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## ASSIMILATION = SLAVERY: THE CITY OF TRUTH BY LEV LUNTS

Lev Lunts entered literature as a romantic (which conditioned both the character and fervour of his declarations), and as a writer of Jewish nationality; not only was his romanticism a general hindrance for him, as he was treated as a part of a "криминальное" течение¹ in his own time, but his Jewish origin also raised anxiety, especially within the context of semi-official reasoning that a Jew cannot be a "русским писателем".² All in all, editors were reluctant to publish Lunts, and he was better known as "an author of polemical articles" and as a member of the Serapion Brothers than as a writer (Schriek 1978, 352).³ Thus it did not come as a surprise that at the moment when his tragedies were coming under increasing attack, he received an invitation from the Jewish Habima Theatre to move to Moscow and work in the Jewish cultural scene (Schriek 1978, 352).⁴ If it hadn't been for Gorky and his journal Beseda as well as some journals which did not mind Lunts's origin or his view of Russian literature, who knows what this author's literary destiny would have been like even in his lifetime. One may recall that Gorky published the play

From Lunts's letter to his parents from 25 November 1922 (Schriek 1978, 352).

<sup>2</sup> Lunts wrote about this in the first preserved letter to Gorky from 16 August 1922. He openly asked his famous patron if it was right that he "удариться в литературу" with regard to his Jewish origin. Lunts stressed that he felt himself a Russian author and that he loved Russia more than any other country, and yet that he preferred western to Russian literature and didn't want "густого областного языка, мелочного быта, нудной игры словами, пусть цветистой, пусть красивой". This part of the letter ends with a bitter remark regarding his origin: "Я могу молчать и хочу молчать [...] еще 10 лет, потому что верю в себя. Но кругом говорят, [...] что я люблю сюжет потому, что я не русский" (Čudakova 1994, 141; see also: Evstigneeva 1994, 336, 337).

It is striking that the journal *The Red New*, edited by Voronsky, was closed to Lunts, even though other Serapions were accepted, including Vsevolod Ivanov. Pilnakov's review of Lunts's story *Homeland*, included in his letter to Voronsky on September 8<sup>th</sup> 1922, is representative in this sense: "Это рассказ о еврейском национализме, причем написанный неровно, первая и последняя главы просто слабые. По сути, это и не рассказ, а парабола. Если этот рассказ Лунц приведет в порядок («почистит»), то он бы мог быть опубликован в «Круге», поскольку «Красной нови» тематически не подходит" (*Literaturnoe Nasledstvo* 1983, 568).

From Lunts's next letter to his parents, sent on January 30<sup>th</sup> 1923, one learns that he translated Absalom's Curls for the Habima Theatre (Schriek 1978, 358).

City of Truth after Lunts had died, in the fifth issue of Beseda in 1924, supplying the publication with a foreword cum obituary (Lunts 1924, 63-101).

Lunts's fundamental intertextual analysis of the eternal theme of the leader and masses with regard to utopia and anti-utopia involves a dialogue with a large number of literary and other sources (ranging from Shang Yang, Plato, Aristotle, Marx and Engels, and Berdyaev to works encompassing both Aristophanes and Lunts's contemporaries Gorky, Blok, and Mayakovsky). This dialogue addressed a question which turned out to be of the utmost importance for the 20th century, namely the problem of the individual who has been driven out of an intimate, psychologically determined lifeworld and must now face harsh historical circumstances.

Lunts's philosophy of life (of "living life" = "кровавая, несправедливая, веселая жизнь" [Lunts 1994, 193]), which may be summed up in the idea that "there is no last revolution", that the dynamics of eternal movement and change are more important than the static state of achieving a goal (i.e., absolutising a certain phenomenon, state or idea), is close to the views of Zamyatin, but was in its essence based on the storylines from the Old Testament.

As a Jew, Lunts was surely imbued with lessons from the Old Testament as well as with its depiction of harsh scenes of life taking place under the cruel eye of God. However, rather than submitting to them and being respectful of the commands inscribed on the tablets, Lunts uses them to show the flux of the "living life" which constantly violates them, since "living life" is an eternal struggle involving the strongest passions (independent of any ethical code). From the story *In the Desert* to the play *The City of Truth*, one can observe Lunts's ideological struggle with canonised legends from the Old Testament, in particular as formulated in *Exodus*.

