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# SOLANUS

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

**New Series**

**Vol. 1 1987**





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## From the Editorial Board

This journal is not new but born again. *Solanus* already has a twenty-year history behind it, and the bibliography on pages 88–93 shows that its first twenty volumes have given it some standing in an important though specialized area of Slavonic and East European studies. For librarians dealing with publications from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it has for two decades been a vehicle for the exchange of experience and information.

In relaunching *Solanus* as an explicitly international, scholarly journal with much wider terms of reference, we believe that an opening exists for a regular publication treating all aspects of the printed word in Russia, the USSR and Eastern Europe: the history of publishing and printing; the present status and current concerns of the printed media in that part of the world; and the closely associated subjects of the book arts, reader studies and censorship, besides—as previously—matters of interest to the librarian and bibliographer.

We are very conscious that *Solanus*, in setting sail into the wider seas of Slavonic and East European *knigovedenie*, is a newcomer entering an ocean long and extensively navigated by scholars from within the countries concerned. Recognizing their past and present achievements, we nevertheless intend that *Solanus*, as the only journal outside the region exclusively devoted to this field of study, should make a distinctive contribution to it in future. We expect to give particular attention to work which draws on original material located outside the region (as in Hélène Grjebine's memoir and Hilde Hardeman's article in this volume); to the views of scholars from other parts of the world studying phenomena peculiar to the region (such as Professor Butler's account here of the All-Union Society of Book Lovers); and to topics less fully covered by indigenous studies because (like the question of clandestine publishing in Poland treated by Dr Świdorska) they are in some respect sensitive matters in their home country. For the same reason, our reviews will address principally the limited number of relevant publications appearing outside the region, although we shall include some works from within it which we feel deserve an 'alternative' critique. We hope, for example, that the next volume will include an extensive assessment of the Soviet *Knigovedenie* encyclopaedia of 1982.

If you think that this recast *Solanus* has given you something worthwhile, please tell us. If you think it has not but could yet, please tell us how. If you think you could give *us* something worthwhile, we shall be happy to have your proposals. The journal's future depends on a vigorous traffic in ideas and criticism between those who write for it, edit it and read it.

# The Publisher Zinovii Isaevich Grzhebin: A Documentary Memoir

Hélène Grjebine

## Introduction

Although Grzhebin's name is familiar to students of early twentieth-century Russian literature and publishing, thanks particularly to his close association with Gor'kii over many years, Hélène Grjebine's memoir is the first extended account of his life and career to be published. In it she draws on a mixture of primary and secondary sources to supplement the family's collective memory of their father. The portrait of Grzhebin that emerges, while far from complete, as Madame Grjebine had access only to a rather limited range of material and did not set herself the task of writing a fully researched and documented biography, is a valuable addition to the gallery of Russian publishing giants, of whom Grzhebin was perhaps one of the last representatives.

Those areas of Grzhebin's professional activity in which he worked alongside Gor'kii have received more or less detailed attention from Soviet scholars, but it is an eloquent indication of the paucity and unreliability of previously available personal information on Grzhebin that Madame Grjebine is the first to provide an accurate date for his birth: 1877, instead of 1869, the date usually given in Soviet sources. (The date and place of Grzhebin's birth are confirmed by the death-certificate issued to his widow by the mayor of Vanves on 14 February 1929 and now in the family archive.) While there is perhaps nothing very startling about Grzhebin having been inspired to found a satirical journal when he was in his late twenties, as opposed to his mid-thirties, as has hitherto been tacitly assumed, the realisation that he was not quite thirty when he established the 'Shipovnik' publishing house comes as a surprise and serves to underline even more emphatically the energy and talent of this young man who had only recently discovered his publishing vocation. This is just one example of the way Madame Grjebine's memoir, by revising a simple detail, can inspire a better informed view of Grzhebin's personality and career.

Several other aspects of Grzhebin's life are described for the first time by Madame Grjebine, creating a personal framework for her survey of his publishing activities: his background and education, his family circumstances, his imprisonment in 1906, his home life in the last years before he left Russia, and his circle of friends and colleagues.

Relying as she does on a small number of somewhat haphazardly chosen

sources, Madame Grjebine does not aspire to give an exhaustive account of Grzhebin's professional work in his pre-emigration period. Her chapter on the satirical journals derives mainly from the much fuller account given by Z. M. Karasik (note 2); and her chapters on the publishing houses 'Parus', 'Vsemirnaya literatura' and 'Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina' may usefully be supplemented by reference to the detailed documentary and memoir material presented in the following publications:

V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gor'kii: *Pis'ma, vospominaniia, dokumenty*, edited by B. A. Bialik and others, izd. 3-e, dopolnennoe (Moscow: Nauka, 1969), pp. 178, 185–6, 206–7, 261 and passim.

O. D. Golubeva, *Gor'kii-izdatel'* (Moscow: Kniga, 1968).

O. D. Golubeva, 'Knigoizdatel'stvo "Parus" (1915–1918)', in *Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 12 (1966), pp. 160–92.

*Istoriia knigi v SSSR, 1917–1921*, edited by E. L. Nemirovskii and V. I. Kharlamov, vol. 1 (Moscow: Kniga, 1983), pp. 199–201, 208–28 and passim.

L. M. Khlebnikov, 'Iz istorii Gor'kovskikh izdatel'stv: "Vsemirnaia literatura" i "Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina"', in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, 80 (1971), pp. 668–703.

*M. Gor'kii i sovetskaia pechat'*, Arkhiv A. M. Gor'kogo, X/1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), pp. 7–21.

V. A. Maksimova, *Gor'kii-redaktor (1918–1936)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965).

A. S. Miasnikov, 'A. M. Gor'kii—organizator izdatel'stva "Vsemirnaia literatura" (1918–1921 gg.)', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 2 (1958), pp. 67–95.

A. I. Nazarov, *Oktiabr' i kniga: Sozdanie sovetskikh izdatel'stv i formirovanie massovogo chitatelia, 1917–1923* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), pp. 151–165, 181–88 and passim.

R. M. Samarin, 'A. M. Gor'kii i "Vsemirnaia literatura"', in *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, seriia VII: Filologiiia, zhurnalistika, 1 (1963), pp. 3–14.

I. A. Shomrakova, 'Knigoizdatel'stvo "Vsemirnaia literatura" (1918–1924)', in *Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 14 (1967), pp. 175–93.

It should, however, be noted that despite the enviable abundance of documentary evidence available to them the authors of these publications present a picture of events and personalities that is far from reliable, since, on the one hand, they concentrate almost exclusively on Gor'kii, while, on the other, they have to explain away or pass over in silence many episodes in Gor'kii's biography of the immediately post-revolutionary period which do

not fit in with the accepted 'hagiographical' view of his role. Moreover, they only touch upon events after 1922 in the sketchiest fashion. Much is thus left unsaid not only about Grzhebin's major contribution to the work of 'Vsemirnaia literatura' and 'Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina', both within Russia and abroad (see, for example Ben Hellman, 'Biblion: A Russian Publishing House in Finland', *Studia Slavica Finlandensia* [Helsinki], 2 (1985), pp. 21-30), but also, not surprisingly, about the collapse of his own publishing house and his subsequent struggle to obtain compensation from the Soviet authorities. This last, combined with Grzhebin's quarrel with Gor'kii, probably explains the generally negative attitude towards Grzhebin that emerges from the fragmentary coverage of his work in Soviet publications.

Madame Grjebine's chapters on Berlin and Paris and the final chapter on Grzhebin's friendship with Gor'kii, which contain most of the unpublished documentary material to which she had access, are therefore perhaps the most important part of her memoir, particularly if read in conjunction with the corresponding sections of Hilde Hardeman's article below and the major publication 'Iz perepiski Maksima Gor'kogo', largely concerned with Grzhebin's journal and monograph series *Letopis' Revoliutsii*, in *Russkii Berlin 1921-1923: Po materialam arkhiva B. I. Nikolaevskogo v Guverovskom Institute*, edited by L. Fleishman and others (Paris: YMCA Press, 1983).

Having written to Lenin on 2 November 1920, 'Delo Grzhebina—moe delo, i eto nalazhennoe delo' (*V. I. Lenin i A. M. Gor'kii: Pis'ma, vospominaniia, dokumenty* [see above], p. 206), Gor'kii may well have felt in some degree guilty towards Grzhebin after the collapse of his publishing house, although the most he could probably have been accused of was excessive optimism about its chances of success. On the evidence presented by Madame Grjebine, he behaved badly towards Grzhebin over the question of ownership of the 20 stories published by Grzhebin as *Izbrannye rasskazy* (see note 34). These two circumstances perhaps explain why both Gor'kii himself, in his published correspondence from the mid-1920s onwards, and Gor'kii scholars, following his lead, have been so very reticent about Grzhebin generally and about the deterioration of his relationship with Gor'kii in particular. For example, Gor'kii's letters of 15 December 1928 and 18 January 1929 to his secretary, P. P. Kriuchkov, contain only the following references to Grzhebin's last letters to him: 'Prilagaiu pis'mo Grzh[ebina]. Kak byt?', 'O Grzhebine. Vy nichego ne mozhete sdelat?'' (*M. Gor'kii: Neizdannaiia perepiska*, Arkhiv A. M. Gor'kogo, XIV [Moscow: Nauka, 1976], pp. 489, 491).

For a full account of this episode we must await the publication of all the relevant documents in the Gor'kii archive.

The text of Madame Grjebine's memoir has been edited, with her collaboration, from two typescript versions, of which copies are housed in the Leeds Russian Archive. All quotations from the published and unpublished sources on which Madame Grjebine draws have been verified. Wherever possible, dates and points of historical fact have also been verified, but the precise chronology of Grzhebin's activities in 1906 remains to be clarified: his known involvement in *Zhupel* and *Adskaia pochta* in early 1906 and in 'Shipovnik' in late 1906 does not seem to leave enough time for him to have served quite such a long prison sentence as Madame Grjebine suggests (the notes to Benois' memoirs indicate a period of 6 rather than 9 months, which may solve the problem: Aleksandr Benua, *Moi vospominaniia*, 2 [Moscow, 1980], p. 699).

As the Gor'kii-Grzhebin correspondence is for the most part only available in note or copy form (see notes 12, 35, 36), the texts presented here may differ slightly from the originals. In the case of Grzhebin's last letters to Gor'kii (see notes 39, 40), the texts are taken from the manuscript and typescript copies Grzhebin retained and so may also differ from the versions sent to Gor'kii. In transcribing unpublished material the punctuation of the originals has been retained in all but a very few places. Editorial interventions are within square brackets.

Biographical information has been provided only for those people mentioned in the text whose names are followed by an asterisk. With the exception of the French publisher Fernand Nathan, everyone else referred to figures in *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, *Kratkaia literaturnaia entsiklopediia*, or *Knigovedenie: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow, 1982). No other editorial annotations have been made, as it was felt that extensive notes would have overburdened a text of this nature. Help with the editorial work was given by Dr G. Donchin, Mr J. Graffy, Dr C. Thomas and Dr G. Walker, and is gratefully acknowledged.

Richard Davies,  
Leeds Russian Archive.

### З. И. Гржебин — издатель

(По документам и воспоминаниям его дочери)

Мой отец, Зиновий Исаевич Гржебин, родился в июле 1877 году в Чугуеве (Харьковская губерния), в бедной еврейской семье. Отец Гржебина отбыл 25 лет на военной службе, и так как в то время евреям, не родившимся в Петербурге, запрещалось жить в столице, Зиновий Гржебин впоследствии получил разрешение жить в Петербурге только благодаря 25 годам военной службы своего отца.

Гржебин окончил Харьковское художественное училище (1890-1899 гг.) и поехал в Мюнхен учиться живописи в академии Холлоши. Там из русских кроме Гржебина учился еще и Мстислав Валерианович Добужинский, который в своих воспоминаниях так описывает свое знакомство с Гржебиным:

«В школе [...] учился тот самый Зиновий Гржебин, который впоследствии, совсем оставив живопись, так много сделал замечательного в России в издательском деле — («Жупел», «Шиповник» и т. д.). Тогда он очень усердно работал и был одним из любимых учеников Холлоши. Гржебин принадлежал к школьной «богеме» и по вечерам постоянно сидел в ресторане в парке, слушая цыган, или в шумной компании в деревне распевал по ночам венгерские песни [...]. Гржебин был очень забавен со своим огромным носом, кудрявый, в очках, и ходил в русской белой рубашке с горошинками.» (1)

Приехав в Петербург, Гржебин поселяется в квартире Ольги Ивановны Дориомедовой\*. Ольга Ивановна была очень умная, передовая и культурная женщина. Она очень полюбила Гржебина, а ее дочь, Мария Константиновна\*, стала его женой и всю жизнь разделяла его радости и успехи, а также его сомнения и разочарования.

#### *Сатирические журналы*

В 1905 году Гржебин задумывает издавать сатирический журнал в жанре немецкого журнала «Симплициссимуса» (начал выходить в 1896 году). Для исполнения этой цели Гржебин начинает писать художникам из объединения «Мир искусства» и писателям, с тем чтобы соединить их. Все сразу откликнулись на предложение Гржебина с ним работать и вместе создавать сатирический журнал. Гржебин также старается привлечь Горького и просит у него назначить встречу художников и писателей. Он пишет об этом Добужинскому:

«Горький, Куприн, Андреев и др. из «Знания» будут у нас участвовать с *большой* охотой. Мы стучимся в открытые двери. Эта идея им так симпатична, что они готовы работать (не участвовать, а работать) вместе с нами, и разделить вместе с нами успех и ошибки. Они, как и мы, видят в этом деле большое культурное значение для жизни обновленной России, литераторов и художников. Они, как и мы, видят, находят, что мы, соединенными силами, принесем, как жизни, так и искусству, большую пользу. «Смеху в будущем принадлежит многое» (Горький).» (2)

О встрече у Горького мы читаем в письме И. Я. Билибина П. Е. Щербову\* от 6-го июля 1905 года:

«Вся компания едет в воскресенье к Максиму Горькому в Куоккалу. А компания вот такая: Добужинский, Замирайло, Нурок\*, Гржебин,

Сюн[н]ерберг\*, я; из Мюнхена едет Игорь Грабарь, а из градов финляндских стекутся разные финские художники Иернефельды [Ярнефельт\*] и т. п.

Я убоился, что это будет нечто вроде поездки на поклонение к Горькому, но меня уверили, что ничего подобного, ибо Горький сам извинялся, что не может приехать к кому-нибудь из нас, не имея права на въезд в Петербург. [...] Поедемте; любопытно. Мне велено непременно Вас уговорить.»(3)

О проекте издания сатирических журналов пишут также Е. Е. Лансере и А. П. Остроумова-Лебедева. Приводим выдержки из письма Лансере к А. Н. Бенуа от 1 июля 1905 г.:

«Получил я письмо от Гржебина [...] Зовет меня в Питер на своего рода съезд; вернее, не в самом Петербурге, куда Горькому воспрещен въезд, а где-то в Финляндии, у Горького [...] Выпустить первый номер они думают только глубокой осенью, когда надеются, что будут свободны от цензуры, так как при теперешней совершенно невозможно. [...] Я уверен, что он [«Жупел»] мог бы сыграть громадную роль не только чисто политическую — но статью, главным образом, мостом, связью между художниками — публикой — и литературой. [...] Я знаю, у тебя глубокая антипатия к Горькому. И я не знаю, надолго ли мы сможем итти с ними заодно — но мне кажется, что это соединение нужно испытать и испытать с открытым сердцем — потому что из этого может выйти очень значительное явление и совершенно новые комбинации.» (4)

Со своей стороны Остроумова-Лебедева тоже описывает встречу художников и писателей в своих «Автобиографических записках»:

«Я помню, когда мы, художники, в то время собирались вместе, мы ни о чем не могли говорить, как только о наших политических событиях. [...] И вот, чтобы выразить наш протест и солидарность с угнетенными, художники группы «Мир искусства» и многие из писателей решили издавать журнал политической и художественной сатиры. В продолжение лета 1905 года будущие участники этого журнала собирались у Максима Горького, в Куоккала, а потом у Добужинского, у Билибина. Одно из таких собраний состоялось и у нас на квартире, на 13-й линии В.[асильевского] О[строва]. Пришло много художников [...] Из писателей обещали свое участие: Максим Горький, Леонид Андреев, А. Куприн, С. Гусев-Оренбургский, А. Амфитеатров, П. Щеголев, Нурок и многие другие. Гржебин был выдвинут как главный организатор и как будущий редактор.» (5)

Свидание у Горького состоялось 10-го июля 1905 года. Первый номер «Жупела» вышел только в начале декабря 1905 года. Журнал имел огромный успех и по словам жены Лансере в письме к брату художника:

«Еще до появления «Жупела» он был буквально нарасхват [...] За наличные деньги разошлось 30 тысяч, разобранные артелями газетчиков до выхода в свет.» (6)

Н. В. Синицын так описывает иллюстрации «Жупела»:

«[...] На первой странице первого номера журнала был помещен рисунок Анисфельда\* «1905 год» — кровавые кошмары казней. На последней странице рисунок Гржебина «Орел-оборотень, или политика внешняя и внутренняя». В этом же номере напечатаны знаменитый рисунок Серова «Солдатушки, бравы ребятушки, где же ваша слава?» и полный трагизма рисунок Добужинского «Октябрьская идиллия». (7)

25-го декабря 1905 года и 10 января 1906 года в редакции журнала были обыски, и против Гржебина и издателя журнала С. П. Юрицына\* затеяли судебное дело. После выхода третьего номера в первой половине января 1906 года журнал был запрещен. Он продолжал свое существование под названием «Адская почта» и с расширенной редакцией из членов основанного сотрудниками «Жупела» издательского товарищества. В уставе товарищества Гржебину отведена роль «лица, проводящего в жизнь решения [Художественно-литературного] Комитета» (8), и З. М. Карасик подтверждает, что Гржебин «выполнял в «Адской почте», как и в «Жупеле», организационную работу» (9).

Однако Гржебина обвинили в оскорблении величества царя (10) и присудили его к тюремному заключению. Он провел в тюрьме 9 месяцев. В это время у него было уже семья, но он не был женат, так как евреям не разрешалось жениться на православных. В связи с этим нашей матери не разрешалось его навещать в тюрьме. Ей пришлось перейти в лютеранство (единственная религия, которая разрешала браки христиан с евреями). После принятия лютеранской религии наша мама могла вступить в брак с нашим отцом. Их венчали в тюрьме и после этого мама получила разрешение навещать своего мужа. Старшая дочь — Лия\* — тоже приняла лютеранскую религию, а когда родились моя сестра Ирина\* и я [Елена\*], то нас крестили. Наш крестный отец был А. М. Ремизов.

После 9-ти месяцев тюрьмы Гржебина освободили благодаря хлопотам за него царского доктора, Боткина\*. (11)

В начале июля 1906 года после выхода четвертого номера и «Адская почта» была запрещена. Тогда Гржебин вместе с Копельманом\* открывает свое издательство.

#### «Шиповник»

Также как и для сатирических журналов Гржебин привлекает в свое издательство самых крупных писателей и художников того времени,

таких как — Андреев, Аверченко, Бальмонт, Андрей Белый, Блок, Бенуа, Билибин, Брюсов, Бунин, Добужинский, Зайцев, Замятин, Лансере, Ремизов, Сологуб, Тэффи, Саша Черный, Чехонин, Шалом Аш и многие другие.

В феврале 1907 года выходит первая книга «Литературно-Художественного Альманаха издательства «Шиповник», и вскоре появляется также первая книга «Северных Сборников».

В первых номерах «Альманахов» вышли сочинения Андреева, Бальмонта, Белого, Брюсова, Бунина, Блока, Зайцева, Куприна, Серафимовича, Сергеева-Ценского и др. Воспроизводилась также произведения таких художников как Бакст, Добужинский и Бенуа.

Благодаря «Северным Сборникам» русские читатели познакомились с скандинавскими авторами. В этих сборниках печатались такие писатели как — Стриндберг, Сельма Лагерлеф, Кнут Гамсун, С. Кьеркегор, Й. Якобсен, Карин Микаэлис, Ула Хансон и многие другие.

Каждому русскому читателю того времени были знакомы и дороги «Литературно-Художественные Альманахи», «Северные Сборники» и книги издательства «Шиповник».

В этом же издательстве выходил в ноябре 1907 года «Историко-революционный альманах» (почти весь тираж был конфискован и уничтожен), о котором Гржебин уже сообщает Горькому в письме о планах нового издательства от 9 ноября 1906 года:

«Дорогой Алексей Максимович,

Может быть Вы уже махнули рукой на меня, не видя никакого толка из всего того, что я затеял. «Жупел» провалился, «Адская Почта» тоже перестала существовать, а когда существовала, то в очень жалком виде. Я чувствую потребность оправдаться перед Вами. «Жупел» не провалился бы, если бы в это время в России вообще не проваливалось бы все свободное. В этом я совершенно уверен. «Адская Почта» же состояла из такого обширного и разностороннего редакционного комитета, что все живое должно было обратиться в скелет. А я имею теперь такие превосходные рисунки Серова, Добужинского, Кардовского, Чехонина, Кустодиева, Билибина и др. — действительно живые, убедительные, остроумные и художественные, что ни на минуту не сомневаюсь, что дело наше здоровое, что таланты еще не перевелись и что такое дело не только существовать может, но и должно.

Я достал деньги, выбрал деятельных товарищей и теперь имею возможность повести дело энергично и правильно. Тем более, что я освободился от товарищей-кадетов. Мы создали «издательство Шиповник», которое должно преследовать две стороны жизни — социализм и красоту.

Всю нашу деятельность мы разделили на 4 отдела.

- а) Художественный, б) Художественно-литературный,
- в) Социалистический, г) и детская библиотека.

*Художественный отдел:* для самых широких масс.

«Лубки». Мы хотим вытеснить лубки Сытина генералов и другие патриотические и «художественные» картины такой действительно художественной пищей, какая была бы красива, всегда и во всем ясна для понимания самых широких масс. Этой задачей мы все с большим увлечением занялись, хотя и знаем как трудно это. Кардовский рисует этапы русской революции; даже И. Е. Репин рисует для этой цели. Он рисует Остров Березань после казни. Тем более это трудно, что нужно во всем экономить — эти Лубки должны быть и по цене очень доступны, 2,3-5 коп. за штуку.

Мы теперь впервые пробиваемся в жизнь; ясной программы, лозунга не имеем, не можем еще формулировать наше чувство, и я не сомневаюсь, если бы Вы, Алексей Максимович, были бы здесь, можно было бы все интереснее, трезвее и содержательнее делать. Кроме этого, мы хотим всюду пробиться с настоящим искусством. Среди средней публики развита склонность к разрисованным открытым письмам. Оказывается, что рисунок, будучи на открытом письме необыкновенно много раз рассматривается, гораздо больше специальных альбомов, а тем более музеев. Пока мы главным образом издали Heine [Т. Т. Хейне] (я Вам посылаю их) но теперь скоро выйдет 3-я серия исключительно русских художников, более понятная нашей публике.

А затем издаем альбомы художников вообще. Разумеется только тех, какие не по своим достоинствам мало известны широкой публике — Федотов, офорты Гойа [Гойя] и др., или являются крупными новаторами в живописи, как Бердслей [Бердсли]. (Альбом Бердслей будет на этих днях и я Вам его пришлю).

Таким образом мы хотим внести оживление всюду, куда в той или иной форме проникает живопись.

*Художественно-литературный отдел:* альманахи.

Каждый альманах должен иметь свое совершенно законченное лицо, как по своей внешности, так и по своей внутренней сущности. Художественная часть представляется мне теперь вполне ясной. Рисунки будут интересны не только своей живописной стороной. Для первого альманаха работает Добужинский — «Город» — Целый ряд рисунков из жизни в Городе. Я не могу Вам сказать что именно он рисует. Там и город — могила, где люди задыхаются, среди кошмара труб, зданий, реклам, духоты и тумана.

2-ой рисунок изображает труд в городе — Люди, как муравьи у колоссальных равнодушных зданий; 3-й рисунок — нищета, 4-й —

проституция и 5-й рисунок — веселье. Судя по эскизам все эти рисунки должны производить громадное впечатление.

