot raz sinteza

vsex iskusstv - poëzii, teatra, živopisi... Sergej Radlov, režisier, s polnoj otkrovennost'ju ob"jasnil Mandel'stamu, što vse lučšee v iskusstve sobrano za ego čajnym stolom. [...] Imja Mandel'stama neobxodimo dlja ukreplenija xudožestvennoj cennosti sojuza, on že polučit podderžku grupy vo vsex smyslax i vo vsex otnošenijax... Kuzmin molčal, xitiril i el byčki, lučšie po tomu vremeni konservy. [...] Na etot raz Mandel'stam vel sebja gorazdo priličnee, čem u Efrosa; on prosto myčal i delal vid, što ničego ne ponimaet. Nakonec Radlovy, oba - i muž i žena - zadali vopros naprjamik: soglasen li Mandel'stam pozabyt' ustarevšij i smešnoj akmeizm i prisoeдинit'sja k nim, aktivnym dejateljam sovremennogo iskusstva, čtoby dejstvovat' soobščaja i soglasovanno. Mandel'stam skazal, što poprežnemu sčitaaet sebja akmeistom, a esli što kažetsja komu-nibud' smešnym, to ničego ne podelaet... Vse družno nabrosilis' na akmeistov, a Kuzmin prodolžal pomalkivat' i liš' izredka vstavljaj slovo, čtoby poxvalit' stixi Radlovoj. U menja sozдалos' oščuščenie, što on-to i javljaetsja dušoj etoj zavaruxi, no vtajne izdevaetsja nad vsemi, v častnosti nad Radlovoj. Skoree vsego emu bylo naplevat' na što by to ni bylo, no iz družeskoj svjazi s Sergeem Radlovym on umel izvlekat' pol'zu, a dlja etogo polagalos' xvalit' Annu Radlovu.⁵⁵

Mandel'stam's reaction to the Radlov's proposal was not, however, so negative as to prevent his participation in the short-lived journal *Abraksas*, edited by Kuzmin and Radlova. Two poems, no.130 "Kak rastet xlebov opara" and no.133 "Veter nam utešen'e prines", appeared in its second issue. Kuzmin's evaluation of *Tristia* was published there as well, in his article "Pis'mo v Pekin":

Posylaju Vam tri knigi Anny Radlovoj i "Tristia" O. Mandel'stama. Vy uvidite ogromnyj put', kotoryj prošla Radlova s pervyx svoix šagov do poslednego sbornika, gde pered nami podlinnyj i zamečatel'nyj poët s bol'shim poletom i gorizontami, v strokax kotorogo trepaščet i b'etsja sovremennost' (ne v "pajkovom" smysle) i nastojaščee čelovečeskoe serdce. Evoljuciju i bol'soj pafos (kakoj-to ledjanoj) Vy zametite v prekrasnoj knige Mandel'stama.

Here Kuzmin moderates his apparent appreciation of Mandel'stam by placing him second in a pair with Anna Radlova, whose poetry Mandel'stam disliked. Even the final sentence of praise, added almost as an afterthought to the encomium of Radlova, seems rather ambivalent: the adjective 'ledjanoj'

is another of the images of coldness which the two men constantly employed in their reactions to each other.

The *Tristia* episode, combined with the unpleasant impression left by the Radlov circle during Mandel'stam's visit in the latter part of 1922, may have taken its toll on Mandel'stam, for by January, 1923, he had revised his opinion of Kuzmin's work. If before his praise had been tempered with ironic misapplication of Kuzminian imagery, now he was openly condescending:

U rossijskogo simvolizma byli svoi Virgilii i Ovidii, u nego že byli i svoi Katully, ne stol' po vozrastu, skol' po tipu tvorčestva. Zdes' sleduet upomjanut' o Kuzmine i Xodaseviče. Eto tipičnye mladšie poëty so vsej svojstvennoj mladšim poëtam čistotoj i prelest'ju zvuka. Dlja Kuzmina staršaja linija mirovoj literatury kak budto voobšče ne suščestvuet. On ves' zamešan na pristrastii k nej i na kanonizacii mladšej linii, ne vyše komedii Gol'doni i ljubovnyx pesenok Sumarokova. V svoix stixax on dovol'no udačno kul'tiviroval soznatel'nuju nebrežnost' i meško-vatost' reči, ispeščrennoj gallicizmami i polonizmam. Zažigajas' ot mladšej poëzii Zapada, xotja by Mjusse - "Novyj Rolla", on daet čitatelju illjuziju soveršenno iskusstvennoj i preždevremennoj drjaxlosti russkoj poëtičeskoj reči. Poëzija Kuzmina preždevremennaja starčeskaja ulybka russkoj liriki.⁵⁷

However, even here Mandel'stam's criticism is moderated by the associations its last sentence has with his own lyric poetry. The epithet "starčeskaja ulybka" links Kuzmin to Axmatova via a 1915 quatrain Mandel'stam had devoted to her:

Čerty lica iskaženy
Kakoj-to starčeskoj ulybkoj.
Uželi i gitane gibkoj
Vse muki Danta suždeny?

In neither instance is the phrase to be interpreted negatively. Facial distortion, especially when associated with old age, is for Mandel'stam a necessary attribute of poetry, a point he emphasizes in "Razgovor o Dante":

Velikolepen stixotvornyj golod ital'janskix stari-kov [...] Usta rabotajut, ulybka dvižet stix, umno i veselo alejut guby, jazyk doverčivo prižimaetsja k nebu.

Vnutrennij obraz stixa nerazlučim s besčislennoj smenoj vyraženij, mel'kajuščix na lice govorjaščego i volnujuščegosja skazitelja.

Iskusstvo reči imenno iskažet naše lico, vzryvaet ego pokoj, narušaet ego masku...⁵⁸

By identifying Kuzmin's poetry with the expression of a mouth, Mandel'stam implicitly recognizes him as a genuine poet, since moving lips are for him the source of poetry.

This same complex of imagery is further developed in the poem no.138 "Jazyk bul'žnika mne golubja ponjatnej", also written in 1923. In it Mandel'stam continues to draw on Kuzmin's third collection of verse, *Glinjanye golubki*, which, as G. A. Levinton has pointed out, serves as a major source of Kuzminian subtexts in Mandel'stam's poetry; it contains the poem "Novyj Rolla" referred to in the review cited above.⁵⁹ The first line of no.138 thus has a metaliterary component: Mandel'stam is indicating that his own system of poetics, associated with stone, remains preferable to him over that of Kuzmin.