The most striking coincidence between *The City of Truth* and *Exodus* relates to the parts assigned respectively to Moses and the Commissioner. The former is supposed to take the sons of Israel from Missir to "the promised land", and the latter from China to "the promised land" once more – to Russia. However, whereas the Israelites' exodus from slavery in Missir is guided by the Lord himself (who is supposed to take them to the land of Canaan, i.e., to the land where "milk and honey flow"), the Lord, as one would expect, is absent from Lunts's anti-utopia, and liberation from slavery to the Chinese is entrusted to the Commissioner. In this sense, the migration of a vast number of soldiers in *The City of Truth* from East to West (from China to Russia) is contrasted with the movement of the Israelites from West to East (from Missir to the "promised land") – to the life-giving Sun. Nevertheless, Lunts portrays the soldiers' attitude towards the Commissioner, at the moment when he finds himself in the middle of the Gobi Desert, in the same manner in which he portrays the rebellion of Israel's sons against Moses, which breaks out while they are crossing the desert. The Israelites'

doubts about the possibility of reaching "the land of milk and honey" and the expression of their wish to return to Missir are best represented in their words of opposition to Moses: "Didn't we say to you in Egypt, 'Leave us alone; let us serve the Egyptians'? It would have been better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the desert!" (Exodus 14:12).

The soldiers' opposition to the Commissioner in Lunts's play is also the same as in the Bible. Whereas the Commissioner reminds the soldiers of their years of slavery in China ("Пять лет погибали мы у косоглазых, у чужих, как волы работали"), the crowd opposes him, crying, "Устал! Устал! Мы были сыты там! А здесь смерть!" (Lunts 1994, 169). Characteristically, in both camps the rebellion breaks out after they have walked for six weeks through the Desert Sin (or to be more precise, "on the fifteenth day of the second month" [Exodus 16:1]) and, respectively, through the Gobi Desert (Lunts 1994, 170); in both cases the dissatisfaction is caused by hunger. Thus the memory of substantial meals in Missir ("The Israelites said to them, If only we had died by the LORD's hand in Egypt! There we sat round pots of meat and ate all the food we wanted, but you have brought us out into this desert to starve this entire assembly to death" [Exodus 16:3]) and in China ("Как вспомнишь: пятница — отварное мясо с рисом и хлеба сколько хочешь" [Lunts 1994, 176]), tempts the two groups of people to return to slavery in Missir, or, respectively, in China.

Their wish to return and remain assimilated in Egypt is incited by evil rumours about the land of Canaan, which in turn cause the Israelites to start a new uprising against Moses: "Why is the LORD bringing us to this land only to let us fall by the sword? Our wives and children will be taken as plunder. Wouldn't it be better for us to go back to Egypt?" (Numbers 14:3).

In Lunts's play, the Doctor urges the soldiers to rise against the Commissioner again, explaining that life in Russia is all about working day and night: "Думаете, в России нет работы!?.. Днем и ночью. Тут хочешь – работай, хочешь – нет, а там должен: коммуна!" This, in turn, provokes the cry: "Назад! Не пойду дальше!" (Lunts 1994, 176-177). However, unlike the Torah, which does not depict the Israelites' arrival in the land of Canaan, and which ends with the repetition of the laws of the Lord referring to, among other, the behaviour of the Israelites in the land of Canaan (east of the river Jordan), whose lords they are to become, Lunts offers his model of "the promised land" (embodied in the City of Equality), which is in turn inspired by a catastrophic perception of a world ready to realize philosophical and literary utopias. Thus the eventual arrival of the Israelites in the land of Canaan takes a different turn in Lunts's play: the soldiers, led by the Commissioner, flee the City of Equality – the paradise on earth – and continue their quest for "the promised land".

The philosophical character of Lunts's play implies that the author of *The City* of *Truth* was engaging in a dialogue with certain philosophical texts, with the in-

tent of offering a critique of the ideal state. Hence the recognizable parallels between Lunts's play and certain parts of Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*.