Я убедился, какую роль эти альманахи сыграют для самих художников. Гораздо интенсивнее начали работать. Как ни как эти альманахи являются как бы народной выставкой, и мы впервые выходим из стеклянных мастерских на свет Божий.

Для 2-го альманаха рисует Лансере, Серов принимает тоже близкое участие в этом деле.

Мы все страстно хотели бы что-бы во главе литературной части стал Леонид Николаевич [Андреев] и тут у нас к Вам горячая просьба, сделать все возможное для осуществления этого нашего желания. А если бы Вы могли бы и сами принять участие в них, дело наше тогда обеспечено. Вся энергия, какую мы теперь проявляем, не была бы потрачена в пустую. С этой просьбой, Алексей Максимович, поддержать чем можете наше дело, я обращаюсь к Вам от имени всех нас. Кроме этих альманахов, мы издаем историко-революционный календарь и еще другие вещи. Цель календаря — фиксировать все более или менее важные моменты освободительного движения. Календарь делается под общей редакцией Бурцева при участии Луначарского, Стеклова (Невзорова) и др. Кроме специалистов по отделам, в календаре участие приняли литераторы и художники. Чириков написал о крестьянском союзе, Бунин — о Московском вооруженном восстании, Куприн — Севастополь, Андреев взял Свеаборг, художники рисуют 12 месяц[ев] и отдельные моменты. Теперь, когда многое уже сделано, вижу, что календарь оправдывает наши надежды. Впечатление получается сильное. Я не знаю согласитесь ли Вы также принять участие в нем, но это было бы очень важно для дела. Убедительно прошу Вас написать о 9 января. Рисунок, каким начинается январь тоже посвящен 9 января. Должен Вам еще сказать, что 25% всей чистой прибыли идут в партию, а остальные деньги идут на расширение самого дела.

Так как календарь должен еще в декабре выйти, то крайне важно получить Вашу заметку о 9 января возможно скорее.

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Все мы хотели бы уже видеть Вас и Марию Федоровну [Андрееву] здесь или по крайней мере в Финляндии, где скорее можно было-бы увидеться с Вами и обо всем поговорить. Я не оставляю мысль о Театре. Буду очень благодарен Вам, если скоро ответите. Передайте пожалуйста мой сердечный привет Марии Федоровне.

Ваш Зиновий Гржебин». (12)

Благодаря большой любви к книжному делу и бескорыстному

отношению всех сотрудников издательства, «Шиповник» заслужил репутацию одного из лучших издательств того времени.

В 1912 году Гржебин начинает многотомное издание «Истории живописи всех времен и народов» под редакцией А. Н. Бенуа. Но началась Первая мировая война, и после 22-го выпуска (4-й том) в 1917 году издание пришлось прекратить. «Шиповник» тоже не выдержало трудностей военного времени и издательство закрылось в 1918 году.

### «Парус»

Уже в 1916 году Гржебин начинает сотрудничать в издательстве «Парус». По поручению Горького он зовет К. И. Чуковского работать с ними в издательстве «Парус». Чуковский, который впоследствии стал большим другом семьи Гржебиных, так описывает свою встречу с Гржебиным:

«[...] Однажды в сентябре 1916 года, ко мне пришел от него [Горького] художник Зиновий Гржебин, работавший в издательстве «Парус», и сказал, что Алексей Максимович намерен наладить при этом издательстве детский отдел с очень широкой программой и хочет привлечь к этому делу меня. Было решено, что мы встретимся на Финляндском вокзале и вместе поедem в Куоккалу, к Репину, и по дороге побеседуем о «детских делах». (13)

Список детских книг, составленный при участии А. Бенуа, Горького, А. Н. Тихонова (заведующий издательством) и Чуковского, был по словам того же Чуковского «гигантский и [...] совершенно нереальный»:

«Были изданы всего лишь несколько книг, в том числе «Вильгельм Телль», «Айвенго» и ныне несправедливо забытая «Елка». Необходимо сказать об этой книге подробнее: в качестве библиографической редкости она почти никому не известна, а между тем это первая детская книга, которую проредактировал Горький.» (14)

Красиво иллюстрированный сборник «Елка: Книжка для маленьких детей», составленный Бенуа и Чуковским и вышедший в январе 1918 года, была действительно очень удачная книга, как по своему содержанию, так и по своему оформлению. Марка издательства была воспроизведена с портрета Чехонина старшей дочери Гржебина — Ляли. (15)

### «Всемирная Литература»

В 1918 году Горький основывает свое издательство «Всемирная Литература». В. Ф. Ходасевич, в то время заведующий московским отделением издательства, в своих воспоминаниях о Горьком так пишет о «Всемирной Литературе»:

«Постепенно мне стало ясно, что Горький, хотя ему принадлежала

идея издательства, мало интересуется его текущими делами, которые находились в руках близких к нему людей: А. Н. Тихонова и З. И. Гржебина. «Всемирная Литература» числилась состоящей «при народном комиссариате по просвещению», но фактически была автономна». (16)

В предисловии к каталогу издательства «Всемирная Литература» определена цель издательства:

«Издательство «Всемирная Литература» пока, для начала своей деятельности, выбрало [...] книги, изданные в разных странах с конца XVIII в. до сего дня, с начала Великой французской революции до Великой революции русской. Таким образом, русский гражданин получит в свое распоряжение все сокровища поэзии и художественной прозы, созданные в течение полутора века напряженного духовного творчества Европы.» (17)

*«Издательство З. И. Гржебина»*

В 1919 году З. И. Гржебин начинает свое собственное издательство. Помещаю в сокращенном виде статью из сборника «Дом Искусств», посвященную издательству Гржебина:

*«Издательство З. И. Гржебина.»*

Издательство З. И. Гржебина возникло весной 1919 года. Цель его — издание книг по всем отраслям науки и искусства для читателей, стоящих на самых различных ступенях развития, начиная от малограмотных и кончая получившими высшее образование.

Работа издательства ведется по восьми отделам: отдел естествознания и техники [...]; отдел гуманитарных наук [...]; отдел искусства [...], с подотделами — музыкальным [...] и театральным [...]; отдел русских классиков [...]; отдел биографический; отдел педагогический [...]; отдел детский [...] и отдел справочников и словарей.

В первую очередь печатаются и готовятся к печати учебники для трудовых школ всех ступеней и высшей школы, а также книги научно-популярные.

Издательство работает под общей редакцией Максима Горького, Александра Бенуа, акад. С. Ф. Ольденбурга и проф. А. П. Пинкевича. К участию в редакционных совещаниях по отделам приглашен ряд видных петербургских ученых и писателей [...].

Готово к печати более 200 книг различного содержания. До сих пор вышли в свет: — Александр Блок, «За гранью прошлых дней». — М. Горький, «Воспоминания о Толстом». — Его же. «Дети». — Его же. «Рождение человека» и «Легенда об Агасфере». — Поэмы Шубарта, Ленау и Беранже со вступительной статьей М. Горького. — А. Куприн.

«Свадьба». — Его же. «Изумруд». — А. Луначарский. «Великий переворот». — В. Строев [В. А. Десницкий]. «Максим Горький» (к 50-летию со дня рождения). [ — ] Ник. Суханов. «Записки о революции». Книга 1-я.

[...]

В самом ближайшем времени выйдет в свет около 60 книг. Из них: «Избранные произведения» М. Горького, Достоевского (под ред. Б. М. Эйхенбаума), Лермонтова (под ред. Александра Блока), Некрасова (под ред. К. И. Чуковского), Ал. Толстого (под ред. Н. С. Гумилева), Н. Лескова (под ред. М. Горького и А. Амфитеатрова), М. Салтыкова-Щедрина (под ред. А. Амфитеатрова), Е. Боратынского (под ред. М. Л. Гофмана), А. П. Чехова (под ред. Евг. Замятина) и др. ; Сказки и повести Андерсена, «Свинопас» Андерсена с иллюстрациями М. В. Добужинского, «Индийские сказки» в передаче С. Ф. Ольденбурга, «Кожаный чулок» Купера (под редакцией М. Горького), №1 «Северного альманаха» (М. Горький. «Старик», пьеса. — Стихи Кузмина, Блока, Сологуба. — Евг. Замятин. «Север», повесть. — А. Ремизов. «Жизнь бессмертная», повесть. — Вяч. Шишков. «Крокодил», рассказ), «Материалы для биографии Горького» Мих. Слонимского и др.

Большинство же книг, выходящих в свет, составляют учебные руководства [...]. (18)

#### *Потемкинская улица, дом №7*

В это время Гржебин со своей большой семьей жил на Потемкинской улице в доме №7 напротив Таврического сада. У меня сохранились самые лучшие воспоминания от этого времени.

Наша квартира состояла из 7-ми комнат. Так как надо было экономить дрова, то столовая и смежная с ней кухня были закрыты. Правда, иногда готовили на «старой кухне», но чаще всего готовили в кабинете нашего отца, куда поставили плиту.

По вечерам мы все собирались в кабинете около печки, и наш дядя, мамин брат, Мишенька [М. К. Дориомедов\*], рассказывал нам всякие приключения, случившиеся на войне (он только что вернулся с фронта), или анекдоты. К большому сожалению, эти вечерние беседы вскоре прекратились, так как Мишеньку отправили в военный лазарет. Мы ходили его навещать и в муфтах украдкой носили ему еду, так как открыто носить передачи в лазарет запрещалось. Вскоре он умер в этом лазарете от туберкулеза, который он схватил в окопах на фронте. Ему было всего 35 лет.

Жизнь наша полна была всяких событий, которые мы воспринимали совсем не так, как взрослые, и то, что для них было тяжело, для нас составляло развлечение. Например — принудительные работы. Как нам

было интересно вместо взрослых ходить чистить улицу. Для этой работы дворник выдавал нам метлы, скребки и лопаты, и мы с азартом принимались разгребать снег, чистить тротуары, посыпать песком улицу, когда был песок, и т. д. Нередко за эту работу мы получали похвалы от прохожих.

Но ничто не может сравниться с той радостью, с которой мы ходили на рынок продавать всякие вещи по поручению взрослых, тем более что эта продажа была сопряжена с некоторою опасностью, так как иногда на рынке бывали облавы. Торговки помогали нам продавать вещи, и мы с большой гордостью возвращались домой с деньгами в случае успешной продажи какого-нибудь серебрянного кофейника или какой-нибудь другой семейной ценности.

По вечерам у нас часто собирались друзья — Серафима Павловна Ремизова\*, Юрий Павлович Анненков, Шкловский, Кузмин и Юркун\*, Августа Филипповна Даманская\*, Нувель\*, А. Н. Бенуа и многие другие. После традиционного чая устраивались всевозможные игры, которыми увлекались взрослые не меньше детей. Играли в шарады, в прятки, в фанты и т. д. Бенуа изошрался в выдумках фантов, а мой дядя М. С. Фарман\*, представляя шарады, устраивал целые спектакли. Однажды, играя в прятки, Шкловский забрался под стол. Его долго искали, и когда, наконец, нашли, его с трудом вытащили из-под стола. Иногда устраивались музыкально- поэтические вечера. Кузмин садился за рояль и пел каким-то милым придушенным голосом свои очаровательные песенки.

Провизию в то время доставали частью через «мешочников», их так называли, потому что они носили провизию по домам в мешках. У нашей мамы был целый полк мешочников, и между ними выделялась Роза Васильевна\*. Она ходила также и в издательство «Всемирная Литература» и стала музой многих поэтов.

Чуковский в «Чукоккале» написал ей шуточное послание:

«[...] Царица благовоний,  
О Роза без шипов!  
К тебе и Блок и Кони,  
И Браун и Гидони\*,  
И я, и Гумилев.

И Горький, и Волынский,  
И сладостный Оцуп,  
И Гржебин, и Лозинский,  
И даже Сологуб, —

Мы все к тебе толпою

Летим, как мотыльки,  
Открывши пред тобою  
Сердца и кошельки.

Твое благоуханье  
Кого ни приманит!  
И кто из заседанья  
К тебе не убежит!» (19)

В «Чукоккале» К. Чуковский поместил много стихотворений, посвященных Розе Васильевне. Тут я привожу только стихотворение Осипа Мандельштама:

«Печален мир. Все суета и проза.  
Лишь женщины нас тешат да цветы.  
Но двух чудес соединенье ты:  
Ты женщина! Ты Роза!» (20)

С мешочниками случались иногда недоразумения. Один из них однажды забыл гирию в мешке с картошкой. Эту гирию ему торжественно вернула наша тетя [Н. К. Дориомедова\*]. Но самое большое предательство случилось перед Новым Годом, когда один из мешочников продал нам красное вино. Каково же было наше разочарование, когда на торжественном ужине, открыв бутылку, мы убедились, что это «вино» было простая подкрашенная вода. Конечно, это маленькое событие не помешало нам хорошо отпраздновать встречу Нового Года. У нас был устроен маскарад, и гости, и мы были наряжены в самые разнообразные костюмы. Лучше всех был наряжен сам Гржебин, изображавший Новый Год, а наша тетя Ноточка была в старом мужском костюме, в потрепанной фуражке и с подвязанной щекой — это был Старый Год. Старый Год убежал от Нового Года, и наш отец по всей квартире гонялся за Ноточкой с метелкой в руках.

Серафима Павловна Ремизова очень любила нас детей. Она нам читала Ветхий Завет, а иногда и рассказы А. М. Ремизова. У себя дома читал свои произведения сам А. М. Ремизов, когда мы приходили к ним в гости на Васильевский Остров. Квартира у них была необыкновенная: все стены были разукрашены, из серебряной бумаги от шоколада и из бумажек от конфет были составлены целые картины. Одна из них, занимавшая всю стену, изображала страшный суд над писателями и их издателем — З. И. Гржебиным. От стены до стены были протянуты веревочки, на которых красовались рыбы скелеты и всякие другие диковины. Комната Ремизова была настоящее произведение искусства, предшествующее сюрреализму. Как жаль, что такое искусство все погибло.

В «Кукхе» (21) Ремизов описывает, как он основал знаменитую «Обезьянью Великую Вольную Палату». Мысль об «Обезьяньей Палате» возникла у Ремизова во время его игры с племянницей, маленькой девочкой Ляляшей. Она просила Алексея Михайловича сделать ей что-нибудь такое, чего ни у кого не было. Недолго думая, Ремизов сделал ей Обезьяний знак. Так возникла «Обезьянья Палата». Эти знаки Ремизов рисовал вязью, все они были разной степени и выдавались друзьям Ремизова в зависимости от их заслуг. Артисты — Комиссаржевская, Зонов\* и многие другие, также и писатели и художники, мой отец и моя мама и даже мы три дочери тоже получили почетные знаки и стали членами «Обезьяньей Палаты» к нашей большой гордости.

Наша дружба с Ремизовыми, которая началась в России в самое трудное время, продолжалась с такой же силой за границей. Гржебин, который очень ценил произведения Ремизова и любил его и его жену, окружал Ремизова нежной заботой, и в России, и за границей.

Другие наши большие друзья были Зайцевы. Мой отец подружился с Зайцевыми еще в 1905 году. Не имея права останавливаться в Москве, так как он был прописан в Петербурге, Гржебин, приезжая в Москву, всегда останавливался у Зайцевых. Он очень подружился с женой Зайцева, Верой Алексеевной\*. Насколько Борис Константинович Зайцев был всегда тихий, задумчивый и выдержанный, настолько Вера Алексеевна была непосредственная, веселая и живая. Уже в Париже Борис Константинович с большой любовью рассказывал мне о своих встречах с моим отцом, и он считал его своим первым издателем, потому что первая книга его рассказов вышла в издательстве «Шиповник» в 1906 году.

Читая теперь «Чукоккалу» Чуковского, который тоже был близким другом нашей семьи, я наткнулась на строки, которые он посвятил Гржебину:

«Художник Зиновий Исаевич Гржебин прославился в 1906 году остроумной карикатурой на Николая II в журнале «Жупел», выходившем под негласной редакцией Горького. Гржебина судили, приговорили к тюремному заключению, после чего он перестал заниматься искусством и неожиданно для всех превратился в издателя. При содействии Леонида Андреева организовал издательство «Шиповник». [...]

Одно время Гржебин был заведующим издательской части «Всемирной литературы», потом основал свою собственную фирму «Издательство З. И. Гржебина», которым руководил Горький.

Я часто бывал у него в доме на Таврической улице, так как привязался к его детворе. Детей у него было трое: Капа, Буба, Ляля.

Ляля Гржебина — изящная, тоненькая семилетняя девочка — стала героиней моей сказки «Крокодил». (22)

Все наше поколение воспитывалось на сочинениях Чуковского, и все мы помним строки из «Крокодила» про Лялю:

«Милая девочка Лялечка!  
С куклой гуляла она  
И на Таврической улице  
Вдруг увидела Слона.» (23)

Часто нас навещал и Н. Суханов. В 1975 году, когда я была в Москве, я пошла в музей Горького, и мне разрешили читать письма отца к Горькому. Когда я читала одно из них, у меня мороз пошел по коже: такое было трагическое содержание этого письма — в нем наш отец умолял Горького вступить за Суханова, который находился под арестом.

Но в то время никому не могло прийти в голову, что жизнь этого талантливого человека кончится так трагично. Гржебин издавал «Записки о революции» Суханова в серии «Летопись революции». Эти «Записки» очень интересные, написаны они очень живо, тем более что Суханов описывал события, свидетелем которых он был. Это безусловно один из лучших документов о революции и о Ленине. Мастерски описан приезд Ленина на Финляндский вокзал, ожидание поезда, в котором он приехал, отзывы прессы на тот факт, что Ленин приехал в «пломбированном вагоне» и т. д.

Сам Суханов обладал большим шармом, захватывал всех слушателей своими рассказами и очень тонко и метко судил о текущих событиях. Он был большим другом семьи Гржебиных.

К счастью, иногда Горькому удавалось спасти людей, за которых он вступался, но вследствие враждебного отношения к нему комиссара Северной области Зиновьева, по словам Ходасевича: «Арестованным, за которых хлопотал Горький, нередко грозила худшая участь, чем если бы он за них не хлопотал.» (24) Кроме хлопот за заключенных, Горький старался всячески облегчить жизнь ученых, писателей и художников, доставая им пайки, топливо и т. п.

В середине октября 1921 года семья Гржебина, он сам, В. В. Шайкевич\* со своей дочерью Ниной [Тихоновой\*] выехали из России вместе с Горьким. Все мы проездом остановились в Финляндии в пансионате Мункнеса (Munksnäs) под Гельсингфорсом. Теперь на этом здании висит золотая дощечка с именем Горького. Мы все жили там две недели.

Из Финляндии мы поехали в Швецию, а потом в Берлин.

*Берлин*

Как только Гржебин приезжает в Берлин, он начинает хлопотать о продолжении начатого в Петрограде издательства. Для этого он старается получить кредиты у немецких фирм. На этот кредит и на свои деньги, переведенные с разрешения властей из России, он начинает издавать книги. В конце 1923 года Гржебин устраивает выставку своего издательства. Он показывает 225 названий, выпущенных с мая 1922 года по октябрь 1923 года (25): классики, учебные пособия, звездный атлас и глобус, географические атласы, научные игры (в этом последнем исполнении издательство Гржебина опередило французское издательство Fernand Nathan, которое специализировалось на таких играх значительно позже). Выставка привлекла весь «русский Берлин» и имела большой успех.

Издательство Гржебина все больше и больше расширялось. В своих бюллетенях берлинский журнал «Новая Русская Книга» перечисляет книги издания Гржебина. По этим бюллетеням можно судить, какое выдающееся издательство создал Гржебин в такой короткий срок.

Классиков, учебники, научные пособия, биографии в серии «Жизнь замечательных людей» и научные игры Гржебин издавал по заказу советского Торгпредства в Берлине, с которым он заключил договор 24 июня 1922 года. Привожу выдержки из договора в изложении последовавшего в 1923 году третейского суда:

«По пункту 5-му договора издательство обязалось передать Торгпредству имеющиеся у него в Берлине рукописи подлежащих изданию книг одновременно с подписанием договора, а остальные рукописи не позднее, чем через два месяца после этого, причем рукописи должны быть сданы в окончательно подготовленном для печати виде, а Торгпредство обязалось не позднее двух месяцев со дня получения рукописей сдать таковые в работу. По пункту 14-му договора Торгпредство обязалось уплачивать издательству вознаграждение в возмещение его организационных и других расходов [...] в течение одного месяца по сдаче Торгпредству каждой книги в установленном количестве экземпляров, но с пропорциональным удержанием всех полученных ранее издательством от Госиздата и Торгпредства денег, как-то: 350.000 герм.[анских] марок, 22.159.443 рублей советскими знаками, 1.000.000 думскими деньгами и др. [...] По пункту 10-му издательство имеет право напечатать одновременно с Торгпредством не более 25% печатаемых книг в свою пользу, причем расходы по набору, печатанию, приправке и изготовлению клише распределяются между Торгпредством и издательством пропорционально количеству книг, напечатанных для каждого из них. Допечатываемые для себя

издательством книги оно обязуется не ввозить в Россию в течение одного года со дня выхода книги в свет.» (26)

Пользуясь этим правом, Гржебин издал многих эмигрантских писателей, например, Куприна, Ремизова, Зайцева, Ходасевича и др. Но неожиданно в 1923 году ввоз в Россию книг, изданных за границей, воспрещается, вследствие чего Гржебин оказывается совершенно разоренным. Ходасевич объясняет это событие следующим образом:

«[...] Советское правительство усердно распускало слухи, что оно намерено допускать в Россию зарубежные издания, не содержащие агитации против власти и отпечатанные по новой орфографии. [...] Впоследствии стало ясно, что тут действовала чистейшая провокация: в Москве хотели заставить зарубежных издателей произвести крупные затраты в расчете на огромный внутрироссийский рынок, а затем границу закрыть и тем самым издателей разорить. Так и вышло: целый ряд берлинских издательств взорвался на этой mine. С издателем Гржебиным поступили еще коварнее: ему надавали твердых заказов на определенные книги, в том числе на учебники, на классиков, и т. д. Он вложил в это дело все свои средства, но книг у него не взяли, и он был разорен вдребезги. Но, повторяю, провокация обнаружилась лишь впоследствии.» (27)

Вследствие нарушения договора Торгпредством, в мае 1923 года состоится третейский суд между Гржебиным и Торгпредством в Берлине, под председательством профессора Ф. А. Брауна и с участием Б. К. Зайцева и С. Е. Кальмановича\*.

Привожу выдержки из документов третейского суда:

«За время выполнения сторонами договора расчета за напечатанные книги, предусмотренного 14-ым пунктом договора, учинено сторонами не было. Книги, напечатанные для издательства Гржебина, не были ему выданы. Из числа книг, выпущенных в свет Торгпредством на основании договора с Гржебиным, некоторые продавались Торгпредством за границей.»

«Принимая во внимание изложенное выше, Третейский Суд находит, что Торгпредством допущено по отношению Гржебину, кроме уже указанного выше в отделе 1 настоящего решения 10-го пункта договора, еще и следующие два нарушения: а) 59 книг из заказанных вовсе не сданы в печать, и в) 11 книг сданы в работу с просрочкою. Оба эти действия нарушают 5-ый пункт договора.»

Заключение третейского суда было следующее:

«1) Обязать Торгпредство Р.С.Ф.С.Р. в Германии из книг, содержащихся в списке заказа Гржебина по 54 названиям[,] выдать Гржебину уже изготовленные книги, неизготовленные — по изготовлении; те и другие против уплаты издательством падающих на

его счет расходов, размер которых должен быть установлен для изготовленных книг не позднее одной недели со дня настоящего решения, т. е. 11-го мая с. г., а для неизготовленных — не позднее двух недель по изготовлении.

2) Договор, заключенный 24 июня 1922 года между Торгпредством в Германии и З. И. Гржебиным[,] признать расторгнутым с 4-го мая 1923 г., предоставив, однако, Торгпредству право напечатать и выпустить в свет все книги, сданные им по сему договору в работу.