Mandel'stam continued to connect Kuzmin with Axmatova when he published a scathing criticism of both the following month in *Russkoe iskusstvo*:

Voistinu russkie simvolisty byli stolpnikami stilja:
na vsej vmeste ne bol'she pjatisot slov - slovar'
polinezijca. No što po krajnej mere byli askety,
podvižniki. Oni stojali na kolodax. Axmatova že
stoit na parketine - što uže parketnoe stolpni-
čestvo. Kuzmin posypaet parket travkoj, što by bylo
poxože na lug (Nezdešnie večera).⁶⁰

The imagery used here is drawn from Kuzmin's 1914 poem "Rascveli na zontikax rozy" in *Nezdešnie večera*:

I s mostika vsja dolina -
Korolevski-sel'skij parket.⁶¹

Other lines in the poem provide a motivation for the connection established between Kuzmin and Axmatova in this review:

V takoj den' stixov ot prozy
My, pravo, ne razbarem.⁶²

These lines suggest that for Mandel'stam Kuzmin shared with Axmatova an origin in prose which was posited in "Pis'mo o russkoj poëzii":

Genezis Axmatovoj ves' ležit v russkoj proze, a ne
v poëzii. Svoju poëtičeskiju formu, ostruju i svoe-
obraznuju, ona razvivala s ogljadkoj na psixologi-
českiju prozu.⁶³

What is the difference between poetry and prose? A writer's direct or implied answers to this question may be used

to locate him on what Mandel'shtam in "Razgovor o Dante" called the globe embraced by Tjutčev's ocean". Initially Mandel'shtam found himself in the hemisphere of the explicit:

Raznica meždu literaturoj i poëziej sledujuščaja: literator vseгда obraščается k konkretnomu slušatelju, živomu predstavitelju èpoxi. Daže esli on proročestvuet, on imeet v vidu sovremennika buduščego. Soderžanie literatora perelivaetsja v sovremennika na osnovanii fizičeskogo zakona o neravnyx urovnjax. Sledovatel'no literator objazan byt' "vyše", "prevosxodnee" obščestva. Poučenie - nerv literatury. Poëtomu dlja literatora neobxodim p'edestal. Drugoe delo poëzija. Poët svjazan tol'ko s providencial'nym sobesednikom. Byt' vyše svoej èpoxi, lučše svoego obščestva dlja nego ne objazatel'no.⁶⁴

If for early Mandel'shtam the hallmark of his Verlainesque opposition of 'literatura' to 'poëzija' was its orientation toward the contemporary, for Kuzmin this was a primary feature of any genuine work of art:

Skol'ko raz my govorili s vami o tom, što vsjakoe podlinnoe proizvedenie iskusstva po samomu suščestvu svoemu, často mimo voli xudožnika, ne možet ne byt' sovremennejšim, inogda zagljadyvajučaja v buduščee, no už nikak ne otstavaja ot žizni.⁶⁵

Thus in Mandel'shtamian terms 'literatura' subsumes all art for Kuzmin.⁶⁶

Curiously enough, Kuzmin's most explicit considerations of the difference between prose and poetry are to be found in poetry rather than in prose: for him the critical function of 'avtometaopisanie', the metaliterary organ, was located in verse. This is true even of his earliest work, where poetry constantly serves as a key to the interpretation of his prose. The 1904 poem "Xariki iz Miletj" is subsequently absorbed into the prose of "Povest' ob Elevskippe, rasskazannaja im samim" to form a crucial embedded commentary on it.⁶⁷ The poem cycle "Prervannaja povest'" is a subjective complement to the enigmatic *povest'* "Kartonnij domik".⁶⁸ Inserted poetry generates temporal ambiguity in works as diverse as "Ten' Fillidy" and "Pis'ma devitsy Klary Val'mon".⁶⁹ It is no wonder, then, that Kuzmin was able to write in his weather-saturated poem:

V takoj den' stixov ot prozy
My, pravo, ne razberem.⁷⁰

However, it is clear from another poem in *Nesdešnie večera*, the famous "Fuzij v bljučečke", that for him prose was the general background against which poetry shone forth:

No vetka neožidannoj mimozy,
Rassekši nebesa, legla na nix, -
Tak na stranicax filofsoskoj prozy,
Porozu zablestit vlyublennyj stix.⁷¹

For early Mandel'stam the distinction between poetry and prose was to be found in the mentality of the author: he prefers to write of the 'literator' and the 'poët'; even when he mentions prose by itself, it is treated almost as a living organism - "nerv literatury". Kuzmin is his antipode. Here the emphasis is on the object (whether poetry or prose) in the mind of the perceiver.

Mandel'stam's strict dichotomy between the two modes, so characteristic of his early Acmeist stance, was modified over the decade separating "O sobesednike" from his first major work of literary prose, *Šum vremeni*. Jane Gary Harris, pursuing a thesis advanced by Ju. Levin and others, has pointed out that "as Mandel'stam matured, the bonds between his poetry and prose gradually tightened. Not only did the themes of his essays influence his poems, but by 1923, the major turning point in his life and literary career, the verbal fabric of his poetry found expression in his literary prose."⁷² The beginning of this process may be placed in 1921 with "Slovo i kul'tura", which includes a compendium of Kuzminesque imagery, and is the first Mandel'stam essay to make extensive use of autocitation.⁷³ Curiously, just as Mandel'stam was adopting this integration of poetry and prose, so characteristic of Kuzmin, he was engaged in freeing himself from another specifically Kuzminian trait: stylization. As Ju. Levin notes, "načinaja s 1921 g. uže net ne teni stilizacii, "Ja - èto ja, jav' - èto jav'".⁷⁴ Both processes are associated with increased criticism of Kuzmin himself, a deepening ambivalence marked by the re-christening of *Tristia* as *Vtoraja kniga*. It is reflected as well in changes Mandel'stam made to his article "Vypad" when preparing it for publi-

cation in book form:

O, čudovišćnaja neblagodarnost': [Kuzminu],
Majakovskomu, Klebnikovu, Aseevu, Vjačeslavu
Ivanovu, Sologubu, Akmatovoj, Pasternaku,
Gumilevu, [Xodaseviču] - už na što oni ne
poxoži drug na druga, iz raznoj gliny. Ved'
što vse russkie poëty ne na včera, ne na
segodnjy, a navsegda.⁷⁵

In *O poëtit* the names of Kuzmin and Xodasevič are omitted. It seems unlikely that the censorship was to blame, for if that were the case Gumilev would surely have been left out as well.⁷⁶ Rather, Mandel'stam is here simply eliminating both representatives of the "mladšaja liniija" which he had discussed in "Burja i natisk" from his list of poets deserving gratitude. Such minor figures, in particular Kuzmin as a representative of detested mechanical time, were by this time unworthy of inclusion in an organically integrated literary eternity.

"Egipetskaja marka", the only significant creative work Mandel'stam produced during the 1925-30 period of poetic silence, incorporates a distinct layer of reference to Kuzmin in the associative chains it uses to produce its kaleidoscopic treatment of time, art, and point of view.⁷⁷ The central Kuzmin allusion mediates between Mandel'stam and Gogol'. This is the episode of the stolen watch. Its connection with Gogol's "Šinel'" is made relatively explicit by the phrase "ne to on ukral časy, ne to u nego ukrali",⁷⁸ which is patterned on the popular saying, "Tam u nego što-to s šuboju, ne znaju, to li on ukral, to li u nego ukrali." The substitution of the watch for the coat, one component of the pervasive Gogol' references in "Egipetskaja marka", is a device analogous to one in Kuzmin. He had used the substitution as the basis of his 1910 *povest'* "Kapitanskije časy", a parody of Gogol' combining elements of both "Šinel'" and "Nos".⁷⁹ Mandel'stam not only reinforces the literary parallel between Parnok and Akakij Akakievič by applying this device, but also links Kuzmin with an image of mechanical time which Mandel'stam found repugnant. The link is further strengthened by Mandel'stam's Spinoza-like Jewish clockmaker, who is connected through paronomasia

to Kuzmin's Jewish clockmaker Limozius, a character in the 1906 short story "Iz pisem devicy Klary Val'mon k Rozalii Tjutel'majer".⁸⁰