Conceived as an ideal state, Plato's Republic has in its foundations only in "justice" (Plato 1991, 111), and this ideal became part of the very title of Lunts's anti-utopian play (The City of Truth). But how does Plato perceive just life in a state? It is as a community comprising three castes: philosophers, soldiers, craftsmen or farmers, where the best soldiers climb the social ladder and enter the cast of philosophers after they have reached the age of fifty. Let us note that the distribution of powers is almost identical in Lunts's City of Equality, in which there are three old men in the role of philosophers, i.e., the seniors who rule the City and invite soldiers to move there ("Город Правды и Равенства - наш город <...> Мы все равны. Мы работаем равно, живем равно. Вы искали правды, счастья, работы. Придите, работайте, живите с нами" [Lunts 1994,178]). Following in the footsteps of Plato, who sees the absence of citizens' unity in one's eternal need to put one's property in the forefront ("Doesn't that sort of thing happen when thay don't utter such phrases as 'my own' and 'not my own' at the same time in the city, and similarly with ewspect to 'somebody else's'?" [Plato 1991, 141]), Lunts also creates his own "citizens" who live in a state in which "все владеют всем, ни один не владеет ничем" and "все равны перед законом" (Lunts 1994, 186). Moreover, his citizens explain that they are "все, как один", because everything they do they do together: "Мы говорим вместе, думаем вместе, работаем вместе" (Lunts 1994,186).

Plato's ideal state, in which there will be no place for "the growth of insolence and injustice, of rivalries and jealousies" (Plato 1961, 175), is transformed into its opposite in Lunts's description of the City of Equality, and the Doctor's words are quite contrary to Plato's principles: "жизнь несправедлива" (Lunts 1994, 183). Thus, life knows no equality, the very City of Truth is lifeless.

Furthermore, Lunts's play also echoes the remark made in *Laws*: "In the first place, owing to their desolate state, they were kindly disposed and friendly towards one another" (Plato 1961, 173); the echoes of this line of thought can be found in the conversation among the three City seniors, who resent the differences among the soldiers ("Чужие, не похожи на нас. Не схожи между собой. Каждый особенный") and the fact that they are not respectful of order ("Нет порядка и закона. Это не люди"), which is why they decide to banish the soldiers from the City of Truth and Equality (Lunts 1994, 179, 180).

Nonetheless, the notion of truth as the utmost value in Plato's Laws<sup>5</sup> is subjected to doubt and rethinking in Lunts's play. This can be seen in particular in

<sup>5 &</sup>quot;All the goods, for gods an men alike, truth stands first. Thereof let every man partake from his earliest days, if he purposes to become blessed and happy, that so he may live his life as a true man so long as possible. He is a trusty man; but untrustworthy is the man who loves the

the figure of the Commissioner, who rejects the truth about the City of Truth (which he cites as the final destination in his attempt to keep his soldiers alive on their way through the Gobi Desert), and superimposes upon it a lie about the existence of another, true land of justice and happiness where he intends to take the remaining soldiers. Belief in a lie, which finds expression in the Commissioner's line "Там равны, но не одинаковы, счастье, но не покой. Покоя нет, покой для мертвых" (Lunts 1994, 195), is accompanied by "uncertainty" (also discussed by Plato), which results in the Commissioner's decision to kill the Doctor, whose voice is reminiscent of the Commissioner's earlier words when expresses disbelief in the existence of such a country, warning them that there is no end of the road and simultaneously accusing the leader of the soldiers of having rooted out and betrayed justice: "Ты искал правды, вот нашел ее. Что сделал с ней? Растоптал, растерзал, бросил. Всех до одного - убил... Что такое правда? Скука. Что такое равенство? Скука. Все честное, чистое - мертво. В неправде – жизнь, в убийстве – жизнь, в борьбе! [...] Опять пойдешь дальше, будешь обманывать их и себя, искать уже раз найденное и - брошенное?" (Lunts 1994, 193).

Hence it is only logical (and somewhat predictable) that Lunts, in bearing witness to a philosophical utopia being "finally" put into practice on the territory of Russia, constructs his anti-utopian play through recourse to the utopian visions of antique and other authors on the one hand and by describing the way utopia turns into anti-utopia at the very moment of its implementation on the other. What is striking in this context is Lunts's recourse to Aristotle's *Politics*, which, by way of a dialogue with Plato's *Republic*, presents its own model of an "ideal state" as a counterweight to Plato.