3) Взыскать с Торгпредства в Германии в пользу З. И. Гржебина 15.000 (пятнадцать тысяч) американских долларов против уплаты им Торгпредству 30.000.000 (тридцати миллионов) германских марок.

4) Признать за Гржебиным право на взыскание с Торгпредства убытков, причиненных ему непередачею ему книг, заказанных им на основании пункта 10-го договора[,] и предоставить ему размер этих убытков определить впоследствии.

5) Запретить Торгпредству в течение года со дня выхода в свет заказанных Гржебину книг продавать таковые вне России.

6) Судебные выдержки возложить на Торгпредство в сумме 767 (семисот шестидесятисеми) америк.[анских] долларов, а на З. И. Гржебина в сумме 133 (ста тридцати трех) долларов, а по зачету взыскать с Торгпредства в пользу З. И. Гржебина 317 (триста семнадцать) американских долларов.»

Дальше следовали подписи председателя и судей. (28)

В 1923 году Гржебин по совету врачей проводит несколько месяцев в санатории под Берлином. Но и там его не покидают всякие проекты, и 18-го февраля он пишет своему большому другу В. А. Могилевскому\* в Париж:

«[...] Пишу Вам сейчас по делу: Во-первых хочу просить Вас принять участие в нашем журнале «Летопись революции». Вы много видели, сами пережили и уверен, что сумеете [sic] талантливо написать хотя бы небольшой очерк.

Вторая моя просьба это — переговорить с Павл.[ом] Ник.[олаевичем] Милюковым не согласится ли он написать свои воспоминания. Никаких ограничений — ни по объему, ни по характеру ни по форме — я ему не ставлю. Он может писать как он хочет и что хочет. Мне приятнее всего было бы получить воспоминания всей его такой богатой и значительной жизни. (Читали ли Вы первую книгу [«Записок социал-демократа»] Мартова в моем издании — вообще видели ли Вы нашу библиотеку «Летопись Револ.[юции]»?)

О моем издательстве много чепухи писали. Но судить нужно по моим делам. Я издаю русскую литературу, учебники, биографии замечательных людей, детскую литературу, книги по искусству и

«Летопись Революции» — журнал и библиотеку мемуаров. В этом последнем отделе никакой политической тенденции никто не усмотрит. Я готов печатать от Ленина до Шульгина и еще правее, если это будет талантливо и правдиво (вернее искренно)[.] Ведь только П. Яковл.[евич] Рысс\* думает, что я большевик (неужели он и теперь так думает, когда мною уже издано свыше 150 книг?) Я совершенно независим и печатаю то, что нахожу нужным. Я не могу оторваться от России, хочу чтобы мои книги попали в Россию, но разве в этом мне нужно оправдываться?

Сейчас мы очень много внимания уделяем энциклопедическому словарю (редактор В. В. Водовозов)[.] Эта [*sic*] объемистая книга (свыше 10 милл.[ионов] букв); и в этом словаре придерживаемся той же объективной системы. Давать только факты. Оценку фактам пусть даст уж сам читатель.

Вообще много работы. Вот только бы скорее поправиться мне — а то совсем измучился от этих сердечных припадков. [...]]» (29)

### Париж

В конце 1923 года в связи с крахом издательства и положением в Берлине Гржебин со своей семьей переселяется в Париж. Так же как в Берлине он хочет начать снова издательское дело. Он ведет переписку с писателями и художниками, которые уже успели переехать из России в Париж, как, например, Ремизов, Осоргин, Анненков, Бакст, Бенуа и многие другие; а также и с теми, кто остался в России, как Замятин, Чуковский и др.

11 февраля 1924 года в парижской «Русской Газете», редактируемой А. И. Филипповым\*, появляется анонимная статья, в которой Гржебин обвиняется в шпионаже на службе у большевиков. Статья написана вульгарным языком, в ней русское общество в Париже призывается ко бдительности по отношению к Гржебину, который, по словам автора, «богатеет на большевистских деньгах».

Друзья Гржебина сразу откликнулись. А. Ф. Даманская написала очень хорошую статью в «Последние Новости», в которой опровергала клевету. М. Осоргин прислал письмо, которое мы здесь приводим:

«Многоуважаемый Зиновий Исаевич,

В монархическом нечистоплотном листке «Русская Газета», где, к сожалению, пишут Куприн и Шмелев, появилась большая анонимная клеветническая статья против Вас, характера контр-разведочного. («Р.[усская] Г.[азета] №6, от понед.[ельника] 11 февраля; газета рассылается подписчикам за три дня до даты).

Каждый видный общественный деятель время от времени подвергается подобным непристойностям. Думаю, что деятельное

уважение друзей служит некоторой компенсацией для тех, кому приходится терпеть от гнусных выходок анонимов. Позвольте только выразить надежду, что Вы сочтете излишним чемнибудь реагировать на статейку уличного листка, вполне заслуженно пользующегося презрением порядочных людей.

С глубоким уважением  
Мих Осоргин

Париж 9. 2. 24». (30)

Вскоре Гржебин получил письмо из Берлина от Правления Союза Русских Издателей и Книгопродавцев в Германии. Привожу это письмо (от 10 марта 1924 г.):

«Милостивый Государь  
Зиновий Исаевич.

До Правления Союза Русских Издателей и Книгопродавцев в Германии дошли — с запозданием — сведения о двух статьях, направленных против Вас и помещенных в издающейся в Париже «Русской газете».

Ознакомившись с означенными статьями, Правление считает своею обязанностью обратиться к Вам с нижеследующим:

Правление Союза, обнимающего почти все русские издательские и книготорговые предприятия в Германии, имело возможность ближайшим образом наблюдать за Вашею издательскою деятельностью в Германии с самого начала Вашей издательской работы здесь в 1921 году и по настоящее время.

Вами развита за эти два с половиною года деятельность, которая не может не быть названа в высокой степени интенсивною. Вами издано за этот период времени, по имеющимся у нас данным, свыше 200 томов. С точки зрения технической, такой результат не может не быть назван в высокой степени успешным.

Обращаясь к содержанию Вашей издательской деятельности за указанный период времени с точки зрения характера и оценки изданных Вами книг, Правление считает нужным указать, что ответ на этот вопрос дается уже каталогом Вашего издательства. Вами изданы многочисленные произведения русской художественной литературы, как классической (Лермонтов, Достоевский, Ал. К. Толстой, Щедрин, Лесков), так и современной (Бор. Зайцев, М. Горький, А. Ремизов, Евг. Замятин и мн.[огие] др.[угие]). Наряду с этим особенно выделило Вашу издательскую работу из деятельности большей части русских издательских предприятий за-границею издание значительного количества произведений русской научной литературы, в ряду которых

особое место занимает капитальный, европейски-известный 5-томный курс физики петербургского профессора О. Д. Хвольсона. Наконец, Вами изданы книги мемуарного характера. Эти последние суть единственные, по содержанию соприкасающиеся с областью политики в широком смысле этого слова, — и, в виду характера предъявляемых к Вам названною выше газетою обвинений, мы считаем себя обязанными указать, что в числе изданных Вами произведений мемуарной литературы имеются наряду с воспоминаниями лиц, более или менее близко стоящих к нынешней русской власти или ей симпатизирующих (Суханов), также воспоминания лиц, этой власти враждебных и ведущих с нею борьбу (Мартов, Маргулиес\*.)

Правление Союза, не считая себя в праве выходить из возложенных на него функций органа профессионального объединения русских издателей и книгопродавцев, может, тем не менее, с определенностью констатировать, что Ваша издательская деятельность здесь на протяжении двух с половиною лет, прошедшая на глазах Правления, не имела ни в какой мере содержания, которое имело-бы отношение к политике, и тем менее носила какую бы то ни было политическую окраску. В частности, о какой бы то ни было коммунистической пропаганде, Вам инкриминируемой, в рамках издательской Вашей деятельности не может и быть и речи.

Правление с удовольствием исполняет возложенное на него состоявшимся 8 сего марта общим собранием членов Союза поручение выразить Вам чувства возмущения по поводу допущенных по Вашему адресу инсинуаций.

Со своей стороны Правление просит Вас принять выражения его искреннего сочувствия.» (31)

В конце концов, пришло и опровержение с извинениями от редактора «Русской Газеты» (13 февраля 1925 г.):

Милостивый Государь,  
Зиновий Исаевич,

В номере от 11 февраля 1924 года еженедельной «Русской Газеты», на основании полученных редакцией сведений, была помещена статья, в которой возводились на Вас различные обвинения.

Теперь редакцией произведено всестороннее расследование по этому поводу, причем выяснилось, что редакция была введена в заблуждение.

Никаких компрометирующих Вас сведений, о которых упоминалось в статье г. Ирмана\*, не обнаружено.

Поэтому, редакция считает своим долгом принести Вам свои извинения и выразить глубочайшее сожаление о случившемся.

Примите уверение в совершенном почтении и уважении.

Редактор «РУССКОЙ ГАЗЕТЫ».  
А. Филиппов.» (32)

В конце 1924 года Гржебин едет в Берлин для того, чтобы вести переговоры с Госиздатом, получить деньги, которые ему должно было Торгпредство, и как-нибудь ликвидировать издательство. Для этого последнего перед Гржебиным встают две возможности, два плана:

Первый план — «акционировать» дело, то есть сделать паи и часть паев продать. Для осуществления этого плана Гржебин входит в контакт с издателем И. П. Ладыжниковым. На этот план трудно было решиться, так как фактически Гржебин перестал бы быть в деле единственным хозяином. Хотя были и преимущества — отпадали вечные заботы о деньгах для дела. Положение в Берлине становилось все более и более критическим, и в связи с этим книги очень плохо продавались.

Второй план состоял в том, чтобы снова наладить сношения с Госиздатом. Еще до краха своего издательства Гржебин начал большую работу — «Энциклопедический Словарь» под руководством профессора В. В. Водовозова. В 1924 году должен был выйти первый том. Вот этот-то словарь Гржебин и хотел предложить Госиздату. (33)

Не знаю, точно чем кончились все эти проекты; кажется, что ничего с Госиздатом не вышло.

Во все время пребывания в Берлине в 1924 году Гржебин очень скучал по семье и рвался домой в Париж. Одиночество, безденежье и невозможность наладить сношения с родиной очень удручали Гржебина, и он вскоре возвращается в Париж. Тут он пытается устроить издательство, переписывается с писателями, встречается с Бенуа, Ремизовым, Зайцевым и со многими другими своими друзьями. Кое-что ему удалось сделать, например, издать очень хорошую книгу об Анне Павловой (текст А. Левинсона\*), но все это было так далеко от того, что он хотел бы восстановить. Наладить издательство в Париже ему так и не удалось.

Неудачи тяжело отразились на его материальном положении, на его здоровье и на его моральном состоянии. Сердечная болезнь, которой он начал страдать еще в Берлине, прогрессировала, и вот в такое драматическое для него время последний удар пришел от того, кого Гржебин считал своим лучшим другом, которому помогал в трудные минуты жизни и кому так верил. Удар пришел от Горького.

### *Дружба с Горьким*

В это время Гржебин и Горький были еще очень дружны, что видно по их переписке. Дружба их началась уже в 1905 году со времени

издания сатирических журналов. Во все то трудное время они помогали друг другу, хлопотали за тех, кого притесняли, или просто помогали кому могли. Участие Гржебина во «Всемирной Литературе» еще больше укрепило их дружбу, появилось еще больше общих интересов, и Гржебин, ведя издательство «Всемирная Литература», никогда не забывал интересов Горького. В 1919 году Горький в знак дружбы дарит Гржебину в его исключительное пользование, то есть в его исключительное право издания, свои рассказы. Этим подарком Горький хотел отплатить Гржебину за его преданность и бескорыстную дружбу. К сожалению, результат этого подарка был противоположен желанию Горького. Печальную историю произведений Горького, их продажи и всего того, что из этого вылилось, мы расскажем в этой главе.

В 1919 году Горький дарит Гржебину право на издание книги «Избранные Рассказы» (34). Привожу письмо Горького по этому поводу:

«Дорогой Зиновий Исаевич!

Продав Вам первое издание книги «Избранные Рассказы» я передаю в Ваше исключительное и безвозмездное пользование все последующие издания этой книги как при жизни так и по смерти моей. Этим я устанавливаю, что сын мой или другие лица, которые наследуют мне — не должны иметь никаких притязаний на книгу «Избранные Рассказы,» — эта книга Ваша собственность. Я прошу Вас считать распоряжение это маленькой любезностью, которой я хотел-бы ответить Вам на Ваше долголетнее, дружеское отношение ко мне, мой милый и уважаемый друг.

М. Горький.

Алексей Максимович Пешков.

20-го Ноября 1919 г.

Петербург.» (35)

Дружба с Горьким продолжалась и за границей. Выехав вместе с Горьким в 1921 году за границу и проведя вместе в Финляндии две недели, они еще больше сблизились. Гржебин все время держал Горького в курсе своих дел, писал ему о своих разочарованиях, о своих успехах и своих планах. В письме от 25 января 1922 года Гржебин писал Горькому об интригах в некоторых слоях русской эмиграции. Но в следующем письме от 19 сентября 1922 года Гржебин, уже забыв о своих неприятностях и трудностях, думает только о Горьком. Все письмо полно заботами о Горьком, советами и уговорами приехать в Сааров-Писков (маленький курорт под Берлином), где Гржебин отдыхал тогда со своей семьей, приехать отдохнуть и обсудить

возможность устроиться за границей. Так же часто Гржебин сообщает Горькому о своей семейной жизни, о шалостях своего маленького сына Алексея\*, названного в честь Горького. (36)

В письме от 20 августа 1923 г. из Гюнтерстала (Шварцвальд, Германия) Горький советует Гржебину издать Стефана Цвейга:

«В серию «Любовь» необходимо включить великолепный рассказ Стефана Цвейга «письмо незнакомки». Рассказ напечатан в книжке Цвейга «Амок», издание «Атеней» [...]»

Гржебин пишет Горькому о своих планах в связи с книгами Муратова («Образы Италии») и о своем намерении издать книгу о еврейских погромах. В ответ на очень печальное письмо Гржебина от 29 сентября 1923 года (после того, как Торгпредство не заплатило ему за взятые книги, а остальное отказалось взять) — Горький отвечает ему милым письмом:

«Вы, конечно, понимаете, З.[иновий] И.[саевич] как трудно мне советоваться с Вами в данном случае, но положение кажется мне безвыходным. В Германии работать невозможно, Вы знаете это лучше меня. Да и вообще я не вижу в какой стране сейчас возможно было бы прочно поставить русское книгоиздательство? Можно говорить лишь о художественных изданиях, которые найдут сбыт среди иностранцев, а количество русского читателя должно быстро уменьшаться вследствие падения покупательной способности и ухода из Европы — в Россию, в Америку. Сейчас даже в Индостан люди едут.

Но дадут ли Вам работать в России? Вот вопрос. Не поднять ли Вам пред Шмитом [О. Ю. Шмидт] вопрос о Вашем участии в Госиздате как специалиста, консультанта? Это создало бы Вам официальное положение и, вероятно[,] не помешало бы работать.

Очень грустно. И писать не хочется.

Как живете?

А. Пешков

5. X. 23.

Гюнтерсталь».

Горький советует послать книги профессору Этторе Ло Гатто:

«Дорогой Зиновий Исаевич,

я очень прошу Вас послать *все Ваши издания* «Институту Восточной Европы» [...] Профессору Этторе Ло Гатто.

Если Вы покупитесь, то сделайте это за мой счет, но — сделайте и, пожалуйста, скорее.

Институт издает большой журнал «Россия» [*Russia*], посвященный делу ознакомления Италии с русской литературой, живописью, вообще — с искусством. Редактор журнала — Ло Гатто, умный человек. В

интересах, чтобы вся Ваша работа получила достаточно яркое освещение. Я буду писать о русском издательском деле и мне нужно так-же как Вам, чтобы статья была подкреплена фактами. «Эпоха» тоже пошлет свои книги и конечно «Беседу». В журнале сотрудничают русские: профессор Шмурло\*, Муратов, Яковенко\* и др. Сам Ло Гатто прекрасно говорит по русски и вполне способен оценить Вашу работу[.]

Итак? Отвечайте. Жму руку.

А. Пешков

22. VI. 24.

Сорренто. Вилла Мосса».

Когда Гржебин пишет о своих надеждах восстановить сношения с Госиздатом и вести дела с Ионовым, Горький отвечает:

«Приехала В. М. Ходасевич\*, рассказала немножко о Вас, — очень мало! Сообщила, что Вы не хотите писать о печальном. Напрасно. Пишут всегда именно о печальном, радостями делиться не принято. Как Ваши дела? Слишком плохо? Могу сказать, что при Ионове, наверное, будет еще хуже. Он выучился работать, любит книжное дело, но остается таким же полуумным, каким и был.

Получил я именной экземпляр книги Муратова — сердечное спасибо! И был-бы еще более благодарен, если бы Вы прислали еще экземпляр, — не столь изящный — для подарка одному итальянцу, читающему по русски.

Удастся-ли Вам провести Словарь в Россию и в каком он положении?

Поздравляю с Новым Годом Вас и Ваших, очень желаю, что[бы] наступающий год был для Вас легче!

А. Пешков

29. XII. 25. Капо ди Сорренто».

Привожу выдержки из других писем Горького:

«Дорогой мой,

ни с Луначарским, ни с кем либо иным я никуда не собираюсь ехать и выставлять себя в павильонах или на улицах — не намерен. Я так рад, что получил наконец возможность работать, что даже на прогулку вытащить меня трудно. Одно плохо: денег не хватает и, кажется, принужден буду работать для кинематографа [...]

Здоровье? Терпит. Сплю. Седею, на голове два белых клочка, похожи на рога черта. Много пишу. Вот и все.

Спасибо за книгу Муратова.

Жму руку

А. Пешков

В. М. Ходасевич очень хвалит Алешу [А. З. Гржебин\*]. Пришлите его карточку.

Максим [Пешков\*] чудесно переписал от руки мою сказку «Мать», сделал на каждую страницу рамки, заставки, концовки, хочет делать иллюстрации.

Вообще здесь все — рисуют, пишут и т. д. Пишите мне о литераторах.

Привет  
А. П.[ешков]

25. I. 25 Сорренто».

«Дорогой мой друг,

при сем прилагаю письмо к Энкелю[?]\*. Если оно написано сухо и недостаточно убедительно, — могу написать иначе, на то я и писатель. [...]

Какие прекрасные книги могли бы Вы издать, если бы черти не подняли Вас на рога! Но покупать их в России не стали бы, там все меньше покупают книг. Маяковский, поэт официально признанный, в течение [года] продан в количестве 200 экз.[емпляров] из 5000. Это — много. Издания «Круга» расходятся в сотне и полусотне экземпляров за год. А. Г.[т. е. Г. П.] Блок\*, издав «мою жизнь» Форда, продал 150 тысяч книг! Вот как!

Здесь Андрей Соболев, человек очень скучный и очень ноющий. Затем здесь — дождь и ветер.

Не кашляйте и поменьше курите. Это я всем советую, а то у меня в комнате Горький так накуривает, что совершенно нечем дышать.

А так же не унывайте! Жму руку.

А. Пешков» [1925 г.].

В течение ряда лет переписка между Горьким и Гржебиным продолжается и носит все такой же дружеский характер. Но в марте 1928 года в газете «Правда» появляется объявление Госиздата о подписке на полное собрание сочинений Горького (37), в которое входят и «Избранные Рассказы», подаренные Горьким Гржебину в ноябре 1919 года. Гржебин сразу пишет Горькому в Сорренто. Но Горький не отвечает. После ряда писем Гржебина Горькому, которые также остаются без ответа, Гржебин передает Горькому письмо через В. М. Ходасевич. Но и на это письмо ответа нет.

Совершенно не понимая, отчего Горький перестал отвечать на письма, Гржебин посылает приводимое ниже письмо на имя М. И. Будберг\* с просьбой передать его Горькому:

«Дорогой Алексей Максимович,

Валентина Михайловна [Ходасевич] сообщила мне, что она передала Вам мое письмо. Я несколько раз писал Вам, но нет уверенности, что мои письма доходили до Вас. Знаю только, что мое последнее письмо, адресованное в Берлин, вручено Вам. Впрочем, я и на это письмо ответа не имею. Объясняю это Вашим нездоровьем. Зная, что Вы нездоровы, мне особенно неприятно тревожить Вас, но у меня нет иного выхода.

Я умоляю Вас, дорогой Алексей Максимович, не сердиться на меня за мою настойчивость и верить, что единственная надежда какнибудь выйти из создавшего[ся] катастрофического положения это — Вы.

До моего сведения дошло, что Вы считаете, что я получил уже компенсацию за книгу «избран.[ных] рассказов» и думаете, что я пытаюсь во второй раз требовать с Вас деньги. Не знаю и не понимаю кому надо было запутывать это дело, кому надо было внушить Вам то, чего никогда не было. Я переуступил Торговому Представ.[ительству] в Берлине все имеющиеся между нами договоры («Детство», «В людях», «На дне», и др.) но никогда и речи не было ни о «книге избранных рассказов» ни о входящих в эту книгу рассказах в частности. Никогда ни одной копейки я не получил ни за *известное Вам письмо*, ни за *договор* относительно этой книги. Я предоставил им для *издаваемого ими в Берлине собр.[ания] Ваших соч.[инений]* право включить и принадлежащие мне рассказы, предоставил им это право совершенно безвозмездно и *только для Берлинского издания* без права передавать от себя другим лицам или учреждениям мое право на эти 20 рассказов. (38)

Книга эта по Вашей воле перешла ко мне в полную литературную собственность, она — моя, как Вы совершенно ясно выразили в Вашем письме. В договоре, относящ[емся] к этой-же книге[,] перечисленны входящие в книгу рассказы и точно указаны [*sic*], что эти рассказы перешли навсегда ко мне. Само собою разумеется, я не могу запретить Вам включать эти рассказы в выпускаемое Госиздатом [собрание] Ваших соч.[инений], но совершенно естественно, что гонорар, получаемый Вами за эти рассказы, Вы должны передавать мне. Только об этом и идет речь. Повторяю я ни от Вас непосредственно, ни от кого либо другого в счет этих рассказов или в счет этой книги никогда ничего не получил; это как было моей собственностью, так и осталось навсегда. —

Я не знаю точно сколько денег в качестве гонорара за эти 20 рассказов Вы получили, начиная с 23-го года, за сколько продали теперь новым договором своим с Госиздатом или другими издательствами, не знаю сколько они обязаны платить Вам за эти рассказы в будущем, но все что Вы получили и что еще получите Вы передаете мне. Так обстоит

это дело фактически, так оно соответствует тем актам, по которым эти рассказы перешли в мою собственность. Если кто либо говорит Вам иное, тот заведомо говорит Вам неправду. Укажите мне лицо, которому Вы доверяете, с которым я мог бы сделать на основании вышесказанного точный расчет и точно выяснить какую сумму я должен уже получить и на что могу рассчитывать в будущем. По моим расчетам это составляет от 3-х до 4-х % получаемого Вами гонорара. В конце концов для Вас это большой роли не играет, меня же это действительно спасет от гибели.

Я прошу Вас распорядиться чтобы мне срочно, если возможно телеграфно, послали немедленно 2.000 долларов и затем укажите куда я должен приехать, в Берлин ли к П. П. Крючкову\*, или к Вам в Сорренто, что бы окончательно выяснить точно какую сумму я получаю.

Я убедительно прошу Вас не медлить больше, знать, что я в таком отчаянном положении, что дошло до такого ужаса, что не в состоянии больше ни минуты ждать. [...]

Ваш З. Гржебин

25/X 28.» (39)

Можно заключить, что Горький предложил ему расплатиться в рублях через Госиздат, на что Гржебин ответил письмом от 4 ноября 1928 года:

«Алексей Максимович,

Помимо письма от 20-го ноября 1919 г., которым Вы передали мне навсегда книгу «Избранные рассказы», Вы заключили 25-го ноября того же 1919 г. договор, копию которого я одновременно с фотографическим оттиском письма в свое время послал Вам в Сорренто и вторично в Москву. По этому договору 20 перечисленных в нем рассказов перешли в мою полную литературную собственность.