A second set of Kuzmin associations is generated in the context of Mandel'stam's discussions of Kuzmin in his critical prose. It is initiated by recurrence of the 'serafim' image from Mandel'stam's first Kuzmin review. In "Egipetskaja marka" this image is attached to the six laundresses of chapter three:

Navrav v rot vody eti lukavye serafimy pryskali eju
na zefirovyj i batistovyj vzdor.⁸¹

The laundresses are subsequently associated with the transition from aural to visual so characteristic of Kuzmin's meta-literary poetry. Mandel'stam goes so far as to repeat the image of Titian's "Concert at the Pitti Palace" which he had used to convey this aspect of Kuzmin in his 1922 essay "Pis'mo o russkoj poëzii"; he also incorporates an abbot, echoing Kuzmin's nickname in the early days of Vjačeslav Ivanov's Tower:

A ja by rozdaj devuškam vmesto utjugov skripki
Stradivarija, legkie, kak skvorešni, i dal by
im po dlinnomu svitku rukopisnyx not. Rjaca v
oblakax para sojdet za sutanu dirižirujuščego
abbata. Šest' kruglyx rtov raskrojutsja na dyr-
kami bublikov s Peterburgskoj storony, a udiv-
lennymi kružočkami "Koncerta v Palazzo Pitti".⁸²

The transition from the aural to the visual is also signalled by the appearance of the deaf-mutes in "Egipetskaja marka":

V éto vremja proxodili čerez ploščad' gluxonemye:
oni sučili rukami bystruju prjažu. Oni razgovari-
vali. Staršij upravljaj čelnokom. Emu pomogali.
To i delo podbegal so storony mal'čik, tak rastopy-
riv pal'cy, slovno prosil snjat' s nix zapletennuju
diagonaljami nitku, čtoby spletenie ne povredilos'.
Na nix na vsex - ix bylo četvero - polagalos',
očevidno, pjat' motkov. Odin motok byl lišnim. Oni
govorili na jazyke lastoček i poprošaek, i nepre-
ryvno zametyvaja krupnymi stežkami vozdux, šili iz
nego rubašku.

Starosta v gneve pereputal vsju prjažu.

Gluxonemye isčezli v arke Glavnogo štaba, pro-
dolžaja sučit' svoju prjažu, no uže gorazdo spo-
kojnee, slovno zasylali v raznye storony počtovyx
golubej.⁸³

The deaf-mutes recall Kuzmin's recurring figure of a mute boy, one embodiment of the *važatyj*, his male muse.⁸⁴ Mandel'stam reinforces their connection with Kuzmin by associating them with the image of "prjaža" which he had used in no.104: "Tristia" to polemicize with Kuzmin's poem 'Nado mnoju v'jutsja osy', as well as by comparing their movements to a dispatch of messenger pigeons, yet another reference to Kuzmin's *Glinjanye golubki*.

The major references to Kuzmin in "Egipetskaja marka" have, then, a common function.⁸⁵ They reinforce its metaliterary component by focussing attention on the polyvalent nature of literary allusion, the theme of visualization of sound and, more generally, concretization of the abstract. It is not so surprising that Mandel'stam would choose Kuzmin for this peripheral (and therefore, in the context of the poetics of "Egipetskaja marka", central?) role, if only because of Kuzmin's own constant use of Egyptian themes in both poetry and prose. Perhaps it is no accident that the relationship between Čarskij and the improvisor (at least on the plane of artistic techniques) in Puškin's "Egipetskie noči", an inevitable literary association, could serve as a model for that between Mandel'stam and Kuzmin. An even better archetype is provided by another of Puškin's works. If, as Nadežda Mandel'stam once suggested, Mandel'stam could see himself as a Salieri, he was certainly a most Mozartian one, and one could ask for no more Salierian Mozart than Kuzmin.

Kuzmin died in Leningrad on 1 March 1936. It is not known when, if ever, Mandel'stam learned of his death, but perhaps his poem no.327 might be taken as an epitaph to their relationship:

Kogda ščegol v vozdušnoju sdobe
Vdrug zatrjasetsja, serdcevit,
Učenyj plaščik perčit zloba,
A čepčik černym krasovit.

Kleveščet žerdočka i planka,
Kleveščet kletka sotnej spic -
I vse na svete naiznanku,
I est' lesnaja Salamanka
Dlja neposlušnyx umnyx ptic!

The last line recalls the end of the title poem in *Glinjanye*

golubki, Kuzmin's third book of verse, to which Mandel'stam so often alluded when making reference to him:

I pokazalos' mne bezdušnym
Tainstvennoe remeslo,
I prizračnymi stali pticy,
I načala duša tomit'sja,
Čtob serdce dar svoj prineslo,⁸⁶
Živym golubkam, no poslušnym.

NOTES

Mandel'stam's poetry is cited by poem number and line, according to Osip Mandel'stam, *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-language Literary Associates, 1967-71; Paris: YMCA Press, 1981).

1. For Kuzmin's influence on early Mandel'stam see V. Žir-munskij, "M. A. Kuzmin", *Birševye vedomosti*, No. 15197 (11 November 1916): "Soznatel'no ili bessoznatel'no na ego (Kuzmin's) stixax vospitalis' sovremennaja poëtičes-kaja molodež', daže takie značitel'nye imena, kak Anna Axmatova i O. Mandel'stam." Cf. also Aleksandr Dymšic, "Poëziija Osipa Mandel'stama", in Osip Mandel'stam, *Sti-xotvorenija* (Leningrad: Sovetskij pisatel', 1974), p. 15; Gregory Freidin, "The Whisper of History and the Noise of Time in the Writings of Osip Mandel'shtam", *The Russian Review*, vol. 31 (October, 1978), p. 425; John E. Maimstad, "Mixail Kuzmin: A Chronicle of His Life and Times" in Mixail Kuzmin, *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977), vol. III, p. 141. Several important con-nections between Mandel'stam and Kuzmin in later years are pointed out in G. A. Levinton, "Na kamennyx otrogax Pierii' Mandel'stama: Materialy k analizu", *Russian Literature* vol. 5, no. 2 (April, 1977), pp. 125, 151 n. 13, 154 n. 37; vol. 5, no. 3 (July, 1977), pp. 217-218. Omry Ronen, *An Approach to Mandel'stam*, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983), contains several interesting obser-vations on textual interactions between Mandel'stam and Kuzmin; see pp. xvii, n. 16; 17, n. 1; 34, n. 20; 62, n. 3; 81, n. 23. I. V. Koreckaja suggests that Mandel'-štam's article "Petr Čadaev" can be viewed as a response to the general Slavophile-nationalistic outlook expressed in Kuzmin's review of Xomjakov, "Analogija ili provi-denija" in her chapter on *Apollon* in B. A. Bjalik (ed.), *Russkaja literatura i žurnalistika načala XX veka 1905-1917. Buržuazno-liberalnye i modernistskie izdaniya*, (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), p. 254.
2. E.g. Mixail Kuzmin, "Parnasskie zarosli", *Zavtra* No. 1 (1922), p. 116: "Takaja že neorganičeskaja, a vydumannaja i nasil'stvennaja škola, kak akmeizm s samogo roždenija

lezla po švam, soedinjaja ne soedinimyx Gumileva, Akmatovu, Mandel'stama i Zenkeviča"; Mixail Kuzmin, "Češuja v nevide", *Strelec* No. 3 (1922), p. 100: "Akmeizm tak tup i nelep, što etot miraž skoro projdet."