Thus the Doctor's rebellion against the Commissioner and his search for paradise, where everyone is equal ("Рай на земле, и все как один? <...> А если и так, если и верно – так я не хочу твоего рая!" [Lunts 1994,174]), is reminiscent of Aristotle's rebellion against Plato's image of a state of equals, which Aristotle formulates as follows: "And not only does a city consist of a multitude of human beings, it consists of human beings differing in kind" (Aristotle 1959, 71-72). For this reason, having discovered the City of Equality of his dreams, the Commissioner desperately cries out that he does not want "такого счастья, такого равенства" (Lunts 1994, 183). Aristotle's critique of Plato's unique state in which "all the citizens say 'Mine' and 'Not mine' at the same time" (Aristotle 1959, 75), may be found in Lunts's play both in the scene with the Young Man asking the Girl from the City of Equality to love "не всех — одного", and in the scene with the Boy who wonders, "Что такое 'мой'?" (Lunts 1994, 180, 184).

voluntary lie; an senseless is the man who loves the involuntary lie; and neither of these two is to be envied" (Plato 1961, 333-335).

After the inequality between the inhabitants of the City and the soldiers has become evident, a rebellion of the "citizens" necessarily follows. Once more, this is in line with Aristotle's view that "for generally the motive for factious strife is the desire for equality" (Aristotle 1959, 375). However, unlike Aristotle's concept of rebellion as something that either changes or cements the existing social system, Lunts offers a genuine rebellion that develops in a manner typical of its initiators: living as Equals in the City of Equality, the "citizens" go to their death on equal footing, which we learn from the observation made by the First Soldier that "целый народ в ночь укокошили" (Lunts 1994, 192).

Reflections on the "ideal state" preoccupied not only antique philosophers; there was also a sudden surge of interest in this topic in the Renaissance which found its characteristic expression in the works of Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella, Francis Bacon and Cyrano de Bergerac. However, with the exception of Campanella's *City of the Sun*, Lunts's attention was not attracted by the utopias of the aforementioned authors.

The connection between Campanella's dialogue and Lunts's play can be established immediately, due to the similarity between the two titles (although both are based on the old Greek tradition of founding a city-state). However, it can also be found on a deeper level, in the similarities and contrasts between the two authors' ideological solutions for the "perfect system". Thus, Campanella's Genoese emphasizes the world view of the citizens of the City of the Sun: "But when we have taken away self-love, there remains only love for the state" (Campanella 1901, 282), which he perceives as a virtue. In Lunts's play, care for the community is most vividly illustrated in the conversation of the three seniors of the City as they evaluate the newly arrived soldiers ("Нет порядка и закона. Это не люди", "Погубят Город", "Розобьют порядок" [Lunts 1994, 180]) and in the "citizens" confrontation with the soldiers, where absence of any interest for the individual is evident (Lunts 1994, 185-187). However, love for the community is also expressed "less fond of properity", which is explained by the fact: "Whatever is necessary thay have, thay receive it from community" (Campanella 1901, 283). Here we can recognize the remark of the citizens of the City of Equality that "Все владеют всем, ни один не владеет ничем" (Lunts 1994, 186).

Lunts's images of an "ideal state" as represented by the City of Equality reflect a polemic attitude towards utopian literature, among other things because the cited works served as a source for the communist utopia of Marx and Engels, which was realized in Russia with consequences that may be likened to a catastrophe for civilization. The ideas of Plato, More and Campanella, which are aggressively sublimated in *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, are met with utmost resistance in Lunts's *City of Truth*. Starting with the Commissioner's first line, when he renders a description of Russia as the "promised land" to his soldiers ("Только работай, слышь, работай – и нет никого лучше

тебя. Никто не скажет: "Я богаче тебя" — денег нет больше, нет мошны. И никто не скажет: "Я знатней тебя" — одна кровь у всех, красна кровь у всех" [Lunts 1994, 169]), one can easily conclude that the state in question is the one from *The Communist Manifesto*, whose main protagonist is the working class. Here one may recall that the call for communist revolution "путем насильственного ниспровержения всего существующего общественного строя" is based on the abolition of differences "между городом и деревней", as well as on solving the property issues, as "пролетариям нечего в ней [в революции — К.І.] терять кроме своих цепей", as opposed to — "приобретут же они весь мир" (Marx, Engels).