Следовательно, если Вы эти рассказы издаете в Госиздате, помещая их в собрании Ваших сочинений, или выпускаете каждый рассказ в отдельности, или издаете переводы рассказов на иностранных языках и т. п., — Вы, получая за них деньги, по точному смыслу письма от 20 ноября и договора от 25 ноября 1919 г., должны уплачивать их мне, как собственнику прав на эти рассказы.

Если правда, что Вы получаете от Госиздата, как было сообщено в газетах, за Ваши сочинения 250-350 тысяч долларов, то гонорар за эти 20 рассказов выражается в сумме от 9 до 15 тысяч долларов. К этой сумме следует прибавить гонорар, полученный Вами за эти рассказы до настоящего времени, начиная с 1924 г.

Вполне разделяя Ваше желание покончить раз навсегда все расчеты между нами, я согласен всю сумму гонорара за эти рассказы, полученную Вами до сих пор и впредь Вами получаемую, определить в 4.000 долларов. Однако, Ваши условия расплаты — через Госиздат и в рублях — для меня неприемлемы. Предложить мне уплату этим способом — значит ничего не предложить: Госиздат и по своим обязательствам мне не платит, а рубли — без права перевода их за границу в иностранной валюте — мне не нужны.

Я согласен вернуть Вам и письмо и договор, согласен выдать Вам расписку в том, что все расчеты между нами закончены и больше никаких претензий к Вам иметь не буду — все это я согласен совершить против уплаты мне здесь в Париже полпредством, или банком, или иным, по Вашему усмотрению, способом наличными 4.000 долларов.

Неполучение от Вас в двухнедельный от сего числа срок Вашего согласия уплатить мне в Париже против вышеуказанных документов 4.000 долларов буду считать за отказ от уплаты следуемых мне денег, *и я, с своей стороны, буду считать свое согласие определить весь следуемый мне гонорар в сумму 4.000 долларов аннулированным.*

Я не знаю, о каких моих к Вам плохих отношениях в Берлине Вы говорите. После Берлина мы с Вами дружески встретились в Мариенбаде, и несколько Ваших писем ко мне в Париж после Берлина доказывают также противоположное.

Согласиться с тем, что я не должен пользоваться Вашим подарком, я не могу. Напротив, я продолжаю считать, как и Вы в свое время считали, что своим «подарком» Вы только ответили мне на мое отношение к Вам. Все, что связано было с этими отношениями, я мог оставить своим детям. Теперь, взамен всего, что было отдано не им, я полагал передать им Ваш «подарок» — единственное, что у меня осталось. К сожалению, крайняя нужда в деньгах заставляет меня согласиться на 4.000 долларов, в то время как Вы за эти рассказы получили и получите во много раз больше этой суммы.» (40)

Трудно объяснить поведение Горького, почему он дал издавать рассказы, которые он подарил Гржебину, почему он не платил Гржебину гонорара, получаемого им за эти рассказы, и, в конце концов, как он мог после такой длинной и бескорыстной дружбы, прекратить всю переписку без всякого объяснения своего поступка.

Возможно, что люди, окружающие тогда Горького, плохо на него влияли. Еще из Берлина в 1924 году Гржебин писал своей жене про Ионова, от которого зависела продажа Гржебиным книг в Москву, про того же Ионова отрицательно писал и Горький, в приведенном выше письме от 29 декабря 1925 года.

Как бы то ни было, можно сказать, что в данном случае Горький показал себя с некрасивой стороны.

Зиновий Исаевич Гржебин умер от разрыва сердца 4 февраля 1929 года. Деньги от Горького пришли в конце того же года.

### Примечания

- (1) М. В. Добужинский, «Воспоминания» (Нью-Йорк, 1976), т. 1, стр. 242.
- (2) Цитируется по статье З. М. Карасика, «М. Горький и сатирические журналы «Жупел» и «Адская почта», в сб. «М. Горький в эпоху революции 1905-1907 годов: Материалы, воспоминания, исследования», под ред. С. С. Елизарова, С. С. Зиминной, В. Я. Орловой (Москва: АН СССР, 1957), стр. 359.
- (3) Цитируется по статье З. М. Карасика (прим. 2), стр. 361.
- (4) Цитируется по статье З. М. Карасика (прим. 2), стр. 359-360.
- (5) Цитируется по книге Н. В. Сеницына, «Гравюры Остроумовой-Лебедевой» (Москва: Искусство, 1964), стр. 67.
- (6) Цитируется по статье О. Подобедовой, «Горечь и отвага смеха», в журнале «В мире книг» (Москва), 2 (1976), стр. 28.
- (7) Сеницын (прим. 5), стр. 68.
- (8) Цитируется по статье З. М. Карасика (прим. 2), стр. 376.
- (9) Карасик (прим. 2), стр. 377.
- (10) Подобедова (прим. 6), стр. 29.
- (11) Б. В., «Памяти Гржебина», «Последние Новости» (Париж), 6 февраля 1929.
- (12) Приводится по фотокопии в архиве семьи Гржебиных. Оригинал хранится в Архиве Горького (ИМЛИ, Москва).
- (13) Корней Чуковский, «Современники» (Москва: Молодая гвардия, 1967), стр. 153.
- (14) Чуковский (прим. 13), стр. 154-155.
- (15) В архиве семьи Гржебиных хранится экземпляр сборника «Елка».
- (16) Владислав Ходасевич, «Горький», «Современные Записки» (Париж), LXX (1940), стр. 132.
- (17) Приводится по кн. «А. М. Горький в портретах, иллюстрациях, документах, 1868-1936 гг.» (Москва: Гос. уч.-пед. изд-во Мин-ва просвещения РСФСР, 1962), стр. 261.
- (18) «Дом искусств» (Петербург [Петроград]), 1 (1920 [на титульном листе 1921]), стр. 72-73.
- (19) «Чукоккала: Рукописный альманах Корнея Чуковского» (Москва: Искусство, 1979), стр. 222.
- (20) «Чукоккала» (прим. 19), стр. 222.
- (21) Алексей Ремизов, «Кукха: Розановы письма» (Берлин: З. И.

Гржебин, 1923) (глава «Обезвельволпал»).

(22) «Чукоккала» (прим. 19), стр. 84.

(23) Начало третьей части «Крокодила», героиней которой является Лялочка. Под названием «Ваня и крокодил» поэма Чуковского была впервые опубликована в ежемесячном приложении к журналу «Нива» «Для детей», №№1-12 (1917). Под названием «Приключения Крокодила Крокодиловича / Крокодил: Поэма для маленьких детей» она была переиздана в 1919 г. (Петроград: Петрогр. сов. рабочих и крестьян. депутатов).

(24) Ходасевич (прим. 16), стр. 136.

(25) Данные приводятся по фотографии стенда Гржебина на выставке. Фотография хранится в архиве семьи Гржебиных.

(26) «Решение Третейского суда по делу между Торговым Представительством Р. С. Ф. С. Р. в Германии и издательством З. И. Гржебина». Машинопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

(27) Ходасевич (прим. 16), стр. 142-143.

(28) «Решение Третейского суда ...» (прим. 26).

(29) Письмо З. И. Гржебина к В. А. Могилевскому, 18 февраля 1923 г. Рукопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

(30) Письмо М. А. Осоргина к З. И. Гржебину, 9 февраля 1924 г. Машинопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных. Публикуется с разрешения Т. А. Осоргиной.

(31) Письмо Правления Союза русских издателей и книгопродавцев в Германии к З. И. Гржебину, 10 марта 1924 г. Машинопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

(32) Письмо А. И. Филиппова к З. И. Гржебину, 13 февраля 1925 г. Машинопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

(33) Данные приводятся по письмам З. И. Гржебина к семье. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

(34) В книгу Горького «Избранные рассказы, 1893-1915» (Петроград: З. И. Гржебин, 1921) вошли рассказы «Старуха Изергиль», «Мой спутник», «На плотях», «Ярмарка в Голтве», «Проходимец», «Двадцать шесть и одна», «Песнь о Буревестнике», «Человек», «Мать», «Городок Окуров», «Калинин», «Покойник», «Нилушка», «Женщина», «Страсти-мордасти», «Книга», «Весельчак», «На Чангуле», «Рождение человека», «Едут».

(35) Все письма Горького к Гржебину, приводимые в главе «Дружба с Горьким», хранятся в архиве семьи Гржебиных в виде фотографий или копий. Оригинал одного письма Горького (от 20 ноября 1919 г.?) и комплект копий других писем хранятся в Архиве Горького (ИМЛИ, Москва). Об этом см. интервью И. С. Зильберштейна в «Литературной газете» (Москва), №75, 28 июня 1966 г., стр. 3: «В Париже я побывал и в семье известного издателя З. И. Гржебина, с которым Горький долгие

годы дружил. Письма Горького к Гржебину, к сожалению, давно разошлись по свету. Но, к счастью, в семье, кроме автографа одного письма Горького, сохранились фотографии и копии еще и других девяти писем. Все это семья Гржебина передала для архива Горького.»

(36) Содержание писем Гржебина к Горькому приводится по записям Е. З. Гржебиной\*, которая имела доступ к оригиналам писем отца, хранящимся в Архиве Горького.

(37) «Правда» (Москва), №75 (3907), 29 марта 1928 г., стр. 8.

(38) На договоре Горького и Гржебина от 25 ноября 1919 г. об издании «Избранных рассказов» Горького Гржебин написал в 1922 году: «Берлин 1922 года Июня 14 дня, я нижеподписавшийся З. И. Гржебин сделал настоящую надпись в том, что мною предоставлено Торговому Представительству Р.С.Ф.С.Р. в Германии право включить в издаваемое им полное собрание сочинений А. М. Пешкова (М. Горького) двадцать произведений последнего указанных в настоящем договоре и что я никаких претензий к А. М. Пешкову, вытекающих из этого договора не имею, З. Гржебин.» Экземпляр оригинала договора хранится в архиве семьи Гржебиных.

(39) Письмо З. И. Гржебина к А. М. Горькому, 25 октября 1928 г. Рукопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

(40) Письмо З. И. Гржебина к А. М. Горькому, 4 ноября 1928 г. Машинопись. Архив семьи Гржебиных.

#### Указатель имен

АНИСФЕЛЬД, Борис Израилевич (1879-1973). Живописец, театральный художник.

БЛОК, Георгий Петрович (1888-1962). В 1920-1921 гг. сотрудник «Издательства З. И. Гржебина». Потом главный редактор издательства «Время» (Ленинград, 1923-1934), выпустившего в 1924 г. русский перевод автобиографии Генри Форда «Моя жизнь, мои достижения».

БОТКИН, Евгений Сергеевич (расстрелян в 1918 г.). Лейб-медик Николая II.

БУДБЕРГ, Мария Игнатьевна (ЗАКРЕВСКАЯ, по первому мужу БЕНКЕНДОРФ; 1892-1974). В 1921-1933 гг. секретарь и переводчица Максима Горького.

ГИДОНИ, Александр Иосифович (род. 1885). Писатель и журналист. Друг А. М. Ремизова.

ГРЖЕБИН, Алексей Зиновьевич (род. 1918, Петроград)

ГРЖЕБИН, Товий Зиновьевич (род. 1922, Берлин)

ГРЖЕБИНА, Елена Зиновьевна (Капа; род. 1909, Куоккала, Финляндия)

ГРЖЕБИНА, Ирина Зиновьевна (Буба; род. 1907, СПб.)

ГРЖЕБИНА, Лия Зиновьевна (Ляля; род. 1906, Харьков)

ГРЖЕБИНА, Мария Константиновна (ДОРИОМЕДОВА; 1880-1968, Париж)

ДАМАНСКАЯ, Августа Филипповна (1885-1959). Писательница и переводчица.

ДОРИОМЕДОВ, Михаил Константинович (Мишенька; около 1885-1920?, Петроград)

ДОРИОМЕДОВА, Ольга Ивановна (1849-1919, Петроград)

ДОРИОМЕДОВА, Наталья Константиновна (Ноточка; около 1878-1941?, Париж)

ЗАЙЦЕВА, Вера Алексеевна (ОРЕШНИКОВА; 1878-1965). Жена Б. К. Зайцева.

ЗОНОВ, Аркадий Павлович (1875-1922). Театральный режиссер, в частности сотрудник В. Ф. Комиссаржевской.

ИРМАН. Не удалось раскрыть псевдоним автора анонимной статьи в «Русской Газете».

КАЛЬМАНОВИЧ, С. Е. Присяжный поверенный.

КОПЕЛЬМАН, Соломон Юльевич (1881-1944). Основатель (с З. И. Гржебиным) и главный редактор издательства «Шиповник». Отец советского писателя Юрия Крымова.

КРЮЧКОВ, Петр Петрович (1889-1938). Секретарь Максима Горького.

ЛЕВИНСОН, Андрей Яковлевич (1887-1933). Автор многочисленных книг и статей о балете, в том числе: *Anna Pavlova* (Paris: Grjebine et Vishgnak, [1928]).

МАРГУЛИЕС, Мануил Сергеевич (1868-после 1938). Врач и юрист, общественный и политический деятель, во время Первой мировой войны член Центрального Военно-промышленного комитета, активный участник в политической и дипломатической деятельности антибольшевистского движения в Финляндии и Прибалтике, в 1919 г. министр торговли и промышленности в Северо-Западном правительстве. Автор 3-томного дневника «Год интервенции» (Берлин: З. И. Гржебин, 1923).

МОГИЛЕВСКИЙ, Владимир Андреевич (род. 1880). Главный бухгалтер и кассир и заведующий конторой газеты «Последние Новости» (Париж).

НУВЕЛЬ, Вальтер Федорович (1871-1949). Близкий друг и сотрудник С. П. Дягилева.

НУРОК, Альфред Павлович (1860-1919). Один из организаторов общества и журнала «Мир искусства» и Вечеров современной музыки в Петербурге (1901-1912).

ПЕШКОВ, Максим Алексеевич (1897-1934). Сын Горького.

РЕМИЗОВА, Серафима Павловна (ДОВГЕЛЛО; 1876-1943). Палеограф. Жена А. М. Ремизова.

РОЗА ВАСИЛЬЕВНА. Торговка-спекулянтка, промышленявшая в

помещении издательства «Всемирная литература». Самый полный свод сведений о ней приведен в примечаниях к изданию: Осип Мандельштам, «Собрание сочинений в двух томах» (Вашингтон: Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1964), т. 1, стр. 492-494. Там, в частности, цитируются воспоминания Всеволода Рождественского «Страницы жизни: Из литературных воспоминаний» (Москва-Ленинград: Советский писатель, 1962): «[...] Многим памятная Роза Васильевна, существо неопределенного возраста и необъятных размеров. Закутанная в добрый десяток платков, завязанных толстым узлом на пояснице, седая и краснощекая, торжественно восседала она за небольшим столиком, на котором были соблазнительно разложены папиросы, мелкая галантерея и немудреные сласти той поры.»

**РЫСС**, Петр Яковлевич (около 1875-около 1948). Журналист. Один из редакторов еженедельной газеты «Борьба за Россию» (Париж, 1926-1931). Автор книг: «Русский опыт: Историко-психологический очерк русской революции» (Париж: Север, 1921) (французский перевод 1922); «Портреты» (Париж, 1928).

**СЮННЕРБЕРГ**, Константин Александрович (псевдоним ЭРБЕРГ; 1871-1942). Теоретик искусства, критик, поэт, переводчик. Автор воспоминаний о Гржебине в период сатирических журналов («Ежегодник Рукописного отдела Пушкинского дома на 1977 год» [Ленинград: Наука, 1979], стр. 125-128).

**ТИХОНОВА**, Нина Алескандровна (род. 1910). Балетная артистка, педагог. Дочь А. Н. Тихонова и В. В. Шайкевич\*.

**ФАРМАН**, Михаил Семенович (Гришенька) муж сестры Гржебина, Софьи Исаевны. В эмиграции сотрудник английского биографического указателя *Who's Who* и издатель.

**ФИЛИППОВ**, Алекс. И. Редактор (с Е. А. Ефимовским) еженедельной газеты «Русская Газета в Париже» (1923-1925). Впоследствии редактировал газету «Русское Время» (Париж, 1925-1929) и журнал «Театр и Жизнь» (Париж, 1928).

**ХОДАСЕВИЧ**, Валентина Михайловна (1894-1970). Живописец, театральная художник. Племянница В. Ф. Ходасевича.

**ШАЙКЕВИЧ**, Варвара Васильевна (ЗУБКОВА, по первому мужу ШАЙКЕВИЧ, по второму ТИХОНОВА; 1884-1950). Близкий друг Максима Горького. Мать Н. А. Тихоновой\*.

**ШМУРЛО**, Евгений Францевич (1853-1934). Историк. Автор книг: «История России, 1862-1917» (Мюнхен: Град Китеж, 1922); «Введение в русскую историю» (Прага: Пламя, 1924).

**ЩЕРБОВ**, Павел Егорович (1865-1938). График, карикатурист. Печатался в сатирическом журнале «Шут». Участвовал в выставках «Общества акварелистов» и «Мира искусства».

ЭНКЕЛЬ (по другой копии письма Горького — ДИКЕЛЬ). Не удалось установить с уверенностью, кто имеется в виду, но, может быть, это — немецкий писатель Георг Энгель (Georg Engel) (1866-1931), который являлся председателем немецкого писательского объединения (Reichsverband des deutschen Schrifttums).

ЮРИЦЫН, Сергей Петрович (род. 1872). Журналист. Издатель газет «Сын Отечества» и «Наши дни» (СПб., 1904-1905) и (с ноября 1905 г.) журнала «Жупел».

ЮРКУН, Юрий Иванович (1895-1938). Писатель, близкий друг М. А. Кузмина.

ЯКОВЕНКО, Борис Валентинович (1884-1948). Историк философии. Один из редакторов журнала «Логос» (Прага, 1925-1928). Основатель и главный редактор начавшейся выходить в 1935 г. серии исследований «Международная философская библиотека» (Прага).

ЯРНЕФЕЛЬТ, Ээро (1863-1937). Финский художник.

## The Publishing-House Z. I. Grzhebin, Petrograd–Moscow–Berlin, 1919–1923 \*

Hilde Hardeman

The history of the publishing-house Z. I. Grzhebin, founded in Petrograd in 1919, is complicated; some episodes in its five-year-long existence remain unclear. For the student of Soviet publishing, however, the history of this firm is of exceptional interest. It throws light on the peculiar situation of printing and publishing at the time of War Communism and in the first years of NEP. The years of war had, to a large extent, destroyed the facilities for printing and publishing in Russia. Moreover, the country suffered from a severe shortage of fuel and paper. Publishing abroad seemed to offer a way out of this difficult situation. It was to fulfil this task that the publishing-house Z. I. Grzhebin was founded, at the instance of the writer M. Gor'kii and with the special support of Lenin and the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment.

Zinovii Isaevich Grzhebin (1877–1929) had been active before the revolution as a publisher and a caricaturist. In 1905–1906, he was the editor of the satirical journal *Zhupel* for which he also produced political caricatures. Contributors to the journal included M. Gor'kii, A. I. Kuprin and K. D. Bal'mont. Because of a caricature by I. Ia. Bilibin, representing Nicolas II as a donkey, the journal was prohibited and Z. I. Grzhebin was arrested and condemned to six months in jail.<sup>1</sup>

In the same years he published caricatures in the satirical journal *Adskaia Pochta*, of which three numbers appeared before the journal was confiscated. M. Gor'kii, V. Ia. Briusov, I. A. Bunin, F. Sologub, Viach. I. Ivanov and I. Ia. Bilibin also contributed to the journal.<sup>2</sup>

In 1906, Z. I. Grzhebin, along with S. Iu. Kopel'man, founded the publishing-house 'Shipovnik' in St Petersburg. 'Shipovnik' published among others a series of art postcards on political themes and several works of K. Marx, G. V. Plekhanov and L. Shestov. Between 1907 and 1917, twenty-seven issues of an almanac with the same name *Shipovnik* were published. The editor of the almanac was L. N. Andreev. Contributors included I. Ia. Bilibin, A. A. Blok, F. Sologub and A. I. Kuprin. After the revolution,

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<sup>1</sup> M. S. Cherepakhov, *Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat'. 1895–oktiabr' 1917. Spravochnik* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1957), pp. 68–9.

<sup>2</sup> Cherepakhov (note 1), p. 91.

'Shipovnik' transferred its activities to Moscow. It was closed down in 1922.<sup>3</sup> However, it seems that by that time Z. I. Grzhebin was no longer involved in 'Shipovnik'.

At the end of 1916, Grzhebin started collaborating with the publishing-house 'Torgovyi Dom A. N. Tikhonova i K<sup>o</sup>, Knigoizdatel'stvo Parus'. The firm had been founded in 1915 by A. N. Tikhonov, the publisher I. P. Ladyzhnikov and M. Gor'kii; it existed until the end of 1918.<sup>4</sup>

Besides being active as a publisher and a caricaturist, Z. I. Grzhebin also played an important role in the so-called 'Biuro sotsialisticheskoi pechati' between February and October 1917. This organization originated shortly after the February Revolution and united the socialist press of the capital, including *Pravda*, *Delo Naroda* and *Novaia Zhizn'*. Grzhebin and the Bolshevik V. D. Bonch-Bruевич were responsible for the distribution of paper to the organization's members.<sup>5</sup> It is clear that Grzhebin was a man with experience and many contacts in the Petrograd world of publishing and literature.

Z. I. Grzhebin had known the writer M. Gor'kii personally since 1905.<sup>6</sup> This personal contact was of crucial importance for Grzhebin's activities after the October Revolution.

From his youth, M. Gor'kii had been active in the Russian revolutionary movement. He had maintained close links to the social democrats since 1900–1901.<sup>7</sup> He supported the party financially, contributed to several Bolshevik publications and was particularly active in the party's publishing-houses abroad. Because of his participation in the revolutionary events of 1905–1906, Gor'kii was obliged to leave the country early in 1906; he returned to Russia only in 1914. In exile, Gor'kii did all he could to use his influence and prestige in Europe and the United States to support the revolutionary movement in the motherland.<sup>8</sup>

In spite of this year-long involvement, M. Gor'kii did not welcome the fall of the monarchy with undivided joy. He feared that the Russian people, kept

<sup>3</sup> *Knigovedenie. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1982), p. 600.

<sup>4</sup> For the history of the publishing-house 'Parus' see O. D. Golubeva, 'Knigoizdatel'stvo "Parus" (1915–1918)', in *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy* 12 (1966), pp. 160–92.

<sup>5</sup> L. M. Khlebnikov, 'Iz istorii gor'kovskikh izdatel'stv: "Vsemirnaia literatura" i "Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina"', in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 80 (1971), pp. 668–703 (p. 680). A. I. Nazarov, *Oktiabr' i kniga. Sozdanie sovetskikh izdatel'stv i formirovanie massovogo chitatelia. 1917–1923* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Gor'kii, *Pis'ma k K. P. Piatnitskomu*, Arkhiv A. M. Gor'kogo, IV (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1954), p. 200; pp. 351–2.