3. In a conversation with Lidiya Čukovskaja on 8 August 1940 Akmatova made her position clear: "On [Kuzmin] ni v odnom punkte ne sovpadal s nami; ne srodimsja my i v samom glavnom - v voprose o stilizacii. My soveršenno ee otvergali, a Kuzmin ves' stilizovannyj. (Lidiya Čukovskaja, *Zapiski ob Anna Akmatovoi* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1976), vol. 1, p. 149). This total rejection of stylization was not in fact shared by other Acmeists, who accepted it as long as it was sufficiently subtle. Cf. Sergej Gorodetskij's comment on Pasternak: "Praktičeskoe primenenie puškinskoj ejdologii po metodam, blizkim rannemu akmeizmu, lučše vsej udalos' Pasternaku. Predel'nuju voploščennost' obraza emu udalos' uvjazat' s edva zametnoju stilizaciej pod praktičizm puškinskoj reči." (*Styk* Moscow, 1925), pp. 17-18). Mandel'stam adopted the same stance indirectly in a characterization of Agnivev: "Štot Kuzmin na saxarine s margarinovym starym Peterburgom, gde stilizacija ne prjačetsja v uglax zub, a pret iz každoj stročki, kak lošadinoe dyšlo", (Osip Mandel'stam, *Sobranie sočinenij* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1981), vol. 4, p. 98).
4. Ju. I. Levin, D. M. Segal, R. D. Timenčik, V. N. Toporov, T. V. Civ'jan, "Russkaja semantičeskaja poëtika kak potencial'naja kul'turnaja paradigma", *Russian Literature* 7/8 (1974), p. 52.
5. Jane Gary Harris, "Introduction: The Impulse and the Text" in Osip Mandel'stam, *The Complete Critical Prose and Letters* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1979), pp. 3-4.
6. V. N. Toporov, *Akmatova i Blok* (Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1981), pp. 7-8.
7. A rare reminiscence of Mandel'stam is found in the second poem of the cycle "Viđen'ja" from Kuzmin's 1918 collection *Vošat'jy*. Its opening lines

*Seraja reet ptica
Strannoju mečty doc'*

recall the opening quatrain of no.21:

*Skudnyj luč xolodnoj meroju
Seet svet v syrom lesu.
Ja pečal', kak pticu seruju
V serdce medlenno nesu.*

Kuzmin's poem combines imagery from this poem and no.20, treating the same theme. The motif of coldness which is used by both poets to characterize their reactions to each other in their criticism is found in all three poems. Another example of Kuzmin's relatively infrequent allusions to Mandel'stam is found in the 1922 poem "Lesenka",

Paraboly, p. 112: "V pustynjax rajsikix tot ne odinok", a reversal of Mandel'stam's "V temnice mira ty ne odinok" from his poem "Dano mne telo..." [No. 8] first pointed out in Vladimir Markov, "O poëzii Mixaila Kuzmina", *Gesammelte Gedichte*, vol. 3, p. 365.

8. Osip Mandel'stam, "Egipetskaja marka", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 41.
9. As defined in D. M. Segal, "O nekotoryx aspektax smyslovoj struktury 'Grifel'noj ody' O. Ė. Mandel'stama", *Russian Literature* vol. 2 (1972), p. 52. This shared principle was noted early on by antagonistic critics, e.g. Georgij Gorbačev, *Očerki sovremennoj russkoj literatury* (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1925) [2nd edition] p. 29:

Kak by ni mily poroj kazalis' rosijskim intelligentam [...] čudesno-sdelannye stilizacii Kuz'mina [sic] ili umnejšaja igra Mandel'stama v sdvigi vremen i mest, v izyskannejšie i namerenno izlomannye metry, vse èto - tvorčestvo kakogo-to vtorogo, otražennogo porjadka. Zdes' ne sobstvennye slova i obrazy Mandel'stama i Kuz'mina rađujut i volnujūt, a vyzvaemye ix napominanijami smutnye vospominanija o tvorčestve prošlyx vekov.
10. See A. Morozov, "Mandel'stam v zapisjax dnevnika S. P. Kablukova", *Vestnik russkogo student'skogo xristianskogo dvizhenija* No. 129 (Autumn 1979), p. 136.
11. Vjačeslav Ivanov, *Sobranie sočinenij* (Brussels: Foyer Oriental Chretien, 1974) vol. 2, p. 801.
12. Clarence Brown, *Mandelstam* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973), p. 184 points out the similarities, but is mistaken in considering Mandel'stam's essay an *anticipation* of "O prekrasnoj jasnosti". John Malmstad, "Mixail Kuzmin: A Chronicle of His Life and Times", *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Munich: Wilhelm Funk Verlag, 1977) vol. 3, p. 135 correctly indicates that Kuzmin's article was read to a meeting of the "Akademija" in late 1909, before the writing of "François Villon" in 1910, and certainly long before its publication in 1913.
13. Sergej Makovskij, *Portrety sovremennikov* (New York: Izdatel'stvo im. Čexova, 1955), p. 381.
14. A. Morozov, p. 142. See also K. N. Suvorova, "Pis'ma M. A. Kuzmina k Bloku i otryvki iz dnevnika M. A. Kuzmina", *Aleksandr Blok. Novye materialy i issledovanie. Literaturnoe nasledstvo* (Moscow: Nauka, 1981), vol. 92, kn. 2, p. 162.

15. Cf. A. Morozov, p. 145: "Prisutstvovavšij na sobranii M. A. Kuzmin zapisal togda v dnevnike: 'Gorožeckij i Gummi (Gumilev) govorili teorii ne ves'ma vnjatnye'." The significance of the Orpheus myth for Kuzmin is discussed in John A. Barnstead, "Meshes and Mirrors: Two Metapoems by Mixail Kuzmin", *Alexander Lipson Memorial Festschrift* (in press). For its use in Mandel'stam see Steven Broyde, *Osip Mandel'stam and His Age* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1975), pp. 83-86. John E. Malmstad, "A Note on Mandel'stam's 'V Peterburge my sojdemsja snova'", *Russian Literature*, vol. 5, no. 2 (April, 1977), pp. 197-198 n. 3, suggests that Mandel'stam's enthusiasm for Gluck's opera was reinforced by Kuzmin's article, "Orfej i Evridika Kavalera Gluka", *Apollon* no. 10 (1911), pp. 15-19. This speculation is further supported by Mandel'stam's use of the epithet 'golubka' with Eurydice: the word is associated in his poetry with Kuzmin's third collection of verse, *Glinjanye golubki* - cf. G. A. Levinson, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
16. Mixail Kuzmin, preface to Anna Akmatova, *Večer* (Saint Petersburg: Cex poëtov, 1912), pp. 9-10.
17. Cf. Mixail Kuzmin, *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Munich, 1977), vol. 3, p. 665; in addition to the occurrences noted there, the ball image is used in the short stories "Mačexa iz Skarperii" (1976) and "Ten' Fillidy" (1907), in *Devst-vannyj Viktor* (Petrograd: M. I. Semenov, 1918), pp. 79-94, 171-184.
18. On the polemics with Tjutčev and with Symbolism in this poem see Jan M. Meijer, "The Early Mandel'stam and Symbolism", *Russian Literature* vol. VII (1979), p. 529; also his "A Case of Quoting", *Slavia* vol. XLV, no. 2 (1976), pp. 187-191. Other early Mandel'stam poems with possible Kuzmin references include no. 74 "Abbat" ("Abbat" was Kuzmin's nickname in the circle of Vjačeslav Ivanov's Tower; Kuzmin had been deeply interested in Catholicism and may even have converted to it for a time), no. 9 "Nevyrazimaja pečal'", no. 63 "'Moroženno!' Solnce. Voz-dušnyj biskvit." (compare ll. 7-8: "Prinjat' blagoslonno ot buložnyx gracij/ V zatejlivoj čašečke xrupkiju sned'..." with Kuzmin's famous "Gde slog najdu, čtob opisat' progulku/ Šabli vo l'du, podžarennuju buiku", *Seti* (Moscow, 1908), p. 15), no 51 "Tennis" (ball imagery; cf. also Kuzmin's enigmatic Englishmen Larion Štrup from *Kryl'ja* and Andrej Ivanovic Stok from *Plavajuščie pute-šestvujuščie* in light of ll. 13-16 of Mandel'stam's poem).
19. Osip Mandel'stam, "O sovremennoj poëzii (K vyxodu 'Almanax muz')", *Den' poëzii* (Moscow: Sovetskij pisatel', 1981), pp. 195-196. This publication of the review includes cancelled passages omitted in both Osip Mandel'stam, *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, pp. 27-30, and N. Xardžiev, "Vosstanovlennyj Mandel'stam", *Russian Literature*