On the basis of the material cited above it is not difficult to conclude that Lunts, with his City of Equality, which embodies an ideal of parity based on the abolishment of individuality and hence on the intrusion of the community into all areas of life, is trying to demonstrate that utopian visions of social systems (from Plato on through Marx and Engels) are fatal to life; the catastrophic denouement of Lunts's play involving all the citizens of the City of Equality emphatically underlines this point.

Interestingly enough, Lunts found confirmation for his anti-utopian reflections in the books of a Russian contemporary, the philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev. The publication of Berdyaev's two books *The Meaning of History* and *Philosophy of Inequality*, which appeared during his German émigré phase (in 1923), coincides with the last year of Lunts's life in German hospitals and sanatoria (1923 and 1924).

In the foreword of Berdyaev's book *The Meaning of History* one finds a striking coincidence between Berdyaev's vision of Russian thought as one directed towards "эсхатологической пролблеме конца", "апокалиптически" coloured (Berdyaev 1990a, 3), and Lunts's meditations on The End in *The City of Truth*. Berdyaev's emphasis on "еврейское требование земного блаженства в социализме" employed by Marx as he transposed the Messianic message of people "на класс, на пролетариат" which should "освободить и спасти мир", earning bread "в поте лица своего" (Berdyaev 1990a, 70), corresponds with Lunts's perception of the soldiers whose quest for "the righteous land" encompasses both the Jewish exodus from Egypt and Marx's project of achieving a "heaven on earth" materialised in the rule of the proletariat. It is no accident that from the very beginning of *The City of Truth* the Commissioner's dream implies equality in work ("Только работай, слышь, работай — и нет никого лучше тебя" [Lunts 1994, 169]).

Accented by Berdyaev as the main character trait of the Jewish people, reflected in the philosophy of Marx, – "земная справедливость, земная правда, земное благо", that is "победа над неправдой" and their desire to create "царства Божия на земле" (Berdyaev 1990a, 72, 73, 75) is also found in the medita-

tions of Lunts's Commissioner, who muses about a land in which there is "правда и по правде люди живут", in which there are "правды и счастья" (Lunts 1994, 169, 195). Likewise, Berdyaev's remark that Jewishness is "коллективистично", and that it finds the idea of "индивидуальной свободы" alien (Berdyaev 1990a, 75, 76), has an analogy in the The City of Truth in the attitude of the soldiers, for whom any expression of personal freedom must be punished (cf. the murder of the Gloomy Soldier", Vanya, and the Doctor). Thus Berdyaev sees the ideal of social justice in direct correlation with "антихристом, с принудительнореволюционным осущест-влением правды на земле", which implies the "отрицание свободы духа" (Berdyaev 1990a, 81). Both "paradise" in the City of Equality and the soldiers' migration to the "righteous land" can be interpreted in this regard. If we consider the soldiers' belief that "конец есть", that is, that they will reach the end of the road and find "the promised land", as well as the Doctor's objection to this idea (for him "конца пута нет" - Lunts 1994, 196), we can establish two concepts of historical time: linear (progressive) and circular (cyclic). This also corresponds to Berdyaev's opinion about "утопии земного рая", which is, in effect, "тесно связана с учением о прогрессе" or false learning, as it implies that "в будущем, в грядущем разрешима трагедия времени" (Berdyaev 1990a, 149).6

Вегdyaev's speculative preоссupations in his *Philosophy of Inequality* are much the same. His view that "революцию не делает человек", but that "революция делается над человеком", that is, "случается с человеком, как случается болезнь, несчастье" (Berdyaev 1970, 10) is vividly illustrated in the example of a citizen from Lunts's City of Equality, whose human character in the materialised paradise of social equality bears no resemblance whatsoever to previous human beings: it is precisely due to the perceived change – revolution against the man – that the soldiers continue their quest for the land not only of "равенство", but also of "жизнь" (Lunts 1994, 190). Recognizable in the behaviour of the Commissioner and the soldiers, who long to see their (revolutionary) ideal come true, is Berdyaev's belief that "дух революции, дух людей революции ненавидит и истребляет гениальность и святость", that "одержим черной завистью к великим и к величию", so that it "не терпит качеств и всегда жаждет утопить их в количестве" (Berdyaev 1970, 11).