<sup>7</sup> R. Poznanski, *Intelligentsia et révolution. Blok, Gorki et Maiakovski face à 1917* (Paris: Anthropos, 1981), p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> A. Kaun, 'Maxim Gorky and the Bolsheviks', in *The Slavonic Review* 9 (1930), pp. 432–48 (pp. 432–41). Poznanski (note 7), pp. 123–5.

in the dark for ages, would not be up to the new situation, and that the country would fall prey to anarchy. In his opinion, the main task of the moment was to protect the existing culture and to advance by all means the enlightenment of the Russian people. Only such educational measures could secure the revolution's success, they alone would in the end make socialism possible.<sup>9</sup>

The course of events in the summer of 1917 confirmed Gor'kii's apprehensions. When the Bolsheviks took power, he condemned his former brothers-in-arms sharply. The take-over was untimely; given the cultural destruction which it involved, the writer considered it a step back rather than a step forward. On the pages of *Novaia Zhizn'*, the newspaper he edited until July 1918 when it was shut down, Gor'kii raised his voice repeatedly against the Bolshevik methods of violence and oppression.<sup>10</sup>

From the early summer of 1918, however, Gor'kii's criticism became somewhat less caustic. Apparently, the writer had come to accept the new regime as a *fait accompli*; it turned out to be more stable than he had expected. Gor'kii seems to have realized that the Bolsheviks might indeed be capable of directing the potentially anarchic forces of the masses.<sup>11</sup>

Gor'kii finally restored his contact with the Bolsheviks at the end of August 1918. A few days after the attempt on Lenin's life, a shocked Gor'kii visited his former friend for the first time since October 1917. On that occasion, the two men came to an agreement. Gor'kii would accept the Bolshevik regime sufficiently to work with it; Lenin would make it possible for Gor'kii to devote himself to the task which was closest to his heart: the salvation and development of Russian culture.<sup>12</sup> Such an agreement was not indifferent to the Bolsheviks. At a time when their power had not yet been consolidated, even a tacit endorsement on Gor'kii's part was important; the writer's revolutionary past and his international prestige gave his attitude toward the October Revolution a symbolic value.<sup>13</sup> Gor'kii, on his side, saw the agreement as an opportunity to counter the forces of destruction, to avert the degeneration of the country.<sup>14</sup>

From that moment on, Gor'kii kept aloof from politics and took up his cultural task with energy and enthusiasm. He set up a whole network of organizations, including a Commission for the Protection of Art Objects, and a Commission for the Improvement of the Living Conditions of Scholars

<sup>9</sup> Poznanski (note 7), p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> Poznanski (note 7), pp. 150-1, 157-9.

<sup>11</sup> Poznanski (note 7), pp. 163-4.

<sup>12</sup> B. D. Wolfe, *The Bridge and the Abyss: The Troubled Friendship of Maxim Gorky and V. I. Lenin* (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Poznanski (note 7), p. 177.

<sup>14</sup> Poznanski (note 7), p. 167.

which helped artists and scientists to survive physically and intellectually the hunger, cold and terror of the Civil War.<sup>15</sup>

Gor'kii's task did not only consist in the protection of the existing culture; he considered it at least as important to advance the enlightenment of the Russian people. With this goal, he conceived the plan to flood Soviet Russia with new books on all possible subjects. He had come to the conviction that 'the Russian Nation was called upon by the will of history not only to create new socio-political forms of life, but also to form a "new man": intelligent, honest, strong and kind'.<sup>16</sup>

M. Gor'kii did not wait to implement his plan. On 20 August 1918 he met with the writer and publisher N. A. Tikhonov and his partners from 'Parus', Ladyzhnikov and Grzhebin. They made an agreement for the foundation of a new publishing-house with the name 'Vsemirnaia literatura'. Z. I. Grzhebin was put in charge of the technical aspects of the enterprise.<sup>17</sup> Its goal was to publish selected works of Russian authors and translations of Western European literature from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. The works would be provided with annotations and introductions. The idea was to publish on the one hand small, cheap brochures meant for a broad public, and on the other hand more extensive volumes which would build up a small but carefully selected library of European classics.<sup>18</sup>

M. Gor'kii stressed the ideological and propagandist value of his plan and saw the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment as the most obvious source to finance 'Vsemirnaia literatura'. He presented the plan to the Commissar, A. V. Lunacharskii, who was eager to support it, seeing it also as an opportunity to reaffirm the writer's links with the party.<sup>19</sup>

On 21 November 1918, after many administrative difficulties, an agreement between the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment and 'Vsemirnaia literatura' was confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars. In the budget of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment, 6,500,000 rubles were earmarked for the publishing-house.<sup>20</sup>

This did not mean that all problems were over. In many cases, Gor'kii had to call upon Lenin to obtain the promised help and money. The most

<sup>15</sup> Wolfe (note 12), pp. 77-93.

<sup>16</sup> O. D. Golubeva, *Gor'kii-izdatel'* (Moscow: Kniga, 1968), pp. 116-17.

<sup>17</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 669. For the text of the agreement see A. S. Miasnikov, 'A. M. Gor'kii—organizator izdatel'stva "Vsemirnaia literatura" (1919-1921 gg.)', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 2 (1958), pp. 67-95 (p. 71). On 'Vsemirnaia literatura' see also *Istoriia knigi v SSSR 1917-1921* (Moscow: Kniga, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 208-27, and I. A. Shomrakova, 'Knigoizdatel'stvo "Vsemirnaia literatura" (1918-1924)', in *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy* 14 (1967), pp. 175-93.

<sup>18</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), pp. 699-700, note 4.

<sup>19</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 683; p. 697. V. I. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, izd. 5-oe (Moscow: Politicheskaiia literatura, 1965), vol. 52, p. 224.

<sup>20</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 670.

important problem, however, was the impossibility of receiving the necessary paper and printing facilities. The Civil War exacerbated these problems. By the spring of 1919, Gor'kii was driven to despair by the fact that though many manuscripts were ready to be printed, the work could not be started because of lack of paper.<sup>21</sup>

In the meantime Z. I. Grzhebin, acting as the technical director of 'Vsemirnaia literatura', hit upon the idea to print abroad and import the books into Russia. This way, it would be possible to evade the paper shortage there. He started making contacts with printing-offices in Finland, Estonia, Sweden and Germany. He found out that it would be easy to print Russian books abroad cheaply and quickly.

Gor'kii accepted the plan enthusiastically and took an active part in its realization. In early May 1919, he obtained official permission to found a new private publishing-house in Petrograd, the 'Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina'. Gor'kii himself became a director of the publishing-house, along with the art historian and critic A. N. Benua and S. F. Ol'denburg, a famous specialist in Eastern literatures and the permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>22</sup>

A few days later a new centralized state institution which was to embrace all major publishing-houses was founded: Gosizdat. 'Vsemirnaia literatura' became one of its divisions. Gor'kii's publishing-house was now financed by Gosizdat; nevertheless, 'Vsemirnaia literatura' maintained much of its independence.<sup>23</sup>

On 21 May, M. Gor'kii wrote a letter to V. V. Vorovskii, the director of Gosizdat, proposing to print the publications of 'Vsemirnaia literatura' abroad and recommending to him Z. I. Grzhebin as an 'energetic man who has experience in the world of the book-trade'. He emphasized that printing-offices abroad would rather do business with a private publisher such as Z. I. Grzhebin than with Gosizdat, a Soviet institution.<sup>24</sup>

The reaction of Gosizdat was not unqualified. Direct support for Grzhebin's publishing-house was refused; however, Gosizdat took up the proposal that Grzhebin should arrange the printing of books for 'Vsemirnaia literatura' in Finland.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime, Gor'kii had worked out an ambitious plan for Grzhebin's own publishing-house. It included four divisions: 'Zhizn' mira', 'Chelovek i priroda', 'Iskusstvo' and 'Detskaia literatura'. The plan was both universal and differentiated. All parts of human life and culture should find a place in it

<sup>21</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 672.

<sup>22</sup> *Gor'kii i nauka. Stat'i, rechi, pis'ma, vospominaniia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), p. 257. *Istoriia knigi v SSSR 1917-1921* (Moscow: Kniga, 1985), vol. 2, p. 141.

<sup>23</sup> *Istoriia knigi* (note 17), pp. 216-17.

<sup>24</sup> Miasnikov (note 17), p. 77.

<sup>25</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 674.

and it should offer books for all kinds of readers, ranging from elementary brochures to specialized monographs.<sup>26</sup>

Gor'kii secured the assistance of a council of scholars. In charge of the humanities was S. F. Ol'denburg. O. D. Khvol'son, a professor of Petrograd University, headed the division of physics and the academician A. E. Fersman, a talented popularizer, was in charge of geology and mineralogy. B. E. Raikov directed the division of biology and Gor'kii himself was responsible for the editing of literature.<sup>27</sup>

In the sources I have used, a detailed rendering of all four divisions of the plan is missing; however, the extensive programme of the most ambitious division, 'Zhizn' mira', can be found in several books published by Grzhebin in Petrograd in 1919.<sup>28</sup> The editors of this division consisted of M. Gor'kii, the pedagogue A. P. Pinkevich and the Bolshevik historian of literature V. A. Desnitskii.

It is worth dwelling on the programme of 'Zhizn' mira' a little longer. It is itself divided into three. The first division, 'Biographies of remarkable personalities',<sup>29</sup> lists eleven series. Gor'kii's selection of 'personalities' is interesting and surprising. Not only 'positive heroes' find a place in it; indeed, V. I. Lenin, Sergei Radonezhskii and K. P. Pobedonostsev, S. I. Mamontov, L. N. Tolstoi and V. S. Solov'ev, Aristotle and Darwin figure together on the list.

The second division, 'Humanities, literature and art', contains four series: belles-lettres, science, textbooks for the new school, and memoirs and correspondence of eminent personalities. The third division, 'Natural science and technology', is divided into five series: popularized scientific publications, introductions, textbooks, textbooks for the universities, and classics in the history of science.

It is not easy to compile a complete list of the planned works which were actually published. A small article in the journal *Letopis' Doma Literatorov* of March 1921 deals with Grzhebin's production in 1919–1920. The list consists of eleven titles including memoirs of A. V. Lunacharskii, three titles by

<sup>26</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 675.

<sup>27</sup> *Gor'kii i nauka* (note 22), p. 258.

<sup>28</sup> The programme for 'Zhizn' mira' was first published in M. Gor'kii, *Vospominaniia o L've Nikolaeviche Tolstom* (Petrograd: Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina, 1919), pp. 61–3, quoted in *Gor'kii i nauka* (note 22), pp. 25–6. I have used the programme as published in A. V. Lunacharskii, *Velikii perevorot (Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia)*, part I (Petrograd: Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina, 1919), 12 unnumbered pages at the end of the book.

<sup>29</sup> M. Gor'kii attached much importance to the educational value of biographies. On his several attempts to create a series of biographies see G. E. Pomerantseva, 'K istorii stanovleniia i razvitiia serii "Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudei" (1933–1941)', in *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy* 27 (1973), pp. 92–118; and G. E. Pomerantseva, 'Seriiia "Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudei" i zamysel A. M. Gor'kogo', in *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy* 32 (1976), pp. 36–64.

Gor'kii himself and works by A. I. Kuprin and A. A. Blok.<sup>30</sup> However, this list is far from complete.

Another difficulty is caused by the fact that Grzhebin did not always clearly distinguish between the published and planned titles in his catalogues. However, a fairly reliable source is the catalogue published by the 'Soiuz russkikh izdatelei i knigoprodavtsev v Germanii' in 1924. As we shall see, Grzhebin had stopped his publishing activities by the end of 1923; in 1924 he was only selling from stock. The only problem with the 1924 catalogue is that the books which were out of print by 1924 are not included. However, a 1923 advertisement of the firm, where out-of-print titles are marked, shows that this was only a very small percentage.<sup>31</sup>

If we compare the list of titles which in 1919 were printed or being printed with the catalogue of 1924, we see that of the fifty-four planned 'biographies of remarkable personalities', twenty-one titles were actually printed. In the second division, the section of belles-lettres, the number of publications was more impressive. Grzhebin published selected works of E. A. Baratynskii, A. P. Chekhov, M. Iu. Lermontov, N. S. Leskov, N. A. Nekrasov, M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, A. K. Tolstoi and F. M. Dostoevskii. He published twenty titles of modern Russian poetry, including the work of B. L. Pasternak, M. I. Tsvetaeva, A. Belyi and V. F. Khodasevich. Besides this, twenty-nine titles of modern Russian prose from such authors as M. Gor'kii, F. Sologub, B. K. Zaitsev and E. I. Zamiatin appeared. As far as the other three sections of this division are concerned, only one of the seventeen titles which were 'being printed' in 1919 was actually published. Of the thirty-five titles which were mentioned in 1919 under the third division, only three can be found in the 1924 catalogue.

However, let us return to Grzhebin's situation in 1919. The plan to have Grzhebin—as a private publisher—print books abroad for 'Vsemirnaia literatura' was presented to V. V. Vorovskii. Vorovskii's reaction was rather sceptical. Nevertheless, on 10 January 1920, an agreement was made between Gosizdat and Grzhebin. Gosizdat ordered sixteen volumes of Russian classics, thirty-four volumes of popularized scientific works and four volumes of pedagogical literature. Grzhebin was to print them abroad on foreign paper; the matrices and blocks could be produced in Russia. The books had to be delivered by 31 December of the same year. According to the contract, Grzhebin would receive a commission of twenty per cent of the

<sup>30</sup> B. Kh. < ariton >, 'O knigakh ne novykh', in *Letopis' Doma Literatorov* 3 (1921), p. 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Katalog knig vyshedshikh vne Rossii. 1924*, izd. Soiuza russkikh izdatelei i knigoprodavtsev v Germanii ([Berlin, 1924]), 10 unnumbered pages at the end of the catalogue. *Letopis' revoliutsii* I (Berlin-Petrograd-Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Z. I. Grzhebina, 1923), pp. 318-23.

total selling price.<sup>32</sup> Thanks to Gor'kii's influence, Grzhebin received a loan in foreign currency and was able to establish his own firm in Germany.<sup>33</sup>

Not everybody in the Soviet administration was happy with this agreement with a private firm. By the summer of 1920, the affair had caused a full-blown administrative and personal controversy which continued into 1921.<sup>34</sup> In this controversy, ideological factors played a role, together with the above-mentioned concern of leaders like Lenin and Lunacharskii to keep M. Gor'kii on their side.

As far as Grzhebin himself is concerned, it seems that he did not strictly observe the agreement with Gosizdat. Apparently he obtained additional orders from several Soviet institutions without the permission of Gosizdat, taking substantial sums of money in advance.<sup>35</sup> There were complaints that Grzhebin encouraged the German firms which he contacted to raise their prices for Soviet orders and that he had books printed in Sweden although he knew it to be much cheaper in Germany.<sup>36</sup> Most important, however, is that Grzhebin failed to fulfil the contract: by the end of the year not a single book had been delivered to Gosizdat.<sup>37</sup> This does not mean that Grzhebin had published nothing at all during this period: more than fifty titles came out during the first year of the firm's existence.<sup>38</sup> Apparently he put his energy into his 'own' publications, rather than into those which had been ordered by Gosizdat.

Because of these complaints, a special commission for the investigation of the Grzhebin affair was set up in the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party in September 1920.<sup>39</sup> Within Gosizdat, the idea gained ground of organizing a section abroad so that Grzhebin's services would become superfluous.<sup>40</sup>

On 2 March 1921, a session of the special commission took place in Grzhebin's presence. The commission decided that the contract had been broken by Grzhebin. However, thanks to the intervention of Gor'kii and eventually of Lenin, Grzhebin was given the chance to complete the contract.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, Gor'kii came out with yet another plan to print books for

<sup>32</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), pp. 677-8.

<sup>33</sup> Golubeva (note 16), p. 120.

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed account of this controversy see Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 677 ff. On the difficult relationship between Gosizdat and 'Vsemirnaia literatura' see also *Istoriia knigi* (note 17), pp. 216-17, and Nazarov (note 5), pp. 151-60.

<sup>35</sup> Golubeva (note 16), p. 121. Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 676; p. 700, note 38.

<sup>36</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 691; p. 696.

<sup>37</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 689.

<sup>38</sup> Golubeva (note 16), p. 121.

<sup>39</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 682.

<sup>40</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 686.

<sup>41</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), pp. 691-5. Miasnikov (note 17), pp. 81-2.

'Vsemirnaia literatura' abroad. It was conceived largely by Grzhebin. Grzhebin had made the calculation that a Russian book on the European market could easily be sold in five thousand copies and that the average cost price of one copy was five German marks, while the selling price was approximately twenty marks. He calculated that if fifty per cent of the selling price went to the bookseller, the pure profit would still be five marks. So he concluded that for each copy sold in Europe, a free copy could go to Soviet Russia.<sup>42</sup> It is not difficult to see that this calculation could only work if *all* copies intended for the European market were sold. Moreover, Grzhebin's figures were apparently far too optimistic.<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless, on 27 April 1921 the Politburo approved the plan.

The resolution of the Politburo specified the role of both Gosizdat and 'Vsemirnaia literatura'. The whole apparatus abroad was to be in the hands of 'Vsemirnaia literatura' but Gosizdat maintained the right to supervise the activities of the publishing-house and to select manuscripts for printing.

Although the plan had been accepted in principle, the paltry sums granted for its realization allowed little to be accomplished. 13,000,000 Swedish crowns had been appropriated for this goal, but only two per cent of this amount was actually paid out by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade. The financial situation of the Soviet Republic was too precarious at the time to spend foreign currency on this project.<sup>44</sup>

On 11 October 1921, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree which obliged all institutions and enterprises to publish within the Soviet borders. In exceptional cases a work could be printed abroad if it was technically extremely complicated, but the Council for Labour and Defence had to give special permission for every individual case. The decree also liquidated all state publishing organs abroad.<sup>45</sup>

On 3 October 1921, Grzhebin was permitted to emigrate with his family.<sup>46</sup> One would have expected that this would mean the end of the relationship between Grzhebin and the Soviet authorities and that Grzhebin would simply continue publishing on his own account. However, as will be seen, this was not the case.<sup>47</sup>

After Grzhebin left Soviet Russia, he intensified his own independent publishing activities in Germany. He published several books on art and books for children including translations of Hans Andersen and Fenimore Cooper. He brought out a series *Letopis' revoliutsii*, consisting of sixteen

<sup>42</sup> Miasnikov (note 17), pp. 91-2.

<sup>43</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 694.

<sup>44</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), pp. 694-5.

<sup>45</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 698.

<sup>46</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), p. 698.

<sup>47</sup> Golubeva (note 16), pp. 121-2.

volumes of memoirs of members of the Russian revolutionary movement including V. M. Chernov, P. B. Aksel'rod and Iu. O. Martov.<sup>48</sup> The first volume of this series was a part of the memoirs of A. V. Lunacharskii, entitled *Velikii perevorot*. It was originally published in Petrograd in the autumn of 1919. This volume and the first part of the Menshevik N. Sukhanov's (N. N. Gimmer) *Zapiski o revoliutsii* were the only volumes which were published inside Soviet Russia. The publication of *Velikii perevorot* caused angry reactions among party members because the cover announced that the series would continue with works by such 'enemies of Soviet power' as the Menshevik F. I. Dan and the Socialist Revolutionary V. M. Chernov.<sup>49</sup> Apparently Lunacharskii sold a part of his memoirs to Grzhebin because he needed money, on condition that the manuscript was not to be published without his permission. Grzhebin published it within two weeks. However, Lunacharskii did not protest because Gor'kii took Grzhebin's side and persuaded him not to react.<sup>50</sup>

On the initiative of the Menshevik B. I. Nikolaevskii, Grzhebin began preparations for the publication of a quarterly historical journal with the same name, *Letopis' revoliutsii*, in 1922. The idea was to collect material on the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia: memoirs, scholarly articles and documents, without any restriction as far as their political character was concerned. The role of Gor'kii in the organization of the journal was very important; however, he refused to appear formally as its editor, probably because he did not want to spoil his relations with Moscow completely.<sup>51</sup>

The first issue of the journal appeared in 1923. It contained articles by, among others, F. I. Dan, E. Bernstein, F. Adler, F. Engels, M. Gor'kii and V. M. Chernov. The editors announced that P. B. Aksel'rod, V. B. Shklovskii, R. B. Gul', K. Kautsky and others had promised to contribute to the following issues.<sup>52</sup> However, no more issues were to appear, as the publishing-house went bankrupt in the course of 1923.

The immediate cause of the bankruptcy was that the Soviet authorities, with whom Grzhebin had made a new agreement in the summer of 1922, broke the contract and left Grzhebin with huge stocks intended for import to Soviet Russia.<sup>53</sup> Soviet sources give no information on this agreement, but the Nicolaevsky Collection in the Hoover Archives in Stanford, California,

<sup>48</sup> *Katalog knig* (note 31).

<sup>49</sup> *Russkii Berlin 1921-1923*, ed. L. Fleishman, R. Kh'iuz and O. Raevskaia-Kh'iuz, *Literaturnoe nasledstvo russkoi emigratsii*, I (Paris: YMCA Press, 1983), p. 352.

<sup>50</sup> Khlebnikov (note 5), pp. 700-1, note 41.

<sup>51</sup> For more extensive information on this journal see *Russkii Berlin* (note 49), pp. 352-8. The archives of the journal are in the Nicolaevsky Collection, nr. 128, boxes 198-9, Hoover Archives, Stanford, California.

<sup>52</sup> *Letopis' revoliutsii* (note 31), p. 319.

<sup>53</sup> I. V. Gessen, *Gody izgnaniia. Zhiznennyi otchet* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1979), p. 108.

contains a most interesting document on this subject. It is the report of a decision of an arbitration tribunal in a case between the Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin and Grzhebin.<sup>54</sup>

On 24 June 1922 Grzhebin had made an agreement with the Soviet Trade Delegation in Germany. On 19 April 1923 he filed a complaint against the Trade Delegation, alleging that it had broken the contract. The arbitration tribunal, which heard the case in Berlin on 2 and 4 May 1923, ruled in Grzhebin's favour.

The content of the agreement of 24 June 1922 is reproduced in the document. The Trade Delegation gave Grzhebin an order to publish a number of manuscripts for the Soviet market. Before printing them, Grzhebin had to hand the manuscripts over to the Trade Delegation, which was to give them back to Grzhebin ready to print within two months. Grzhebin had to arrange for the printing; however, it was the Trade Delegation which made the agreements with printing-offices in Germany, not Grzhebin.<sup>55</sup> Probably this clause was inserted in the contract in order to avoid such problems as had occurred in 1920.

According to the contract, Grzhebin had the right to order a number of copies of a given title—not more than twenty-five per cent of the total number of copies—for distribution in Europe on his own account. The costs of the printing were to be divided proportionally between Grzhebin and the Trade Delegation. Grzhebin did not have the right to export any of 'his' copies to Soviet Russia during the first year after publication.<sup>56</sup> As far as distribution outside Soviet Russia by the Trade Delegation was concerned, no such stipulation was made.

In all, one hundred and eleven titles were ordered by the Trade Delegation.<sup>57</sup> Grzhebin asked that a number of copies of fifty-four of these titles be printed on his own account.<sup>58</sup>

What was the cause of the conflict in the spring of 1923? According to the rendering of the facts in the report of the arbitration tribunal, Grzhebin had prepared for printing all of the hundred and eleven titles, and had given them to the Trade Delegation. However, the Trade Delegation brought to the printer only forty-nine of them. Of the sixty-two remaining manuscripts, only three had been sent in insufficiently edited by Grzhebin. In all fifty-nine other cases, the Trade Delegation was held to be to blame for failure to print.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> 'Reshenie Treteiskogo suda po delu mezhdru Torgovym Predstavitel'stvom R.S.F.S.R. v Germanii i izdatel'stvom Z. I. Grzhebina', Nicolaevsky Collection, nr. 128, box 199, folder 20, Hoover Archives, Stanford, California.

<sup>55</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), p. 4.

<sup>59</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), p. 6.