no. 7/8 (1974), pp. 19-22. Square brackets enclose material crossed out by Mandel'stam. Both omissions seem significant: the elimination of 'jasnyj' indicates that Mandel'stam had already sensed that Kuzmin's vaunted clarity and simplicity were deceptive, anticipating by several years Konstantin Močul'skij's similar assessment in "Klassicism v sovremennoj russkoj poëzii", *Sovremennye zapiski* no. 11 (1922), p. 371:

My ničego ne znaem o genezise i putjax kuzminskoj poëzii: kritika otmečala ogromnuju složnost', skryvajuščuju pod étoj obmančivoj prostotoj, no nikto ešče ne pytal'sja osvetit' ee.

The elision of comments on Kuzmin's personality as pure form suggests that Mandel'stam may have had second thoughts about its complexity as well.

The Kuzmin's lines Mandel'stam quotes are from the poem "Sredi nočnyx i dolgix bdenij...", *Al'manax mus* pp. 87-88, ll. 23-24, reprinted in *Vožatyj* (Saint Petersburg: "Prometej", 1918), pp. 39-40.

The remarks on weather in the review, in addition to responding to Kuzmin's poem "Vse dni u Boga xoroši...", which was published in *Al'manax mus*, pp. 85-86 and subsequently in *Vožatyj* (Saint Petersburg: "Prometej", 1918), pp. 47-48, may also be an oblique criticism of the famous lines

Vedet nas pri ljuboj pogođe
Ljubov' - naš vernyj rulevoj.

from "Fustitsja by po belu svetu..." *Glinjunge požubki* (Saint Petersburg: M. I. Semenov, 1914) pp. 75-76, ll. 27-28.

One wonders if Kuzmin were ever shown this review for two of its more striking components, the image of the soul as metaphysical cotton wool and the verbal form 'vyplyvaja' occur in a poetic diptych in "Stixi ob iskusstve", *Paraboly* (Berlin: Petropolis, 1923), pp. 14, 15.

20. Mixail Kuzmin, "Kak ja čital doklad v 'Brodjačej sobake'", *Siniy žurnal*, no. 18 (1914), p. 6.
21. Osip Mandel'stam, "Razgovor o Dante", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 409.
22. Osip Mandel'stam, "Burja i natisk", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 345.
23. Marina Cvetaeva, "Nezdešnij večer", *Izbrannaja prosa v dva tomaz 1917 - 1937*, (New York: Russica, 1979), vol. 2, pp. 137-138. Kuzmin's readings often elicited a powerful reaction. Mandel'stam was almost certainly present at the meeting of the "Cex poëtov" described by Vasilij Gippius in *Žizn'* no. 5 (June, 1918), p. 12:

Ves' krug čital každyj raz, čitali po očeredi, posle každygo čtenija - stixi obsužдали, kak po suščestvu, tak i v častnostjax. [...] No kak-to posle stixov Kuzmina - redkogo gostja cexa - vdrug okazalos', što govorit' nikomu ne xočetsja; liričeskaja sila stixov byla nastol'ko ubeditel'na, što prežnie rassudočnye razbory pokazalis' presnyimi, govorit' o stixax Kuzmina značilo by vino pazbavljat' vodoj.

(Cited according to R. D. Timenčik, "Zametki ob akmeizme", *Russian Literature* 7/8 (1974), p. 32).

24. On Gumilev's use of this image in his poetry see R. Timenčik, "Xram premudrosti Boga: Stixotvorenije Anny Axmatovoj 'Široko raspaxnuty vorota...' ", *Slavica Hierosolymitana* vol. V-VI (1981), p. 302, n. 18.
25. Mixail Kuzmin, "Bledny vse imena, i stary vse nazvan'ja, -", *Osenne osera* (Moscow: Skorpion, 1912), p. 37, 11. 1-2.
26. Mixail Kuzmin, "Nad vxodom angely so svitkami", *Osenne osera* (Moscow: Skorpion, 1912), p. 90, 11. 11-12.
27. Mixail Kuzmin, "Antrakt v ovrage", *Antrakt v ovrage*, (Petrograd: M. I. Semenov, 1916), p. 53; "Sekret o. Gervasija", *Antrakt v ovrage* (Petrograd: M. I. Semenov, 1916), p. 26; on forgetting the name to attain the essence cf. also Mixail Kuzmin, *Tisij straž* (Petrograd: M. I. Semenov, 1916), p. 116.
28. E.g., Kuzmin uses an entire series of men named Andrej Ivanovič, all conscientious purveyors of excellent advice: Andrej Ivanovič Nalimov in "Kartonnyj domik" (1907), Andrej Ivanovič Fonvizin in *Nešnyj Iosif* (1909), Andrej Ivanovič Tolstoj in "Mečtateli" (1912), and finally Andrej Ivanovič Stok in *Plavajuššie putešestvujuščie* (1915). As V. N. Toporov and others, have pointed out, usually the surnames are altered according to some common semantic factor; thus Nalimov was originally modelled on the painter Konstantin Somov (common factor: 'fish'), Fonvizin becomes Tolstoj (common factor: 'writer'), Tolstoj becomes Stok ('tolstyj' translated into English as 'stocky'). *Obłomov* is a likely source of the first name and patronymic, along with Somov's father. Such intertextual correspondences often clarify enigmatic scenes in Kuzmin.
29. Mixail Kuzmin, *Nešnyj Iosif, Vtoraja kniga rasskazov* (Moscow: Skorpion, 1910), p. 385. Vjačeslav Ivanov, "O proze M. Kuzmina", *Apollon* no. 7 (1-10), p. 48, was particularly impressed by this passage, so perhaps Mandel'stam's polemic with it is best viewed as part of his general purge of late symbolist elements from his work, which was taking place at this time.
30. Osip Mandel'stam, *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-

- Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, pp. 363, 365.
31. Mixail Kuzmin, *Plavajuščište putešestvujuščište* (Saint Petersburg: M. I. Semenov, 1914), pp. 58-59, 187, 266-7; Osip Mandel'stam, "Gosudarstvo i ritm", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, pp. 123-127.
 32. Osip Mandel'stam, "Gosudarstvo i ritm", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 125.
 33. Mixail Kuzmin, *Kryl'ja* (Moscow: Skorpion, 1906), p. 37.
 34. Osip Mandel'stam, "Pis'mo o russkoj poëzii", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 34.
 35. The mistake about Titian's painting is pointed out in Osip Mandel'stam, *The Complete Critical Prose and Letters* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1979), p. 632. The relevant point here is that it is a visual representation of a musical event.
 36. Mixail Kuzmin, "K Debjussi", *Vožatyj* (Saint Petersburg: Prometej, 1918), p. 33.
 37. D. M. Segal, "Mikrosemantika odnogo stixotvorenija", in Roman Jakobson, C. H. van Schooneveld, Dean S. Worth, eds., *Slavic Poetics: Essays in honor of Kiril Taranovsky* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), pp. 395-405.
 38. Konstantin Močul'skij, "Tjažest' i legkost'", *Zveno* no. 42 (19 November 1923). I am grateful to Dr. Tatiana Goricheva, Paris, for her generous help in obtaining this rare item for me. Omry Ronen (see note 1) points out several ties between *Paraboly* and *Tristia*.
 39. Georgij Ivanov, *Peterburgskie zimy* (New York: Izdatel'stvo im. Čexova, 1952), p. 136.
 40. Kiril Taranovsky has pointed out Dante as the intermediary between the Biblical story of Raxil' and Lija, and Mandel'stam's poetry. A comparison of Dantean imagery in Mandel'stam and Kuzmin would require a monograph. However, one may note that Kuzmin in *Kryl'ja* cites the end of canto 28 of *Purgatorio*, referring to Matilda, who in Dante parallels Lija as Beatrice parallels Raxil'. It is interesting to note that Kuzmin's references to Dante are confined to *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*; his obsession with the journey as an act of purification keeps him from giving full consideration to its final goal. This may be contrasted to Mandel'stam's complex anti-Divine Comedy, on which consult Marina Glazova, "Mandel'stam and Dante: The Poet's Universe and His Place in It" (to appear in *Studies in Soviet Thought*).

41. Osip Mandel'stam, "Putešestvie v Armeniju", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 148, (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 153. Cf. also vol. 2, p. 183 (čertvertaja proza): "...narkom zemli armjanskoj, štoj mladšej sestry zemli iudejskoj".
42. Mixail Kuzmin, *Čudesnaja žizn' Iosifa Bal'zamo, grafa Ka-žlostro* (Petrograd: Stranstvujuščij Ėntuziast, 1918/19), p. 9.
43. Cf. the last line of no. 104 "Tristia": "A im dano gadaja umeret'". There are other ties between "Tristia" and Kuzmin's poetry: the phrase "Snuet čelnók" occurs in line 4 of "Sud'ba, ty vediš': Splju bez snov..." *Glinjanye golubki* (Saint Petersburg: M. I. Semenov 1914), p. 58.
44. G. A. Levinton, "'Na kamennyx otrogax Pierii' Mandel'stama: Materialy k analizu", *Russian Literature* vol. 5, no. 3 (July, 1977), p. 217.
45. Mixail Kuzmin, "Nado mnoju v'jutsja osy", *Glinjanye golubki* (Saint Petersburg: M. I. Semenov, 1914), pp. 94-95.
46. On Mandel'stam's attitude towards Radlova see Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vtoraja kniga* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1972), pp. 139, 140, 251, 510-512; also Osip Mandel'stam, "Literaturnaja Moskva", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), p. 327. On Kuzmin's role as Radlova's sponsor see John E. Malmstad, "Mixail Kuzmin: A Chorinle of His Life and Times", in Mixail Kuzmin, *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977), vol. 3, pp. 262-263. Mandel'stam was certainly aware of Radlova's work by the time no. 108 was being written; shortly afterwards, he participated with Radlova and Kuzmin in a poetry reading at the Union of Poets in Petrograd (October, 1920).
47. The association of Axmatova with wasps in Mandel'stam is traced out in R. D. Timenčik, "Zametki ob akmeizme", *Russian Literature* 7/8 (1974), pp. 40-42; Kuzmin's use of it is noted too: p. 42, n. 65. Both Mandel'stam and Kuzmin repeatedly associate Axmatova with Phaedra and with Egyptian/Gypsy imagery: see R. D. Timenčik, V. N. Toporov, T. V. Civi'jan, "Axmatova i Kuzmin", *Russian Literature* vol. 6, no. 3 (July, 1978), pp. 233-235.
48. Mixail Kuzmin, "K Debjussi", *Vožatyj* (Saint Petersburg: Prometej, 1918), p. 33.
49. Mandel'stam first paired 'tjažest' and 'nežnost' in No. 18 "V ogromnom omute prozračno i temno..." (1910). In Kuzmin the pairing recurs in the opening of part II of his 1916 novel *Tižij Straž*: "Tonkie, jarkie, ostrye kraski, xolodnaja nežnost' i soznanie, što pod štoju prizračnoju prelest'ju - tjaželaja spjaščaja zemlja!" (p. 112). For Kuz-

min the pairing is associated with a line from Vítěz Griffin which he cites in the 1912 *pověst'* Pokojníca v dome" and his 1916 critique of the painter Konstantin Somov:

Qu'il est donc lourd tout cet amour léger!

50. The use of nets in both Mandel'stam and Kuzmin is connected with the merger and/or inversion of sea and sky imagery. In addition to the cited works, cf. Mandel'stam's poem no. 385 "Gončarami velik ostrov sinij -", ll. 10, 19; for Kuzmin examples are too numerous to note, but cf. "Lodka v nebe", *Nedešnie večera* (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis, 1921), pp. 13-31; "Fuzij v bljudečke", *Nedešnie večera* (Saint Petersburg, 1921), p. 35; "Iz zapisok Tivurtija Pencija", *Dom Iskusstv* no. 1 (1920), p. 15. For both men the image of flying fish or fish/birds harks back to a Gogolian topos: see Andrej Belyj, *Masterstvo Gogolja* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo xudožestvennoj literatury, 1934), p. 43.
51. Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vospominanija* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1970), p. 200.
52. This despite Clarence Brown, *Mandelstam* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973), p. 219. One must also question Jennifer Baines, *Mandelstam. The Later Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), p. xiii, claiming that Mandel'stam was uninterested in titles. If this were so, he would not have bothered to alter the one Kuzmin had provided. Brown (p. 99) states that the owner of Petropolis, Blox, asked Kuzmin to pick out a title, but N. I. Xardziev, in Osip Mandel'stam, *Stizotvorenija* (Leningrad: Sovetskij pisatel', 1974), p. 251, suggests that Mandel'stam had actually given Petropolis the title *Novyj kamen'*, which was then changed at Kuzmin's instigation; if that was the case, Mandel'stam must have felt Kuzmin's interference even more deeply. On Mandel'stam's opposition to the concept of mechanical time see Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vospominanija* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1970), pp. 265-267; also Jennifer Baines, *Mandelstam. The Later Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), p. 53.
53. The main reason for the journey was the death of Radlova's sister, who was married to Mandel'stam's brother. See Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vtoraja kniga* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1972), p. 139.
54. This movement was ultimately formed under the banner of "Emocionalizm". The best available discussion of this short-lived but extremely interesting group (responsible for the journal *Abraksas* and the miscellany *Časy*) is George Cheron, *The Drama of Mikhail Kuzmin* unpublished UCLA dissertation, 1982), pp. 217-218, 280-282, nn. 66-72.
55. Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vtoraja kniga* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1972), pp. 139-140.