It is instructive to examine the reactions of the Gloomy Soldier in this context ("В России Бога нет") or that of the soldiers ("А где же твой Бог? Каков из

<sup>6</sup> Here we should also mention Berdyaev's observation from his Will for Life and Will for Culture, published as a supplement to his book The Meaning of History, that «организованность убивает органичность» (Berdyaev 1990b, 168), which is illustrated with this example, «жизнь делается все более и более технической» (Berdyaev 1990b, 168); the same line of thought may be discovered in the impeccable work organization of Lunts's citizens of the City of Equality, whose organic decay can be seen in their conflict with the soldiers.

себя?"), both of which follow the Old Man's call for prayer (Lunts 1994, 171,174). However, the desire to substitute quantity for quality is perhaps best expressed in the murder of the Doctor, as he is the only character who reveals the truth and is therefore singled out by the group of soldiers who believe in a lie. Let us also note that Lunts's soldiers - the people of revolution - represent a condition that could accurately be described by Bedyaev's words that "революция лишь внешне динамична", and that "в этих движениях есть безвыходное кружение" (Berdyaev 1970, 11), which is also confirmed by the Doctor in his last line, "Конца пути нет!" (Lunts 1994, 196). The traits of revolutionaries described by Berdvaev. who unmasks their "безверие и безбожие", and "дух небытия", which instils them with "эгалитарные идеи и страсти" and "закон энтропии", and which is enacted through them "в жизни социальной" (Berdyaev 1970, 24), is equally valid both for the soldiers obsessed by the idea of finding the "land of equality" and for the citizens of the City of Equality, who, in realising their idea in material terms, fall prey to entropy. Berdyaev's conclusion that the time of collapse of all the "утопий земного рая, серых, безличных, пустынных утопий, утопий предельного равенства и предельного счастья в небытии" has come (Berdyaev 1970, 26), is also applicable to Lunts's example of a "utopia" in the City of Equality, against which the Commissioner and the soldiers rise: they do not want "такого счастья, такого равенства", they find the life with the dispassionate citizens of the City of Equality monotonous (Lunts 1994, 183).

On the one hand, Berdyaev's accusation that the revolutionaries have taken the idea of brotherhood from Christianity, or that they have stolen it, to be more specific, and that in their kingdom a man "может стать лишь 'товарищем'" to his fellow man, because "братство без Христа, товарищество, есть соединение безличное, в котором нельзя различить ликов" (Berdyaev 1970, 157, 158, 159), is also evident in Lunts's play, when it comes to the impersonal "citizens" who address each other as "opar" and "cecrpa" (Lunts 1994, 188, 191). On the other hand, Berdyaev's insistence on the fact that by nature "человек человеку не брат, а волк", and that "люди ведут ожесточенную борьбу друг против друга" (Berdyaev 1970, 158), is mirrored in the soldiers' beliefs in The City of Truth, which stand for the principle of life. Finally, the main thesis of Berdyaev's Philosophy of Inequality, "С неравенством связано всякое бытие" (Berdyaev 1970, 166), is closest to the soldiers' objection to the ideal of the City of Equality, whose dwellers are perceived as dead in their parity (Lunts 1994, 189); however, the Commissioner's dream about the land of both life and equality, seems to be in conflict with itself (in line with Berdyaev), which can also be heard in Doctor's warning, when he denies the possibility of existence of such a land (Lunts 1994, 190, 196). This supports the view of the Russian philosopher that equality goes hand in hand with non-existence and inequality with existence.

For Lunts, the fight for the right to inequality, to difference, was closely allied with the fight against assimilation and slavery in living life. As it turns out in the course of the play, for Russia the never-ending quest for the "promised land" is nothing but a dream of freedom, inequality and existence. Thus, the Commissioner's initial depiction of the ideal land where "не течет больше кровь", in which there is "мир в избе, мир в доме, и в поле, и во всей стране", is transforms into an apology of life achieved "в ненависти", "в борьбе", "в убийстве" и "в любви" (Lunts 1994, 169, 186, 187).

Regarding the ending of the play, one may conclude that the events in the City of Equality are merely an episode on the never-ending path to the "promised land", where the Doctor's words, "Конца пути нет!", "Вы дойдете и не найдете!.. Конца нет!" (Lunts 1994, 196) reverberate as a leitmotif. In this way, Lunts remains unwavering in his interpretation of the Books of Moses as an eternal journey to the "land of milk and honey", whereby the Books ultimately serve as the cornerstone of *The City of Truth*, the first anti-utopian play.

## Literature

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