Of those books which actually were printed, Grzhebin had not received the copies which were printed on his own account. (Apparently it was the Trade Delegation which received all copies from the printer and had to deliver a part of them to Grzhebin.) In his complaint of 19 April 1923, Grzhebin demanded that the Trade Delegation immediately deliver those copies which were available and return without delay the manuscripts of those which had not yet been printed. He also asked that the Trade Delegation stop selling books on the European market and claimed damages amounting to 18,000 dollars to make up for the profits he had lost through the fault of the Trade Delegation.<sup>60</sup>

As mentioned, Grzhebin won the case. The Trade Delegation was ordered to give him the printed copies and the manuscripts to which he was entitled immediately. As far as the selling of books in Europe by the Trade Delegation was concerned, the tribunal decided that the same rule would apply to it as to Grzhebin selling books in Soviet Russia. The tribunal justified this decision by stating that it was clear in all agreements with Grzhebin that the Soviet intention was to provide Soviet Russia with books, whereas Grzhebin's intention was to sell Russian books in Europe without Soviet competition. In this sense, it was only fair that the market be divided according to those intentions.<sup>61</sup>

The tribunal placed the damages which Grzhebin could claim at 15,000 dollars. However, Grzhebin still had debts to the Soviet administration—apparently dating from former agreements—amounting to 350,000 German marks, 22,160,000 Soviet rubles and 1,000,000 *dumskie den'gi*, i.e. credit-notes issued by the Provisional Government. This had to be subtracted from the damages to which Grzhebin was entitled.<sup>62</sup>

The result of this operation was fatal for Grzhebin. He went bankrupt by the end of 1923. V. I. Gessen recalls that Grzhebin complained bitterly about intrigues against him.<sup>63</sup> He died on 4 February 1929 in Paris, reduced to poverty.<sup>64</sup>

The Grzhebin case is unique in the history of Soviet publishing. It must be seen against the background of the peculiar circumstance of publishing and printing during the first years of the Soviet Republic's existence: the destruction and shortages on the one hand, the indistinct relationship between state institutions and private companies on the other.

<sup>60</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), pp. 11–12.

<sup>62</sup> 'Reshenie ...' (note 54), pp. 9–10. In the document it is not made explicit how and when Grzhebin ran up all these debts. An agreement made on 24 September 1921 is mentioned, but I have no information about it.

<sup>63</sup> Gessen (note 53), p. 108.

<sup>64</sup> Gessen (note 53), p. 108. Golubeva (note 16), p. 122, note 37.

Z. I. Grzhebin's firm was not the only one to cooperate extensively with Soviet institutions at that time: private publishers such as the Sabashnikov brothers, Makovskii and Granat did the same.<sup>65</sup> Besides, it was Gosizdat's explicit policy to use the infrastructure and the know-how of existing, pre-revolutionary publishing-houses.<sup>66</sup> But Grzhebin's firm was not a pre-revolutionary firm: it originated in the midst of War Communism. What is more, Grzhebin was the only private publisher to work out an extensive publishing programme of his own and to organize the printing of books for the Soviet Union abroad.<sup>67</sup>

This would not have been possible without the enterprising talent, the energy and inventiveness of Z. I. Grzhebin. The role which Gor'kii played in the affair, however, should not be underestimated. Had it not been for his influence, the Soviet administration would probably never have engaged in such extensive cooperation with a private firm. Even so, this cooperation could not last for long. Because of inadequate foreign currency reserves and, more important, because of growing opposition to the association with Grzhebin, the Soviet administration soon dropped him. Thus the partnership with Gosizdat, which had for a few years given Z. I. Grzhebin the means to realize his projects, became in the end the cause of his tragic failure.

<sup>65</sup> Nazarov (note 5), p. 255.

<sup>66</sup> Nazarov (note 5), p. 161.

<sup>67</sup> Nazarov (note 5), p. 183; p. 186.

# Independent Publishing in Poland: An Outline of its Development to 1986

Hanna Świdarska

He keeps changing homes. He listens anxiously to someone knocking on the door. Where to hide a pile of bulletins still smelling of fresh ink? Where the duplicating machine?

The clandestine printer.

Tomorrow or the day after they may catch up with him. They will put him in jail.

Another will take his place. Longing for truth cannot be quenched with lies.

The people need them. Think of them sometimes.

Marek Nowakowski, *Rachunek* ([Warsaw], Przedświt, [1984]), p. 13.

Undertaking to write about clandestine publishing in Poland needs some daring. Developed on a scale unparalleled in peacetime and represented by thousands of titles from flimsy bulletins to national newspapers, from leaflets to illustrated full-size books, from one-leaf factory newssheets to quality journals, and, last but not least, ephemera like posters, calendars, postcards and Solidarity postage stamps, it is nevertheless a shadowy area where facts and figures are often elusive not only to the outside observer but even when regarded from inside Poland. In many cases it is impossible to back up facts quoted with references since the sources are anonymous clandestine (or, as the Poles call them, independent) leaflets without bibliographic data of any sort.

This vagueness is due to the fact that the independent publications are not included in *Przewodnik bibliograficzny*, the national bibliography published by the Bibliographical Institute of the National Library in Warsaw. Thus officially ignored, the obnoxious phenomenon refuses to fade away—on the contrary, it goes from strength to strength.

Where censorship does not exist there is no need for clandestine publications. In Poland all kinds of material published openly are subject to censorship, which was established by the decree of 5 July 1946 which set up the Chief Office of Control of the Press, Publications and Entertainment (GUKPPiW). On 28 July 1948 its responsibilities were increased by the authority to grant permission to publish periodicals and control printing establishments. At present the legal basis of its work is the decree of 31 July 1981, issued in the Solidarity period and relatively liberal, but subsequently made much more restrictive by the amendment of 21 July 1983. In addition,

much depends as ever on the individual censors. In 1983 there were 450 such individuals in the central and regional censorship offices.<sup>1</sup>

In the earliest post-war years numerous private publishers (both pre-war names and new ones) appeared, and in 1950 there were some 300 firms in the country.<sup>2</sup> At the same time state publishing firms were being set up. From 1947 the activities of the private publishers were gradually restricted: thus, while in 1945 they produced 55% of all publications, by 1950 the proportion was only 8%,<sup>3</sup> until they vanished altogether. Printing establishments were nationalised in 1949.

Three kinds of publication appear officially after undergoing obligatory censorship: those produced by the state firms; by non-state firms (mainly connected with the Church, e.g. Znak, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Pax, diocesan and monastic publishers); and those produced privately, such as minor bibliophile publications of libraries and other bodies, as well as by private individuals like the Correspondance des Arts group in Łódź. The last kind, limited to issues of a few hundred copies, are published 'with the censor's consent', normally obtained on written application to the Chief Office.

From the points of view of readers and the police, however, the picture is quite different. All printed material current in the country falls into three categories popularly known as 'circulations' (*obięgi*). Thus the material produced openly constitutes the 'first circulation', products of the independent presses form the 'second circulation', and literature smuggled in from the West, mainly of Polish émigré origin, makes up the third. Or, to use another formula, the second and third circulations are the 'literature uncomfortably present' (*literatura źle obecna*).

The second circulation coexists on intimate terms with the third, with émigré material often being reprinted by the independent presses and vice versa, so some attention must be given to the third circulation. It owes its existence as a circulation to a peculiarity called *debit*, i.e. freedom to circulate publications openly or, in many cases, even to have them in private possession. The right to pronounce a publication 'non-debit' belongs to various authorities like individual policemen and customs officials who make impromptu decisions to confiscate whatever they consider suspect. Officially, granting debit is a prerogative of the GUKPPiW. In practice all émigré material, no matter how politically innocent, is non-debit, as well as other Western material considered 'harmful to the well-being and interests of the

<sup>1</sup> J. Karpiński, *Polska, komunizm, opozycja* (London, 1985), pp. 63-4.

<sup>2</sup> L. Biliński, *Zarys rozwoju ruchu wydawniczego w Polsce Ludowej* (Warsaw, 1977), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Biliński (note 2), p. 18.

Polish People's Republic'. There is no sure way of telling what actually may be regarded as 'harmful' and when.

The tradition of smuggling in émigré publications is as old as political emigration. Printing in Polish started in France, England, Belgium and Switzerland after the suppression of the 1830 insurrection by the Russians, which was followed by a large-scale exodus from Poland. The works of the greatest poets of the Romantic movement who now lived in the West were published in Paris, as well as other kinds of literature including political material. These banned publications were smuggled into Poland. Another great wave of smuggling, from the 1870s onwards, was concerned with Socialist material printed in Paris, London and Geneva. The third great age of smuggling started after 1956. After the Second World War the tradition of dividing Polish literature (in the broad sense) into the categories of the banned émigré and the local was officially revived. This was openly attacked in the Solidarity period with its slogan, 'Polish literature is one!' But even long before the rise of clandestine printing, the dividing line was becoming blurred as writers residing in Poland came to submit to émigré publishers those of their works which were offensive to the censor. The independent presses have made émigré literature much more accessible to the reader in Poland than ever before.

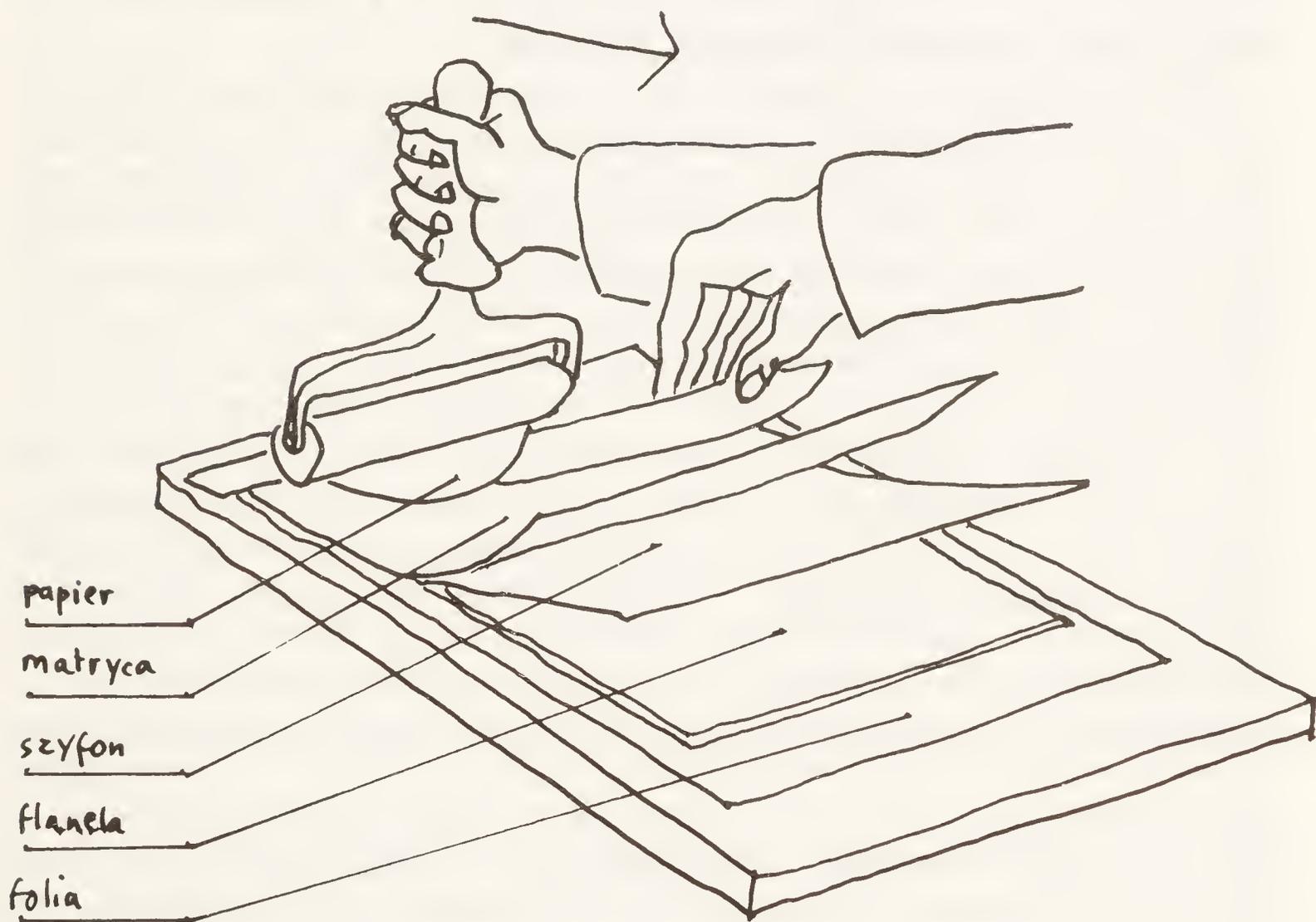
Clandestine printing likewise has a long and honourable tradition in Poland. It started in the Partition period (1772–95) and markedly increased from *ca.* 1860 onwards (some 70 titles of periodicals in 1861–65), to reach its heyday in 1905–07 and 1914–18. In 1939–45 the Polish underground printing industry was the largest in occupied Europe. During those years some 200 printing establishments produced *ca.* 1,400 titles of books and pamphlets in issues of up to 20,000 copies, and *ca.* 1,500 titles of periodicals of various kinds including dailies in issues varying on average between 7,000 and 10,000 copies (in a few cases up to 50,000). Moreover, in the Soviet-occupied part of Poland in 1939–41 six clandestine periodicals were published.<sup>4</sup>

In 1944 the Red Army, accompanied by the Polish Communist army, entered Polish territory, and in the part of the country liberated from the Nazis clandestine printing—anti-Communist for a change—went on, producing between 1944 and 1946 an unknown number of bulletins.<sup>5</sup> After 1956 *samizdat* literature ('true' *samizdat*, i.e. copied on ordinary typewriters) started circulating among the intellectuals. The transition to publishing in the ordinary sense started after 1976 with the foundation of the Workers' Defence

<sup>4</sup> W. Pilecki, 'O polskich wydawnictwach konspiracyjnych i niezależnych', pt. 1, *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 1 (1985); 'Tajne wydawnictwa', in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce* (Wrocław, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Tentative list of 106 titles in Pilecki (note 4), pp. 33–4.

Committee (*Komitet Obrony Robotników*—KOR) by a group of intellectuals to defend workers prosecuted after the Ursus strike and Radom riots. Its earliest newsletters were typewritten, but soon home-made duplicating machines took over and the first amateur printers began to work. The independent publishing industry was born—for an industry it is, with numerous printing plants and distribution networks. Screen printing, followed by offset printing, were introduced, making the production of large print runs possible.



‘Portable duplicator. A piece of thick baize or a finer kind folded to make two layers, size 25 × 35 cm, is stitched along the shorter side together with a piece of chiffon (nylon or stylon, such as used for scarves and blouses will do) ...’

From *Poradnik drukarza*, an early clandestine pamphlet (no imprint).

The more sophisticated equipment, for smuggling into the country, was supplied by Polish émigré organisations and friendly Western sources. It is estimated that in 1976–80 *ca.* 100 titles of bulletins and newspapers appeared, a few in issues of tens of thousands, and *ca.* 300 titles of books and pamphlets.<sup>6</sup> The state monopoly of information was broken.

The movement went from strength to strength in the period of Solidarity's legal existence. Independent literature came to be published in very large print runs and was distributed quite openly. Local branches of Solidarity in factories etc. started their own libraries and thus independent literature became available to ordinary people, including those outside the big towns. About 1,500–2,000 bulletins and periodicals and over 1,000 book and pamphlet titles were turned out by some 200 independent presses.<sup>7</sup> In the autumn of 1981 the independent publishers caused a sensation when they displayed their goods at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

This abandonment of conspiracy made the industry vulnerable when, on 13 December 1981, military rule (commonly called 'the war') was introduced. The great majority of people involved in independent publishing were interned and a vast amount of printing machinery and supplies were seized. This, however, was only a temporary setback. The first bulletins were printed only a few hours later in striking factories. Printing equipment and supplies which initially escaped confiscation were hidden away and new distribution networks organised. By the end of January 1982 material printed before the 'war' was being distributed, to be followed in February by books which were being printed when the 'war' started, and in March by books printed from scratch after its outbreak.<sup>8</sup> New firms began to appear, often started by people without appropriate experience. 'Military rule affected people's awareness in such a way that publishing firms were set up also by those who before its introduction had had nothing to do with the opposition and Solidarity. ... [Experience] was not essential. For example, the spectacle of people being beaten up by the ZOMO [riot police] could make one decide to do something. Such action takes various forms, among others clandestine book production.'<sup>9</sup> The result was that between 13 December 1981 and 31 December 1982 about 1,500 titles of 'pre-war' and new bulletins and papers, together with *ca.* 280 books and pamphlets, were issued.<sup>10</sup> As before, over half of these came from Warsaw, a third from Kraków and the rest from the other major towns. In the

<sup>6</sup> Pilecki (note 4), pp. 33–4.

<sup>7</sup> 'Dwieście lat polskiej prasy podziemnej', *Kultura* (Paris), no. 12 (1982); Pilecki (note 4), pt. 2, *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 2 (1985), p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> W. Pilecki, 'O podziemnej książce', *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 6 (1984), p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> "Przedświt". Wywiad Vacatu z Wydawnictwem "Przedświt", *Vacat* (Warsaw), no. 15 (1984), p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> W. Pilecki, 'Nie zauważona rocznica', *Zeszyty historyczne* (Paris), no. 72 (1985), p. 209.

two-and-a-half years following 31 December 1981, over 1,200 book and pamphlet titles appeared: 2–2.5 million copies in all.<sup>11</sup> All this was going on in spite of the fact that involvement with clandestine printing and distribution was ridden with personal danger, with repressions ranging between sacking from work and several years in jail. On 22 March 1983 General Kiszczak, the Home Affairs Minister, reported to the Sejm that in the preceding fifteen months '368 high performance printing machines, all of Western origin, have been seized'.<sup>12</sup> The human factor apart, this had little effect on the output, with enough machinery in storage and more being smuggled in.

The number of periodicals of various kinds appearing currently (1986) is estimated at 450 titles, the majority irregular and many but short-lived. Book publishing flourishes, with two new titles on average appearing daily.<sup>13</sup> Some of the material belongs in the luxury class (like George Orwell's *Animal Farm* produced in 1985 by the Oficyna Literacka in Kraków, in large format hardback with coloured plates<sup>14</sup>), while at the other extreme there are pamphlets on very poor paper, smudgy and frequently almost illegible. In the last few years, paper shortage has resulted in the use of smaller formats, with A6 and A7 becoming quite common. At the same time it is worth noting that printers, editors, distributors and their associates make up 90% of all political prisoners.<sup>15</sup> Unlike the earlier years, when the authors, printers and others worked voluntarily and their publications were distributed free, the independent publishing industry has now developed a normal commercial basis. The escalating cost of living has forced those involved to rely on their clandestine earnings. The publishers' own expenses are also very high. For example, an offset printing machine costs one million zlotys on the black market, and a ream of paper 500 zlotys.<sup>16</sup> Thus, independently published material is priced at quite a high level, but even this does not cover its cost, which is supplemented by voluntary contributions and money received from émigré and other sources in the West, including some trade unions supporting Solidarity.

Independent publishing is now a fact of life. As its spokesman says, 'You cannot now function as an intellectual in Poland without being up to date in the major quality journals and the more important books published

<sup>11</sup> Pilecki (note 10), p. 209.

<sup>12</sup> 'Kalendarium', *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 6 (1983), pp. 42–3.

<sup>13</sup> J.K., '“Przedświt”', *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 2 (1986), p. 37.

<sup>14</sup> This kind of work, apparently beyond the resources of clandestine firms, is said to be done secretly in the state printing establishments.

<sup>15</sup> K.B., 'Spotkanie z Mirosławem Chojeckim', *Dziennik polski* (London), 20 March 1986.

<sup>16</sup> M. Kołodziej, 'Finanse podziemia', *Tydzień polski* (London), 26 April 1986. The average wage in Poland (autumn 1986) is about 18,000 zlotys per month. It is interesting to note that, at the same time, the pound sterling is valued at about 250 zł. (official rate) or 1,000 zł. (black market).

underground. To the Warsaw sociology students, independent material is obligatory reading. It is no longer a second circulation—it is the first. We have beaten the régime in the attractiveness and importance of our texts and the speed of printing.’ Independent literature is read even in the villages, and the industry is there to stay whatever happens: ‘In every block of flats in Warsaw there is a bloke who can knock up a clandestine press out of nothing; a hand-operated washing mangle and stencils will do. It will be impossible to eliminate.’<sup>17</sup>

### **Polish Independent Publishers Active in and after 1981**

The top publishers apart, information on the independent firms is practically unobtainable and, to the Western observer at least, the only trace of their existence is their material itself. Even this is not a reliable source, since during the ‘war’ it became quite common to use fictitious imprints and/or earlier dates of publication, while many appeared with no imprint at all. Even now many books and pamphlets have only incomplete imprints.

The first section (nos. 1–7) of the list following gives details of some of the most important contemporary independent publishers. The remainder of the list includes those on which no information has been found, which does not necessarily mean that all of them are less important. The picture emerging from an attempt to list them is confusing. Very many are short-lived (though the absence of a recent date of publication need not mean that the firm no longer exists), and produce only a few pamphlets by primitive techniques which makes one suspect that they are one-man initiatives. Whether they have anything important to say that their big brothers have not said is impossible to tell without examining their material, and of this very little is available.

The list must be used very cautiously, and not only for the reasons given above. It is not clear whether firms with identical or similar names accompanied by different places of publication are mutually independent or just one firm trying to throw pursuit off the scent. Another doubtful case are the names starting with ‘Biblioteka’, where some are series produced by clandestine periodicals (e.g. *Biblioteka Tygodnika Wojennego*) while in other cases they may be names of firms or titles of series produced by unnamed publishers.

Very many firms prefix their individual names with ‘Wydawnictwo’. They are listed here directly under those names where grammatically viable. Contractions have been expanded where possible.

The list is in all probability incomplete. It has been compiled from lists of independent material published in the Paris *Kultura* nos. 6 and 12 (1982),

<sup>17</sup> ‘Tego się już nie da zlikwidować’, *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 3 (1986), p. 20.

5 (1983), 6 and 7/8 (1984) and 1/2 (1985); in *Kultura's Zeszyty historyczne* no. 73 (1985); and in various clandestine sources.

### 1. CDN (Warsaw)



These letters, meaning *ciąg dalszy nastąpi* ('continuation will follow'), form a commonly used abbreviation appearing under instalments serialised in periodicals. After the outbreak of the 'war' they were daubed on the walls of Polish towns to indicate determination to continue the struggle for human rights. An independent firm founded in January 1982 took them for its name and logo. By 1985 it had published *ca.* 50 books, mainly on recent history and politics, belles-lettres, collections of documentary photographs, and film-strips and sound cassettes. It also publishes *Obóz* ('The Camp'), a journal whose special interest is the countries which, along with Poland, are members of the 'socialist camp'.<sup>18</sup>

### 2. Głos (Warsaw)



An independent journal on political and social problems which started publication in October 1977. A publishing firm of the same name attached to it issues books on recent and current history, politics and literature.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Karpiński (note 1), pp. 61-2; 'Wydawnictwo CDN', *Biuletyn międzywydawniczy* (Warsaw), no. 5/6 (1984), pp. 26-7.

<sup>19</sup> Karpiński (note 1), pp. 61-2.

## 3. Krąg (Warsaw)



This firm started in February 1981 as an offshoot of Głos and is now one of the most important publishers. Before 1985 it produced some 100 books, some quite substantial. They include reprints of émigré material as well as original works and translations (including Orwell) from foreign languages. Its special subjects are recent history, where 'we are anxious to eliminate white spots' (i.e. *terra officially incognita*), memoirs important as source material, political journalism, philosophy, literary criticism and literature. Krąg also participates with other firms in publishing 'highbrow' journals like *Puls*, *Res Publica*, *Krytyka* and *Nowy zapis*.<sup>20</sup>

## 4. NOWa (Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, Warsaw)



The first independent publishers in Eastern Europe and one of the top firms in the industry. It was founded in 1977 by a group of young people close to KOR, and suffered severely at the outbreak of the 'war'. Its output is very rich and varied. 'We struggle for truth, for clearing history of falsifications . . . . The people want books on the Katyn massacre, on the 17th September [i.e. 1939, the Soviet invasion of Poland], and every publication on recent Polish

<sup>20</sup> Karpiński (note 1), p. 115; 'Wydawanie książek to bakcyl: wywiad z przedstawicielem Wydawnictwa "Krąg"', *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, no. 47 (1983).

history becomes an event. In this situation fine literature takes second place. But our ignorance of the world literary classics, especially the twentieth-century ones, is probably even worse than our ignorance of history and possibly even more harmful for the future. The situation is that almost everybody knows about Katyn while the names of authors like Zinov'ev, Nabokov, Voinovich, Aleshkovskii and Vladimov are almost unknown to the average reader . . . . We do not want to compete with Krąg, which specialises in history, and our ambition is to introduce the world classics . . . . We have invited the cooperation of the best Polish translators who, instead of handling inferior material for the state publishers, will work for the NOWa bank of translations.' But NOWa's plans are by no means limited to the classics. It also publishes the top contemporary Polish authors and has to its credit important journals like *Zapis*, *Puls*, *Krytyka* and *Vacat*, numerous collections of documentary material and the 'flying university' lectures, as well as sets of documentary photographs, calendars and cassettes.<sup>21</sup>

##### 5. Przedświt (Warsaw)



<sup>21</sup> Karpiński (note 1), p. 159; 'Mniej wpadek, więcej książek: rozmowa Vacatu z NOWą', *Vacat*, no. 17/18 (1984), pp. 22-3.