56. Mixail Kuzmin, "Pis'mo v Pekin", *Ustovnost* (Petrograd: Petropolis, 1923), p. 166. Kuzmin's title may contain ironic reference to the opening sentence of Mandel'stam's essay "Literaturnaja Moskva", published in *Rossija* no. 2:

Moskva - Pekin; zdes' toržestvo materika, dux
Sredinnogo carstva, zdes' tjaželye kanaty že-
leznodorožnyx putej splelis' v tugoju uzeli, zdes'
materik Evrazii prazdnuet svoj večnye imeniny.

Kuzmin had published in *Rossija*: the poem "Serdce" ("Serym tjanutsja teni roem"), with its echoes of Mandel'stam's no. 123 "Ja v xorovod tenej...", appeared in the first (August, 1922) issue, along with Mandel'stam's essay "Barsuč'ja nora".

57. Osip Mandel'stam, "Burja i natisk", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 345. The reference to Catullus is not as negative as it seems in isolation: cf. its use in "Slovo i kul'tura", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 224.
58. Osip Mandel'stam, "Razgovor o Dante", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 365.
59. G. A. Levinton, "'Na kamennyx otrogax Pierii' Mandel'stama: Materialy k analizu", *Russian Literature* vol. 5, no. 3 (July, 1977), pp. 217-218.
60. Osip Mandel'stam, "Zametki o poëzii", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 262.
61. Mixail Kuzmin, "Rascveli na zontikax rozy...", *Nezdešnie večera* (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis, 1921), p. 38, 11. 7-8.
62. Ibid., 11. 3-4.
63. Osip Mandel'stam, "Pis'mo o russkoj poëzii", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 34. On the origin of Kuzmin's poetry in prose see Vladimir Markov, "Poëzija Mixaila Kuzmina" in Mixail Kuzmin, *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977), vol. 3, p. 330. There may be an oblique connection of Kuzmin with prose via the 'kuznečik' image in "Literaturnaja Moskva. Roždenie fabuly":

Esli prislušat'sja k proze v èpoxu procvetanija
fol'klora to uslyšiš' kak by gustoj zvon ščepiv-
šixsja v vozduxe *kuznečikov* - takov obščij zvuk
sovremennoj russkoj prozy, i ne xočetsja raznimat'
ëtogo zvona, ne vydumannogo nikakim časovščikom,
slagajuščegosja iz nesmetnoj t'my *krylyškujuščix*
trav i ver.

The 'kuznečik' image is connected to Kuzmin both through paronomasia and through its folkloric association with the saints Kuz'ma and Dem'jan, whom Kuzmin employed in his *povest'* a clef "Kartonnij domik" to disguise himself: 'Kuzmin' is transformed into 'Dem'janov'. On the 'kuznečik' image in Mandel'stam see Kiril Taranovsky, *Essays on Mandel'stam* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976), pp. 68-82; also G. A. Levinton, "'Na kamennyx otrogax Pierii' Mandel'stama: Materialy k analizu", *Russian Literature* vol. 5, no. 2 (April, 1977), pp. 127, 142. Note also the association of 'kuznečik' with the word's loss of memory characteristic of Kuzmin in Mandel'stam's line "sredi kuznečikov bespamjatstvuet slovo". The association of the clockmaker theme with Kuzmin is discussed below. The 'trav' recalls Mandel'stam's characterization of Kuzmin in "Zametki o poëzii"; the epithet 'krylyškujuščix' might possibly evoke a distant echo of Kuzmin's *Kryž'ja*, in addition to its reference to Xlebnikov (kindly pointed out to me by Vladimir Markov and R. D. B. Thomson).

64. Osip Mandel'stam, "O sobesednike", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 237-238.
65. Mixail Kuzmin, "Pis'mo v Pekin", *Uslovnosti* (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis, 1923), p. 162.
66. This although Kuzmin could use 'literatura' in its deprecating sense as well; cf. "Krylatyj gost", gerbarii i èkzameny", *Uslovnosti* (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis, 1923), p. 173:

My podxodim k osnovnomu istoku vsjakogo iskusstva, čisto ženskemu načalu Sibillinstva, Del'fijskoj devyproročicy, večun'i. Èto načalo potom podvergaetsja vlijaniju drugix duxovnyx našix sil - volii, temperamenta, porывa ili garmonizacii, no jadro neobxodimoe - takovo. Bez nego - vsjakoe masterstvo - prostaja pobrjakuška i "literatura".
67. See Mixail Kuzmin, *Gesammelte Gedichte* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977), vol. 3, pp. 708-709; also Neil Granoinen, Mixail Kuzmin: *An Aesthete's Prose* (unpublished UCLA dissertation, 1981), p. 288-295.
68. Mixail Kuzmin, "Kartonnij domik", *Belye noži* (Saint Petersburg: M. I. Semenov, 1907), pp. 112-151; ;Prervannaja povest'", *Belye noži*, pp. 210-219.
69. Mixail Kuzmin, "Ten' Fillidy", *Zolotoe runo* no. 7-9 (1907), pp. 83-87; "Iz pisem devicy Klary Val'mon k Rozalii Tjutel'majer", *Zolotoe runo* no. 1 (1907), pp. 37-38.
70. Mixail Kuzmin, "Rascveli na zontikax rozy...", *Nezdešnie večera* (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis, 1921), p. 38, 11. 3-4.