One of the firms which defiantly sprang up during the 'war'. It was founded in November 1982 and soon became one of the leading underground publishers of material for an educated readership. It is also notable for the high technical standard (for a clandestine enterprise) of its production. With its output distributed nationally, the firm can afford to pay good fees to its authors and employ good graphic designers. It specialises in literature of current interest and literary criticism. 'The only consideration, as far as we are concerned, is the text's importance—literary, factual or artistic—and nothing else. We are a "normal" firm, and what makes us different from state publishers is the fact that we do not have to publish rubbish.'<sup>22</sup>

A special section within *Przedświt* is the *Warszawska Niezależna Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy*, specialising in belles-lettres, poetry and prose with political undertones. 'We produce poetry in issues larger than the state publishers. Poetry is our special concern because, except for us, *Oficyna Literacka* is the only other firm which publishes poetry. It does it well but seldom and only in small issues, while *NOWa*, *Krąg* and others keep their doors closed against this genre [not quite true—H.S.]. But we believe that poetic testimony of our time must not be neglected.'<sup>23</sup>

Finally, a glance at the conditions in which this and other independent firms operate. 'We work in very difficult conditions, hiding from the police, continually moving from place to place, with never-ending repairs to our printing machines, which are not suited to this way of life. We buy paper on the black market and typeset books in private flats—in short, we cope all the time with obstacles which the state publishers cannot even imagine. These things take ten times more of our time than the printing itself.' But in spite of all this they have so far evaded the police, because: 'First, we are a tightly knit group of people. Second, we use our heads; and third, we are lucky.'<sup>24</sup>

## 6. Słowo (Warsaw)



'Like many such enterprises, we started after 13 December 1981 somewhat casually, from a great urge to do something and not submit to that kind of paralysis. The tanks, internment camps, draconian sentences, curfew—the

<sup>22</sup> *Vacat*, no. 15 (1984), p. 24.

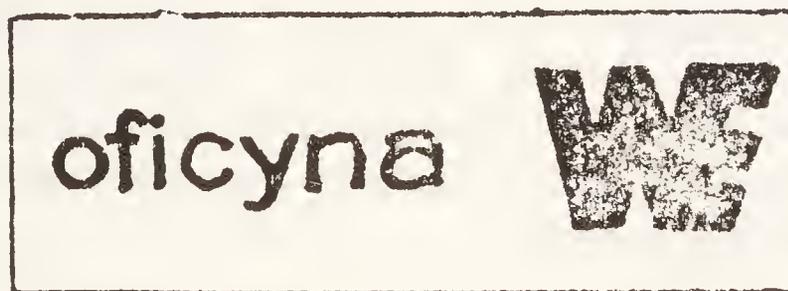
<sup>23</sup> *Vacat* (note 22), p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> *Vacat* (note 22), p. 24. More information in *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 2 (1986), p. 37, and in 'Wydawnictwo "Przedświt"', *Biuletyn międzywydawniczy*, no. 4 (1984).

government expected all that to immobilise the country. And there was this great thirst for information .... It so happened that we had access to a clandestine printing workshop of one of the independent firms which after 13 December was not used by its owners .... The printer was so eager and urged us to give him something to do.' The result was a collection, *Pieśni z za krat* ('Songs from behind the bars'), of songs and poems written in the internment camps, published in 3,000 copies in January 1982, with Wydawnictwo 'Ekstremista' in the imprint. Subsequently the journal *Słowo* was started and other publications followed in issues varying between 1,500 and 4,000 copies. Distribution organised itself: 'It is easy, for the demand for independent material is enormous. Someone may take ten copies for friends and then come back for another 20 or 100.' Everybody wants it: 'Students and workers and white-collar people, factory [Solidarity] committees for their staff as well as inter-factory networks. It even happened that someone took the stuff from us and hawked it in a street market.'<sup>25</sup>

The firm prints miscellaneous material and its only political ideology originates from 'the fear of being turned into the Soviet Man. We must never be sovietised.' They admit that they function in a permanent state of anxiety, but 'the fear of inactivity, of sinking in this swamp, is even stronger than the fear of the SB [political police], questioning and jail .... But special admiration is due not to the activists and editors of the underground press, but to the printers. It is up to them whether we sink into permanent slavery or not.'<sup>26</sup>

#### 7. WE (Wydawnictwo *or* Oficyna Enklawa, Warsaw)



Founded in 1981, this is one of the very few to have survived the 'war'. Up to the end of 1984 it had published seventeen books by Polish and foreign authors, including Djilas, Mandelshtam and Kundera. It claims that its aims are non-political: 'The basic rule in our policy is ideological pluralism .... We wish—though it is obviously impossible—we could publish everything written in this country and elsewhere which represents independent thought,

<sup>25</sup> 'Nie zastygnąć w niewolnictwie: wywiad z Wydawnictwem "Słowo"', *Kontakt* (Paris), no. 1 (1984), pp. 47–8.

<sup>26</sup> *Kontakt* (note 25), p. 48.

culture and literature. We need not make ideological declarations—our books speak for themselves.’

The firm’s problems and misfortunes well illustrate the conditions in which the industry works. ‘To tell the truth, this kind of work is undertaken by people who in other circumstances would be doing something quite different. The publisher is also a social activist and manager of the whole enterprise. He must be familiar with everything and able to do everything himself: editorial matters, printing, binding, transport, etc. The publisher must, of course, work without an office, secretaries and documentation . . . . Dealing with the firm’s business, contacts with the authors and staff take on average 25 hours a day. On top of all this he must not neglect the firm’s finance since . . . one cannot produce books without money . . . . Usually the [clandestine] publishers mention money seldom and unwillingly for fear of suspicion that publishing is to them only a way to amass a fortune. In fact, that is how the Reds represent it . . . . When they lock up a publisher, they try to disparage him in people’s eyes and show him off as a crook . . . . The UB [political police] load him with criminal activity. If they catch someone at work, it is obvious that he was printing for political reasons. But where did he get the machine, paper, etc.? It could, after all, have been stolen. Thus a man who printed underground material is jailed under a criminal paragraph.’

This is what the WE experienced themselves when in 1984 they were raided by the police. ‘Over a dozen people were arrested or detained. We lost thousands of copies of finished books, a lot of paper and machinery. We suffered heavily but it never threatened the firm’s existence. As you see, we carry on without a break.’<sup>27</sup>

The WE cooperates closely with NOWa. Together they publish some books and an important journal, *Spectator*, which describes itself as ‘a periodical whose title refers to the first paper in the history of the press which believed in the victory of honest analysis and reasonable argument over stupidity, pig-headedness and lies’.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Rozmowa z Oficyną “WE”’, *Vacat*, no. 26 (1985), p. 24.

<i>Name of firm</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Publishing dates</i>
8. ABC	Kraków	1981
9. ABC	Warsaw	1984
10. Alfa	Kraków	1981
ARS	Kraków	see 18
11. AUT '82	Lublin	1982-83
12. Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam	Warsaw	1985
13. Adsum	Warsaw	1983-
14. Agencja Informacyjna Solidarności Walczącej	Poznań	1984
15. Agencja Informacyjna Solidarności Walczącej	Wrocław	1983-
16. Agencja Wydawnicza Jednością Silni	Wrocław	1984
17. Akademia Sztuk Wszelakich	Wrocław	1983, 1985
18. Akademicki Ruch Samoobrony	Kraków	1982
19. Alfa	Kraków	1983
20. Alternatywy	Kraków	1983
21. Antyk	Lublin	1985
Antyk	Warsaw	see 282
22. Arka	Warsaw	1983, 1985
Aspekt	Wrocław	see 78
23. Awers	Poznań	1983
BNOW UKOS	Bydgoszcz	see 49
BON	Warsaw	see 37
24. Bez Cenzury	Warsaw	1982
25. Bez Cięć	Kraków	1984-
26. Białostocka Oficyna Wydawnicza	Białystok	1982-83
27. Biblioteczka RISa (Regionalnego Infor- matora Solidarności Regionu Śląsko- Dąbrowskiego	n. pl.	1985
28. Biblioteczka Robotnicza	n. pl.	n.d.
29. Biblioteczka Ucznia	Wrocław	1985
30. Biblioteka Historyczna	Kraków	ca. 1982
31. Biblioteka Informatora Regionu Środkowo-Wschodniego	Lublin	1983-
32. Biblioteka Literacka i Historyczna	Warsaw	1980-81
33. Biblioteka Łódzka	Łódź	1985
34. Biblioteka Małopolska	Kraków	1983
35. Biblioteka Miesięcznika Małopolskiego	Kraków	1984-
36. Biblioteka Obserwatora Wojennego	Kraków	1982-
37. Biblioteka Oświaty Narodowej	Warsaw	1982-83
38. Biblioteka Pamięci J. Piłsudskiego	Warsaw	1983
39. Biblioteka Promienistych	Kraków	1983-
40. Biblioteka Przyjaciół Moskali	Warsaw	1983
41. Biblioteka RIS-a	n. pl.	1985
42. Biblioteka Reduty	Gdańsk	1983
43. Biblioteka Słowa Podziemnego	Warsaw	1983
44. Biblioteka Solidarności Narodu	Warsaw	1982
Biblioteka Spotkań	Lublin	see 212
Biblioteka Trzynastki	Kraków	see 79

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|---|-----------|------------|
| 45. Biblioteka Tygodnika Wojennego  | Warsaw    | 1983-84    |
| 46. Biblioteka WSN (Wolność, Sprawiedliwość, Niepodległość)                         | n. pl.    | n.d.       |
| 47. Biblioteka Wolnej Myśli   | Kraków    | 1983-84    |
| 48. Braterstwo  | Gdańsk    | 1983       |
| Brzask  | n. pl.    | see 291    |
| 49. Bydgoska Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza Uczniowskiego Komitetu Oporu Społecznego | Bydgoszcz | 1983       |
| 50. CDiA  | Warsaw    | 1983       |
| CDN   | Warsaw    | see 1      |
| 51. Catacumbus  | Bydgoszcz | 1984       |
| 52. Centrum Dokumentacji i Analiz NSZZ 'Solidarność'                                | Warsaw    | 1983-84    |
| 53. Charis  | Warsaw    | 1983       |
| Chrobry   | Warsaw    | see 277    |
| 54. Consensus   | Warsaw    | 1982-83    |
| Constans  | Wrocław   | see 160    |
| Copyright   | Warsaw    | see 139    |
| 55. Cykl  | n. pl.    | 1983       |
| 56. Czas Przyszły   | Warsaw    | 1986       |
| 57. [Czwórka] 4   | Warsaw    | 1983       |
| 58. Dialogi   | Warsaw    | 1983       |
| 59. Druk  | n. pl.    | 1983       |
| [Dwójka] 2  | Warsaw    | see 164    |
| 60. [Dziesiątka] 10   | Warsaw    | 1984       |
| Ekstremista   | Warsaw    | see 6      |
| 61. Enigma  | Kraków    | 1983       |
| Enklawa   | Warsaw    | see 7      |
| 62. Errata  | n. pl.    | 1982, 1984 |
| 63. Europa  | n. pl.    | 1981?      |
| 64. Europa  | Warsaw    | 1984       |
| 65. Fakt  | Gdańsk    | 1981       |
| 66. Federacja Południowo-Zachodnia Niezależnego Zrzeszenia Studentów                | n. pl.    | 1984       |
| 67. Feniks  | Warsaw    | 1984       |
| Feniks  | Wrocław   | see 193    |
| 68. Forum Niezależnych  | Warsaw    | 1982       |
| 69. Fotonowa Niezależna Agencja Fotograficzna (NOWa)                                | Warsaw    | 1984-      |
| Głos  | Warsaw    | see 2      |
| 70. Głos SKOS-ów  | Poznań    | 1983       |
| 71. Głos Śląsko-Dąbrowski   | Katowice  | 1983-      |
| 72. Głosy   | Poznań    | 1983-      |
| 73. Grot  | Warsaw    | 1983       |
| 74. Harcerskie Biuro Wydawnicze I KZD   | Kraków    | 1982       |
|   | Warsaw    | see 260    |
| 75. In Corpore  | Warsaw    | 1983       |
| 76. Inicjatywa Podziemna  | Gdańsk    | 1983       |
| 77. Inicjatywa Wydawnicza   | Kraków    | 1984       |

78. Inicjatywa Wydawnicza Aspekt	Wrocław	1983–
79. Inicjatywa Wydawnicza—Biblioteka Trzynastki	Kraków	1984
80. Instytut Literatury Niezależnej	Wilno [ <i>sic</i> ]	<i>ca.</i> 1982
81. Inter Nowa	Kwidzyn	1982
82. Jednością Silni	Wrocław	1984
k	Warsaw	see 267
KON	n. pl.	see 271
KOS	Kraków	see 268
KOS	Warsaw	see 290
KPN	Warsaw	see 269
KRET	n. pl.	see 272
83. Katolicka Spółka Wydawnicza Ojczyzna	Gdańsk / Katowice / Warsaw / Wrocław	<i>ca.</i> 1983
84. Klin	Warsaw	1980? 1981?
85. Konsorcjum Wydawnicze Polskiego Zrzeszenia Patriotycznego Targowica	n. pl.	1982
86. Kontra	Lublin	1976
87. Kontra	Warsaw	1984–
Kontrapunkt	n. pl.	see 141
Krąg	Warsaw	see 3
88. Kraków	Kraków	1984–
89. Krakowska Oficyna Studentów	Kraków	1979–80, 1984
90. Krakowskie Towarzystwo Wydawnicze	Kraków	1982–
91. Kresy	Warsaw	1985–
Krok po Kroku	Gorzów Wkp.	see 162
92. Kropka	Warsaw	1983
93. Książnica Literacka	Warsaw	1984
Księgarnia Nasza	Warsaw	see 101
94. Księgarnia Polska	n. pl.	1984
95. Księgarnia św. Stanisława	n. pl.	<i>ca.</i> 1982
Kształt	Gdańsk	see 142
96. Kurs	Kraków	1984–
L	Kraków	see 274
97. Liberta	Warsaw	1983
98. Libertas	Kraków	1983–
Liberum Veto	Kraków	see 143
99. Libra	Kraków	1983
100. Litery	Gdańsk	1984
101. Los / Nasza Księgarnia	Warsaw	1984–
102. Lotna	Elk	1983
MSW	Warsaw	see 107
103. Maraton 20	Warsaw	1985
104. Melina Wydawnicza	n. pl.	1985
105. Międzyzakładowa Struktura ‘Solidarności’	Warsaw	1985
Miś	Lublin	see 163
106. Młoda Polska	Gdańsk	1980
Młodzieżowa Oficyna Twórczości Literackiej Motyl	Gdańsk	see 109

107. Młodzieżowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Młynek	Warsaw n. pl.	1982-83 see 208
108. Most	Warsaw	1984
109. Motyl	Gdańsk	1984
110. Mysia 5	Warsaw	1984-
111. Myśl NIE NIE (Niepodległość?) NIE NIW 'NN' NOW NOWa NZS Nasza Księgarnia	Warsaw n. pl. Poznań Warsaw Warsaw Lublin Warsaw Warsaw Łódź Warsaw	1984- see 115 see 278 see 279 see 117 see 209 see 120 see 4 see 281 see 101
112. Niepodległość	Warsaw	1984
113. Niezależna Biblioteka Krakowska	Kraków	1983
114. Niezależna Bydgoska Oficyna	Bydgoszcz	1983
115. Niezależna Inicjatywa Edytorska	n. pl.	1983-84
116. Niezależna Inicjatywa Wydawnicza Errata	Poznań	1984
117. Niezależna Inicjatywa Wydawnicza NIW	Warsaw	1984-
118. Niezależna Kooperatywa Wydawnicza Feniks	Warsaw	1984
119. Niezależna Oficyna Studentów	Kraków	1981
120. Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza	Warsaw	1982-
121. Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza im. Bohaterów 31 sierpnia 1982	Wrocław	1983
122. Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza NI Bis Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza NOWa	Warsaw Warsaw	1983 see 4
123. Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza SOŻ	Warsaw	1983
124. Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza Transet	Warsaw	1983
125. Niezależne Wydawnictwo	Wrocław	n.d.
126. Niezależne Wydawnictwo Harcerskie	Warsaw	1981-84
127. Niezależne Wydawnictwo im. Głębona Puczymordy	Wrocław	1983
128. Niezależne Wydawnictwo Kopalń Śląskich	Katowice	1984
129. Niezależne Wydawnictwo Literackie	Kraków	1982
130. Niezależne Wydawnictwo 'Oficyna'	Szczecin	1984
131. Niezależność	Warsaw	1983
132. Niwa Norma	Kraków Warsaw	1982 see 211
133. Nowa Stara ON	Warsaw Warsaw	1983 see 173, 174
134. Obieg	Warsaw	1983
135. Obozowa Inicjatywa (Oficyna) Wydawnicza	Kraków	1983
136. Oficyna 'Bezimiennych'	n. pl.	1982
137. Oficyna Liberalów	Warsaw	1982-84
138. Oficyna Oficyna	Warsaw Szczecin	1983 see 130

139. Oficyna Copyright	Warsaw	1982-84
140. Oficyna '40	Warsaw	1984
Oficyna Enklawa	Warsaw	see 7
141. Oficyna Kontrapunkt	n. pl.	ca. 1983-84
142. Oficyna Kształt	Gdańsk	1984
143. Oficyna Liberum Veto	Kraków	n.d.
144. Oficyna Literacka	Kraków	1983-
145. Oficyna Literacka	Poznań	1983-
146. Oficyna Literacka	Warsaw	1984
147. Oficyna Myśli Niezależnej	Wrocław	1983
148. Oficyna NZS U Wr (Niezależnego Związku Studentów Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego)	Wrocław	1981
149. Oficyna Niezależnych	Warsaw	1983
150. Oficyna '82 Bezimiennych'	Kraków	1982
151. Oficyna Poetów	n. pl.	1981?
152. Oficyna Pokątnych Edytorów Niezależnych	Warsaw	1983
153. Oficyna Polityczno-Literacka 'Przedświt'	Wrocław / Kato- wice / Kraków	1983
154. Oficyna Śląska	n. pl.	1983
155. Oficyna Solidarność Walcząca	Łódź	1983-84
156. Oficyna 'Szaniec'	Łódź	1982
157. Oficyna Sztuk Pięknych	Warsaw	1983
Oficyna WE	Warsaw	see 7
158. Oficyna Wolnego Słowa	Kraków	1983
159. Oficyna Wolnego Słowa	Warsaw	1983
160. Oficyna Wydawnicza Constans	Wrocław	1985
161. Oficyna Wydawnicza im. Grzegorza Przemyka	Wrocław	1984-
162. Oficyna Wydawnicza 'Krok po Kroku'	Gorzów Wkp.	1983
163. Oficyna Wydawnicza Miś	Lublin	1984
164. Oficyna Wydawnicza 'Numer Drugi'	Warsaw	1982-83
165. Oficyna Wydawnicza 'P.S.'	Warsaw	1983-84
166. Oficyna Wydawnicza 'Piast'	Łódź	1983
167. Oficyna Wydawnicza 'Pokolenie'	Gorzów Wkp.	1983-
168. Oficyna Wydawnicza Pokolenie	Warsaw	1983-
169. Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm	Warsaw	1984-
170. Oficyna Wydawnicza Solidarności	Wrocław	1981
171. Oficyna Wydawnicza Syzyf	Poznań	1983-84
172. Ośrodek Badawczo-Rozwojowy Instytutu Wolnej Poligrafii im. Gutienbiernowa	Warsaw	1979
173. Oświata Narodowa	Warsaw	1984
174. Oświata Niezależna	Warsaw	1984
PS	Warsaw	see 165
175. PWP	n. pl.	1981? 1984?
pzpn	Lublin	see 283
176. Pershing	Warsaw	1983
177. Peryskop	Warsaw	1983
Piast	Łódź	see 166

- |  |                                   |             |
|--|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 178. [Piątka] '5'  | Warsaw                            | 1983        |
| 179. Pod Prąd  | Warsaw                            | 1984-       |
| 180. Podziemna Oficyna Rolnicza Solidarność              | n. pl.                            | n.d.        |
| Pokolenie  | Gorzów Wkp.                       | see 167     |
| Pokolenie  | Warsaw                            | see 168     |
| 181. Polityka  | n. pl.                            | 1985        |
| 182. Półka Poetów  | Kraków                            | 1982-83     |
| 183. Polonia   | Łódź                              | 1984        |
| 184. Polonia   | Warsaw                            | 1984        |
| Przedświt  | Warsaw                            | see 5       |
| Przedświt  | Wrocław /<br>Katowice /<br>Kraków | see 153     |
| 185. Przeszłość  | Warsaw                            | n.d.        |
| 186. Przyszłość  | Warsaw                            | 1983        |
| 187. Przyszłość WRN                                      | Warsaw                            | 1983        |
| 188. Punkt   | n. pl.                            | 1985        |
| 189. RKW (Robotnicze Krajowe Wydawnic-<br>two) 'Regiony' | Gdańsk /<br>Kraków                | 1983-84     |
| RONZS  | Kraków                            | see 288     |
| Regiony  | Gdańsk /<br>Kraków                | see 189     |
| 190. Rekontra  | Warsaw                            | 1985        |
| 191. Resursa   | Kraków                            | 1981        |
| 192. Rewers  | Warsaw                            | 1985        |
| 193. Robotnicze Wydawnictwo Feniks                       | Wrocław                           | 1984-       |
| 194. Rota  | Kraków                            | 1983, 1985  |
| Rytm   | Warsaw                            | see 169     |
| 195. Rzeczpospolita Polska                               | Kraków                            | 1982        |
| 'S'  | n. pl.                            | see 289     |
| SOWA   | Warsaw                            | see 216     |
| STOP   | Warsaw                            | see 206     |
| 196. Samodzielna Oficyna Literacka                       | Kraków                            | 1982        |
| 197. Samodzielna Oficyna Literacka                       | Poznań                            | 1982-83     |
| 198. Samodzielna Oficyna Wydawnicza                      | Warsaw                            | 1982        |
| 199. Ścigana 83  | Lublin                            | ca. 1982-83 |
| 200. [Siódemka] '7'                                      | Warsaw                            | 1983        |
| Słowo  | Warsaw                            | see 6       |
| 201. Słowo Podziemne                                     | Warsaw                            | 1982-83     |
| 202. Solidarność Narodu                                  | Lublin                            | 1983        |
| Solidarność Walcząca                                     | Łódź                              | see 155     |
| 203. Solidarność Walcząca                                | Poznań                            | 1985        |
| 204. Solidarność Wybrzeża                                | Gdańsk                            | 1983        |
| 205. Spółdzielnia  | Poznań                            | 1981-83     |
| 206. Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza STOP                        | Warsaw                            | 1984-       |
| 207. Spółdzielcze Wydawnictwo Niezależne                 | Warsaw                            | 1983-84     |
| 208. Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy 'Młynek'              | n. pl.                            | 1984        |
| 209. Spółka Edytorska 'NN'                               | Lublin                            | 1983        |
| 210. Spółka Edytorska 'W'                                | Wrocław                           | 1984        |
| 211. Spółka Wydawnicza Norma                             | Warsaw                            | 1983        |