71. Mixail Kuzmin, "Fuzij v bljudečke", *Naučestnie večera* (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis, 1921), p. 35, 11: 13-16.
72. Jane Gary Harris, "Introduction: The Impulse and the Text", in Osip Mandel'stam, *The Complete Critical Prose and Letters* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1979), p. 4. The relationship between Axmatova's and Mandel'stam's treatment of the prose/poetry distinction is discussed in Ju. I. Levin, D. M. Segal, R. D. Timenčik, V. N. Toporov, T. V. Civ'jan, "Russkaja semantičeskaja poëtika kak potencial'naja kul'turnaja paradigma", *Russian Literature* 7/8 (1974), pp. 47-82, and especially pp. 53-63 (sections 5-9).
73. Osip Mandel'stam, "Slovo i kul'tura", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), pp. 222-227. Cf. its repeated 'travka' imagery, its citation of Puskhin's net lines, its citation of Catullus (in light of Mandel'stam's association of Kuzmin with Catullus in "Burja i natiak"), autocitation of nos. 103, 104, 108, the phrase 'Slovo Psixexa' (in light of Mandel'stam's review of *Al'manax mus*), and, finally, the concluding sentence: "Klassičeskaja poëzija - poëzija revoljucija", in light of his remarks on Kuzmin's classicism.
74. Ju. Levin, "Zametki o poëzii O. Mandel'stama tridcatyx godov, I", *Slava Hierosolymitana* vol. 3 (1978), p. 111. This dividing point is noted as well by Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vtoraja kniga* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1972), pp. 48, 342; also her *Mozart and Salieri* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1973), pp. 60-62ff.
75. Osip Mandel'stam, "Vypad", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 228.
76. This despite Gleb Struve, *O četyrex poëtax. Blok, Sologub, Gumilev, Mandel'stam* (London: Overseas Publication Exchange, 1981) p. 180, who states that "pri perepečatke ètoj stat'i v knige v 1928 g. iz ètogo spiska vypali imena M. A. Kuzmina i V. F. Xodaseviča, - edva li po vine samogo Mandel'stama". B. S. Kuzin noted a similar omission in his account of conversations with Mandel'stam: "Trudno mne takže predpolažit', što dlja bol'sogo poëta mogut kak by ne suščestvovat' takie sovremenniki, kak M. A. Kuzmin, po krajnej mere pozdnij, ili Xodasevič." His explanation is especially pertinent here. "Mne kažetsja, što na ličnyx otnošenijax meždu pisateljami skazyvaetsja neizbežnaja, po-vidimomu, dlja nix literaturnaja partijnost', a možet byt', i kakaja-to skrytaja revnost'. O. E. ne byl svoboden ot nix." See B. S. Kuzin, "Ob O. E. Mandel'stame", *Vestnik russkogo xristianskogo dviženija* No. 140 (1983), pp. 118, 119.
77. On structuring principles in this work see Charles Isenberg, "Associative Chains in *Egipetskaja marka*", *Russian Literature* vol. 5, no. 3 (July, 1977), pp. 257-276; also Daphne M. West, *Mandel'stam: The Egyptian Stamp* (Birming-

ham: Birmingham Slavonic Monographs, 1980), pp. 91-124. The metaliterary aspects of "Egipetskaja marka" have often been pointed out (see especially D. Segal, "Literatura kak oxrannaja gramota", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, vol. 5-6 (1981), pp. 191-203, 242); here I discuss only the function of the Kuzmin-associated imagery.

78. Osip Mandel'stam, "Egipetskaja marka", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 29.
79. Mixail Kuzmin, "Kapitanskije časy", *Peterburgskie večera* vol. 2 (1910), pp. 115-174. The choice of Kuzmin as intermediary between Mandel'stam and Gogol' finds possible clarification in light of explicit Gogol' references in Mandel'stam's critical prose, the majority of which include images of sexual ambiguity, e.g.:

Tam [u Pil'njaka] ni odnogo "čto-to", ni odnogo liričeskogo sravnenija, nesterpimogo v proze, a elementarnaja igra roždajuščejšaja fabuly, kak, u Gogolja, - pod"ezžaja k Pljuškinu, srazu ne razbereš' "mužik ili baba, net baba, net mužik". (Osip Mandel'stam, "Literaturnaja Moskva: Roždenie fabuly", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 337).

Čerez "žaka" prosveščivaet kakaja-to merzkaja čičikovskaja roža. Kto-to pokazyvaet kukiš i qnusnoj fistuloj sprašivaet: "Čto, brat, skučno žit' v Rossii?"... (Osip Mandel'stam, "Žak roždilsja i umer", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 60).

Pokazyvaja, kak portnoj Petrovič oblačae Akakija Akakieviča v novuju šinel', Jaxontov čitaet bal'nye stixi Puškina - "Ja černym sobolem odel ee blistajuščie pleči", podčerkivaja etim ubožestvo liričeskoj minuty. (Osip Mandel'stam, "Jaxontov", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 113).

Moreover, Mandel'stam found in Gogol' precisely that blurring of the boundary between poetry and prose which disturbed him in Kuzmin, but which he found himself nonetheless adopting in his post-*Tristia* work:

A v odno iz okošek iz-za kuči baraxla vsegda gljadit grečanka krasoty neopisuemoj, iz tex lic, dlja kotoryx Gogol' ne ščadil treskučix i velikolepnyx sravnenij. (Osip Mandel'stam, "Xolodnoe leto", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 130.)

Compare Mandel'stam's attitude toward the simile in the above quote with that expressed in the quote from

"Literaturnaja Moskva: Roždenie fabuly".

Kuzmin is also associated with Gogol' in poem no. 108 "Sestry - tjažest' i nežnost'"; cf. Nadežda Mandel'stam, *Vtoraja kniga* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1972), p. 127:

On [paračen' upominanij černogo solnca u Mandel'stama i v mirovoj literature] sdelan vni-matel'no i ljubovno, no komentatoru sledovalo srazu otdelit' nočnoe i černoje solnce viny i gibeli ot slov o "solnečnom tele poëta" (Puškin) v stat'e o Skrjabine, a takže stročku: "I včerašnee solnce na černyx nosilkax nesut". Dva poslednix primera voxxodjat k slovam Go-golja, što včera ešče Puškin, kak solnce, byl centrom pritježanija i pritjagival k sebe ljudej, a segodnja - mertv i ležit v grobu.

Later, in *"Putješestvie v Armeniju"*, Mandel'stam would merge the image of the plow turning up time with that of Čiči-kov's carriage:

Voobrazite sputnikom Pallasa nikogo inogo, kak N. V. Gogolja. Vse dlja nego inače. Kak by oni ne peregryzlis' v doroga. Kareta vse norovit svernut' na splosnuju paxotnuju zemlju. (Osip Mandel'stam, "Pallas", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969), vol. 3, p. 163.)

80. Mixail Kuzmin, "Iz pisem devicy Klary Val'mon k Rozalii Tjutel'majer", *Zolotoe runo* no. 1 (1907), p. 38.
81. Osip Mandel'stam, "Egipetskaja marka", *Sobranie sočinenij* (New York: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1971), vol. 2, p. 15. While the use of the word 'serafimy' to characterize the laundresses tends to etherealize them, it also tends to draw the ethereal closer to earth. Note also the highly negative connotations of the number six in Mandel'stam's work, e.g. "šestipalaja nepravda".
82. Ibid., p. 16.
83. Ibid., p. 23.
84. The figure appears in both prose and poetry: "Povest' ob Elevsippe, rasskazannaja im samim" (1906), "Flor i raz-bojnik" (1907), "Snežnoje ozero" (1923); "Opjat' zatopil ja peči" (1911). In both "Flor i razbojnik" and "Snežnoje ozero" when the mute boy recovers his speech, it signals death: the path from the aural to the visual cannot be retraced without disaster.
85. Other possible references to Kuzmin in "Egipetskaja marka" include the sentence "Dikaja parabola soedinjala Parnoka s paradnymi anfiladami istorii i muzyki" in light of Kuz-min's book of poems *Paraboly* and his own punning reference

to it in "Iz zapisok Tivurtija Penclja", and "Ne Anatolja Fransa xoponim..." in light of Kuzmin's necrology of France in *Novaja Rossiija*, his association with France as translator, and the proximity of the image to one of mechanical time in the preceding sentence, with which it is linked in negation.

86. Mixail Kuzmin, "Glinjanye golubki", *Glinjanye golubki* (Saint Petersburg: M. I. Semenov, 1914), p. 5, 11. 13-18.