212. Spotkania	Kraków / Lublin / Warsaw	1981–
213. Stop	Kraków	1984
214. Strażnica Polska	Warsaw	1984
215. Studencka Oficyna Literatów i Dysydentów	Warsaw	1984–
216. Studencka Oficyna Wydawnicza SOWA	Warsaw	ca. 1982, 1985
217. Suplement	n. pl.	1981
218. Suplement	Gdańsk	1984
219. Suplement	Kraków	1983
220. Świt	Kraków	1981–83
Syzyf	Poznań	see 171
Szaniec	Łódź	see 156
221. Szansa	Lublin	1983
222. Szansa	Warsaw	1983, 1985
223. [Szóstka] '6'	Warsaw	1983
224. Tajne Wydawnictwo Oświatowe	Łódź	1983–84
225. Tajne Zakłady Wydawnicze	Warsaw	1983–84
Transet	Warsaw	see 124
226. Unia	Warsaw	1982–
227. Unia Nowoczesnego Humanizmu	Wrocław– Warsaw	1981–
228. Universitas	Wrocław	1981
229. 'V' (Victoria)	Warsaw	1983–
230. Vademecum	Kraków	1984–
231. Vademecum	Lublin	1984
232. Vademecum	Szczecin	1981
233. Victoria	Wrocław	1983–84
Victoria	n. pl.	see 296
234. Visit	Wrocław	1984
'W'	Warsaw	see 253, 292
'W'	Wrocław	see 210
235. W (Wola—Solidarność)	Warsaw	1984
236. WAGO	Gliwice	1983
WE	Warsaw	see 7
WMN	Kraków	see 276
WN	Warsaw	see 293
WOW	n. pl.	see 245
WSKOS	Warsaw	see 290
237. W Okopach	Warsaw	1983
Warszawska Niezależna Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy	Warsaw	see 5
238. Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Historyczne	Warsaw	1985?
239. Wega	Warsaw	1983, 1985
240. Wiara i Wolność	Warsaw	1981, 1984–
241. Wiara i Wytrwałość	Warsaw	1981
242. Wiek	Kraków	ca. 1982
243. Witryna Amatorska	Poznań	1981
244. Witrynka Literatów i Krytyków	Poznań	1981
245. Wojenna Oficyna Wydawnicza	n. pl.	1982

246. Wola	Warsaw	1981
247. Wola—Solidarność	Warsaw	1981-83
248. Wolne Słowo	Kielce	1983
249. Wolni i Solidarni	n. pl.	1986
250. Wolny Warsztat Wydawniczy	n. pl.	1984
251. Wszechnica Społeczna	n. pl.	1984
252. Wszechnica Społeczno-Polityczna	Kraków	1983, 1985
253. Wydawnictwo	Warsaw	1983-
254. Wydawnictwo BiS	Wrocław	1984
255. Wydawnictwo Bibliotek Narodowych	Warsaw	1982
256. Wydawnictwo Czarciemu Licha	Warsaw	1983
257. Wydawnictwo Dobra Powszechnego	Warsaw	1984
258. Wydawnictwo Górnośląskie	Katowice	1984
259. Wydawnictwo Historyczne	Warsaw	1983
260. Wydawnictwo IKZD	Warsaw	1983
261. Wydawnictwo im. gen. Nila-Fieldorfa	Warsaw	1983-84
262. Wydawnictwo im. K. Michalczyka	Wrocław	1984
263. Wydawnictwo im. Kardynała Wyszyńskiego	n. pl.	1984
264. Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3 Maja	Warsaw	1982
265. Wydawnictwo im. ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki	Warsaw	1985
266. Wydawnictwo im. przeora Augustyna Kordeckiego	Warsaw	1982-83
267. Wydawnictwo k	Warsaw	n.d.
268. Wydawnictwo KOS (Komitetu Oporu Społecznego)	Kraków	1980-82
269. Wydawnictwo KPN (Konfederacji Polski Niepodległej)	Warsaw	1982, 1984
270. Wydawnictwo Komitetu Kultury Niezależnej	Warsaw	1985
271. Wydawnictwo Krajowe KON	n. pl.	1982
272. Wydawnictwo KRET (Terenowego Komitetu Oporu 'Solidarność')	n. pl.	1984
273. Wydawnictwo 'Krzyża Nowohuckiego'	Kraków	1981-82
274. Wydawnictwo L	Kraków	1984
275. Wydawnictwo Literatury Niezależnej	Wilno [ <i>sic</i> ]	1982?
276. Wydawnictwo Myśli Nieinternowanej	Kraków	1983-
277. Wydawnictwo Narodowe 'Chrobry'	Warsaw	1982-83
278. Wydawnictwo NIE	Poznań	1982
279. Wydawnictwo NIE	Warsaw	1982
280. Wydawnictwo Nieobecnych	Warsaw	1982-83
281. Wydawnictwo NZS (Niezależnego Zrze- szenia Studentów)	Łódź	1983
282. Wydawnictwo Organizacji 'Solidarność Walcząca' Antyk	Warsaw	1985?
283. Wydawnictwo pzp	Lublin	1981
284. Wydawnictwo Podziemne NSZZ 'Solidarność'	Poznań	1983
285. Wydawnictwo Polskie	Kraków	1982
286. Wydawnictwo Polskie	Warsaw	1977-78

287. Wydawnictwo RKS (Regionalnego Komitetu Sztrajkowego) Dolny Śląsk	Wrocław	1983
288. Wydawnictwo Ruchu Oporu Niezależnego Zrzeszenia Studentów	Kraków	1985
289. Wydawnictwo 'S' (Solidarność)	n. pl.	1983-84
290. Wydawnictwo Społeczne KOS (Komitetu Oporu Społecznego)	Warsaw	1982, 1984
291. Wydawnictwo UOW Brzask	n. pl.	1985
292. Wydawnictwo 'W' Grup Politycznych	Warsaw	1983-
293. Wydawnictwo WN	Warsaw	1983
294. Wydawnictwo Warszawskie	Warsaw	1984
295. Wydawnictwo Wojenne	Warsaw	1982
296. Wydawnictwo Związkowe 'Victoria'	n. pl.	1983
297. Wydawnictwo ZZ	Warsaw	1984
298. Wydawnicza Inicjatywa Podziemna 'Ząb'	Gdańsk	1982-83
299. Wydma '82	Warsaw	1982
300. Wytrwałość	Warsaw	1982-84
301. Wyzwolenie ZZ	n. pl. Warsaw	1985 see 297
302. Zbliżenia	Warsaw	1981, 1984
303. Zbroja	Warsaw	1983
304. Ziuk	Warsaw	1982
305. Zona	Warsaw	1984-
306. Żywią i Bronią	Bydgoszcz	1984

# The All-Union Society of Bibliophiles in the Soviet Union

W. E. Butler

The history of book collecting and collateral activities in the Soviet Union (collecting bookplates, miniature books, dust jackets, binders' and book-sellers' labels, bookmarks, book graphics and illustrations, prints, journals, broadsides, etc.) at last is beginning to receive the attention it so richly deserves. The late P. N. Berkov's splendid study has disclosed a pattern of cultural activity and achievement little appreciated simply because it has been so much a matter of local initiative and endeavour, literally at village level in many communities, or within large cities at palaces of culture or academic institutions.<sup>1</sup> And while the 'culture of the book' has enjoyed a vast casual press in the Soviet period, specialist journals or serials for bibliophiles lapsed in the early 1930s and were not resuscitated until the 1970s. During the late 1960s a band of dedicated book collectors initiated measures to create a national organisation devoted to their pastime, a museum of the book, and a serial publication. By 1973 they had succeeded in publishing the first issue of *Al'manakh bibliofila*, and on 3 October 1974 the constitutive session of the *Vsesoiuznoe dobrovol'noe obshchestvo liubitelei knigi* (VOK) met in Moscow to form a national organisation dedicated to 'disseminating literature' and to coordinating the activities of bibliophiles in the country. The Museum of the Book in the early 1980s became a legal entity but still awaits its own accommodation and staff, being at the moment in the Rare Book Division of the Lenin Library.

It is not easy to suppose what the expectations of those behind these ventures may have been. The local and ad hoc nature of pre-existing bibliophile societies and groups made it impossible to quantify how many might join a national society of this nature, and whether there existed an untapped reservoir of individuals interested in the subject was a matter of pure speculation. To be sure there were encouraging indicators. Statistics of the publishing industry and state library stocks gave evidence of a vast appetite for books and knowledge, and foreigners had commented for decades about Russian reading habits on public transport and the lively trade enjoyed by book kiosks in the street. Whatever the expectations were—a few thousand, tens of thousands, one hundred thousand—what happened after 30 October 1974 left all concerned absolutely dumbfounded. VOK had triggered a response beyond the wildest imagination. Millions flocked to join, to the

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Berkov, *Istoriia sovetskogo bibliofil'stva* (1983).

astonishment of bibliophiles and Party officials alike; by 1986 more than 17 million were paid-up members. The present article discusses the structure, functions, and activities of VOK at the end of its first decade.<sup>2</sup>

### **Structure and Basic Functions of VOK**

Under its constitutive Statute or Charter, VOK is a 'mass social organisation' created to further the 'propaganda of the book and other non-serial publications and the more active use thereof in the communist nurturing of the working people, to extensively involve the public in the dissemination of literature, and to unify and coordinate the activities of bibliophiles in the country'.<sup>3</sup> A social organisation under Soviet law is a voluntary non-State body enjoying legal personality in its own name.<sup>4</sup> It operates on an independent balance sheet and is self-supporting. In the case of VOK, all societies at all levels operate under the single VOK statute, but each society from all-union down to district level is a juridical person in its own right and with its own seal.

*Membership.* In an apt analogy the Chairman of the VOK Central Administration, Academician I. V. Petrianov-Sokolov, noted that whereas Soviet writers have a Union of Writers and the artists a Union of Artists, VOK is a kind of Union of Readers. Membership may be individual or institutional. Any Soviet citizen, irrespective of age, may join upon payment of the entry fee (usually 30 kopecks) and the annual dues (one ruble). School children pay a lower fee (10 kopecks entry fee and 10 kopecks annual dues) and normally join young bibliophile groups. Collective members may be state enterprises, educational or other institutions, cooperative or social organisations, and creative unions (*tvorcheskie soiuzy*). Either a written or an oral application is sufficient and each member receives a membership card and lapel pin. Every member has the right to take part in all 'organisational,

<sup>2</sup> Although drawn principally from VOK publications, this account also incorporates materials collected during several visits to the Central Administration of VOK since 1981. The official report of the Central Administration of VOK submitted to the III Congress of the organisation in October 1984 noted: 'In 1981 and 1983 the Secretary of the Bookplate Society in London, Professor W. E. Butler, visited the Central Administration of VOK. An interesting exchange of views convincingly showed that, despite certain differences in purposes and methods of working with the bookplate, English and Soviet bibliophiles are united by many important, noble, humanitarian ideas.' *Ot s'ezda k s'ezdu (Materialy k otchetu Tsentral'nogo pravleniia VOK III s'ezdu Vsesoiuznogo dobrovol'nogo obschestva liubitelei knigi) 1979-1984* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 43-44. On 16 September 1986, by Decree of the Presidium of the Central Administration of VOK, the present writer was awarded VOK's highest medal 'for services in furthering professional relationships' in Anglo-Soviet relations.

<sup>3</sup> *Ustav vsesoiuznogo dobrovol'nogo obschestva liubitelei knigi* (Moscow, 1985), incorporating the amendments introduced by the II and III congresses of VOK in 1979 and 1984 respectively. Transl. in W. E. Butler, *Collected Legislation of the USSR and Constituent Union Republics* (Dobbs Ferry, 1979-).

<sup>4</sup> See W. E. Butler, *Soviet Law* (London, 1983), pp. 46-48.

propagandistic, and methods activities', to vote in meetings of Society members and criticise any Society worker or organ, to elect and be elected to Society conferences and congresses and to Society executive organs, to put questions, applications, and proposals to any Society executive organ, to receive advice from the Society on methods of work with the book, forming a personal library, and on the culture of reading, and to use methods materials, visual aids, and technical materials of the Society. Collective members join VOK to help make more effective use of books in resolving economic and political tasks, to further the communist nurturing of the working people, and to help form primary organisations of VOK, so-called 'people's bookshops' or kiosks, and bibliophile clubs.

*Organisational Principles.* VOK combines, just like many other Soviet organisations, two principles in its operations: the territorial-production principle and democratic centralism. In addition to the Central Administration at the all-union level, there are societies at union and autonomous republic, territory, region, autonomous national area, city, and district levels and primary organisations of VOK at places of work and residence. Democratic centralism for these purposes means that all executive organs are elected and must report periodically to their organisations and superior bodies, that decisions are taken by majority vote, and that inferior organisations of the Society are subordinate to superior organs.

*Highest Organs of VOK.* The supreme organ of VOK is the Congress, which must be convoked at least once every five years. There have been three congresses to date: 1974, 1979, and 1984. In the interval between congresses the Central Administration is the executive organ of the Society. Plenary sessions of the Central Administration are usually held at least annually, and in the interval between plenums the Society's affairs are in the hands of the Presidium of the Central Administration, which meets at least quarterly. The Presidium establishes offices to carry on the basic work of the organisation, considers and confirms current and long-term work plans, hears reports from and organises the training of personnel from inferior VOK societies, takes part in arranging international and all-union book fairs and similar occasions, takes decisions to create production enterprises of the Society, and performs a variety of financial, personnel, and production functions. The union republic levels of VOK are similarly organised. At the autonomous republic, territory, region, city, and district levels the nomenclature for the highest organ changes from 'congress' to 'conference' and from 'central administration' to 'board', but the operational functions of each level fall upon the presidium within its respective sphere of competences.

*Primary Organisations.* These are the heart of VOK and may be formed wherever there are at least ten Society members. Each elects by open ballot a chairman, secretary, and treasurer for a term of two to three years. If there are

25 or more members, the organisation elects a bureau and an audit commission, and the bureau elects the officers. A primary organisation of 500 or more members may be given the rights of a district society.

*Councils and Sections.* Thematic and functional councils and sections may be attached to the VOK organs at various levels, depending upon the range of members' interests. Examples are: councils and sections for individual types of literature, libraries, book graphics, antiquarian books, bibliophily, bibliography, collectors of albums, almanacks, postcards, pamphlets, bookplates, and the like. Many VOK organs have a lecture bureau to supply speakers for meetings and arrange readers' conferences.

*Clubs.* From union republic level to primary organisations VOK societies may establish clubs of bibliophiles. These function with the rights of a primary organisation under a Model Statute confirmed by the Presidium of the VOK Central Administration on 21 July 1977.<sup>5</sup> Clubs may be specialised in their interest—for example book design, bookplates, or literature—or, if universal, may organise sections to cater for special interests. Each club has its own statute, name, insignia, and motto as approved by the general meeting of the club. The funds or budget of the club come from the VOK organ to which it is attached.

It appears that membership in a primary organisation of VOK is not the same as club membership. Clubs are expressly empowered to propagandise the book, to shape the aesthetic taste of club members and raise 'the culture of reading', make efforts to improve members' knowledge of bibliography and librarianship, organise the exchange of books amongst club members, propagandise the personal book collections of members through talks and displays, take part in 'book days' or months and similar celebrations, conduct studies of reader demand, give advice on the publishing plans of both central and local publishing houses, make suggestions to bookstores as to what books to order for stock, arrange lectures or one-day courses on topics of interest, arrange exhibitions for club meetings, including items from personal collections, help bring antiquarian and second-hand books on to the market and assist bookshops in purchasing such material from the public, advise on bookbinding and restoration, present talks on radio, television, and to the press, and, finally, encourage new members. The 'forms of work' which clubs may utilise to accomplish these ends are an exemplary list for any bibliophile society to follow: conferences of readers, debates, surveys, meetings with writers, journalists, artists, composers, public figures, and others, topical or commemorative evenings devoted to leading writers, sessions on particular

<sup>5</sup> For the text of the Statute, see *Rabota pervichnoi organizatsii VOK: spravochnik* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 73–76. A second edition of this work appeared in 1983. There is an analogous Statute for clubs of junior members (under 16 years of age).

Soviet or foreign writers, on rare or valuable publications, or on the history of the book or book design, excursions to museums or exhibitions, meetings jointly with other clubs, and the publication of 'wall newspapers', bulletins, journals, and chronicles.

### Primary Organisations and Club Activities

*Lectures.* 'Oral propaganda' is conducted by all organisations within VOK, usually with reference to books which confirm the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of communist morality, and to the book itself as an object of taste, culture, knowledge, history, typography, and design. Lecture bureaus develop topics, speakers, materials, and a 'lecture plan', the latter being agreed with Party and trade union organisations so that it may comprise part of the ideological work plan of the institutions served by the bureau. At higher levels within VOK the list of lecturers may, subject to availability, be ordered from by clubs and primary organisations. As the clubs are likely to contain serious bibliophiles as opposed to those who merely love to read, the clubs will often supply speakers on book collecting. Other lecturers will include librarians, teachers, and specialists in book production or book studies. Successful local lecturers may be included on the lists of higher VOK organisations. As a rule, the lecturers are paid by VOK, unless the inviting organisation has been exempted from paying the VOK subscription. In the latter event the inviting organisation pays at the agreed rates. Visual aids are an important part of lecture activities, and VOK has developed a number of 'lecture kits' that local personnel may utilise.<sup>6</sup>

'*Book Days.*' These events are described as 'mass agitation measures whose object is the propagandising of the book'.<sup>7</sup> Normally they follow a general plan or scenario and are dedicated to a political or literary event or anniversary. A traditional 'day' would include book displays, bazaars, lotteries, meetings with writers and poets, literary balls, and quizzes. A solemn opening is customary with the laying of a wreath or similar tribute to the event or person being honoured, and such celebrations can be from district to republic in scale. Organising committees with working groups are set up and work around a theme for the Day recommended by the Presidium of the level of VOK concerned. Printed posters, pamphlets, portraits of literary figures, invitations, brochures, catalogues and the like may be prepared, often by distinguished artists and designers (many Soviet citizens specialise in collecting this type of ephemeral material). Public open house at the best primary organisation or club or the best library, people's bookstore,

<sup>6</sup> A fine example is the booklet and accompanying slides by B. Klimov, *Khudozhnik I. Bilibin (1876-1942). Po materialam sobraniia E. P. Klimova* (Moscow, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> *Rabota pervichnoi organizatsii VOK* (note 5), p. 25.

or kiosk of an enterprise or institution is encouraged, as is the arrangement of contests beforehand for displays or exhibitions.

*People's Bookshops or Kiosks.* These are organised in collaboration with VOK organisations at enterprises and institutions pursuant to the Statute on the People's Bookshop and Kiosk confirmed in 1976 by the USSR State Committee for Publishing and the Central Administration of VOK. Staffed by volunteers, the bookshops study demand for books, collect individual advance orders for titles and accept subscriptions to series, assist state bookstores with advertising and promotion of titles and with purchasing books for resale. More than 11,000 people's bookshops were reported to be functioning in 1984; a new draft Statute on people's bookshops was published for discussion in 1986 by *Knizhnoe obozrenie*.

*Second-Hand Book Trade.* The state of the second-hand book market has been a source of deep dissatisfaction on the part of Soviet bibliophiles for many years, as the pages of *Knizhnoe obozrenie* attest. VOK is not directly involved in such trade, but primary organisations are encouraged to be of assistance. Many VOK organisations have formed 'social councils for promoting the second-hand book trade'. These comprise experienced bibliophiles, librarians, bibliographers, and book-trade personnel, and their function is to explain this aspect of bookselling to VOK members, to circulate active book collectors with the current price lists and catalogues, to maintain links with State libraries and museums, and to collaborate with the second-hand bookstores in certain activities for the general public. Emphasis seems to be on the purchase of materials for resale rather than the marketing of second-hand books, although VOK has produced excellent guides to local bookstores for their members. Want lists may be compiled and widely advertised through the media, and special groups may be organised to visit homes in order to purchase needed books. Book bazaars at enterprises and organisations are often devoted to second-hand material, and barter arrangements have been encouraged, though less successfully.

*Book Exchange.* This refers not to inter-library exchange, but to exchange between individuals. Two principal forms have been used. The first is temporary lending to another person for reading purposes. Most successful in rural areas, this type of exchange is arranged through primary organisations, who lay down the rules guaranteeing the books will be returned in good condition. In the early days of VOK many organisations encouraged permanent exchanges, 'a book for a book', and maintained an exchange stock for this purpose. Abuses (for example, exchanges sometimes seemed to be for personal financial gain) occurred because certain exchange centres had not been provided with 'the requisite level of ideological work'. Bookstores have experimented with exchange schemes. One used in the RSFSR worked as follows: the bookowner surrenders the book he wishes to exchange to a

bookstore and is paid the full cash value less a 20% commission. He completes a card indicating what he would like in exchange. His own book and the card are displayed in the bookstore for up to two months. If no one wishes to exchange, the owner repurchases his own book for 100% of its value. A maximum of three books can be offered for exchange from a single person at the same time. While that scheme ensures some control over titles offered and that books are offered at state prices, it has in practice been complex to operate, as have most of the experimental variations tried in other union republics. It would appear that only a tiny minority of books change hands through such schemes. Nevertheless, where such schemes have been introduced VOK organisations have assisted members with details of the scheme and disseminated lists of what is being offered.

*Bibliophile Societies and Clubs.* When VOK was founded in 1974, it was superimposed upon the pre-existing local societies of bibliophiles and bookplate collectors already in existence, some for decades. VOK has no monopoly on bibliophile activity, and there is no requirement that pre-existing societies affiliate with VOK or that their members also join VOK. Most, however, will have done so because of both a shared interest and the vast organisational and financial resources at the disposal of VOK. The creation of VOK has led in many communities to the formation of clubs where none existed previously, hence the enactment by VOK of a Model Statute in 1977 to guide those clubs newly formed. Although there is no formal stipulation to this effect, clubs seem to attract the serious bibliophile, scholar, artist, or collector as distinct from the general reader. In 1985 there were more than 190,000 primary organisations within VOK, compared to more than 13,000 clubs. VOK, in other words, appeals to both levels of 'book people': the general reader or consumer of books, and the serious student of the subject. It would be wrong to identify VOK exclusively with the latter, although the prospects of the former becoming the latter must now be much greater. Most if not all the truly distinguished societies of bibliophiles mentioned by Berkov<sup>8</sup> are in all likelihood, assuming they continue to exist, under the VOK umbrella.

The established clubs over the years have published accounts of their activities, sometimes in the form of mementos for each session and sometimes annual or periodic surveys. The standard of reports delivered at meetings is exceptionally impressive, and it has always been a source of regret that their systematic publication in society media has, to date, never been achieved. The clubs meet frequently, often monthly, and publish annual or quarterly

<sup>8</sup> Berkov (note 1).

advance programmes. Their history comprises a succinct precis of major developments in Soviet book culture.<sup>9</sup>

*Liaison with State Libraries.* VOK organisations are encouraged to develop close links with local libraries, whose premises are often used for meetings of clubs or primary organisations. The primary organisations are especially active in assisting with library extension services or mobile libraries at places of work, in rural areas, or at remote construction sites. In a major campaign VOK members contributed thousands of volumes to construction workers employed on the BAM project, and have done the same for families who lost their books in the Chernobyl disaster. VOK members also survey the actual use of library stocks. One study showed that only 5% of the books in rural libraries dealt with the subject of agriculture, implying that progress in the application of modern technology in agriculture may be partly explained by inadequate access to the literature on the subject.

VOK is likewise concerned to teach Soviet citizens how to select books to read and how to find those selected. Partly, this is a matter of bringing new books and their authors to the attention of the reading public or publicising recommendatory bibliographies, but VOK's task is conceived in more ambitious terms: to train the Soviet citizen to engage in purposeful reading, conscious analytical reading related to the individual's interest, inclinations, and education or professional training. This is a subject in its own right, and one which raises more sharply and profoundly the larger issues of the 'culture of the book' that are beginning to exercise the imagination of the Soviet intellectual community. It invites all concerned with any facet of the book to become future-oriented, to consider not merely what the book *has* contributed but what it *might* contribute yet to humankind in a purposeful way, to evaluate the book as a social phenomenon on a scale that studies of the book have failed to do so far.

Finally, VOK organisations introduce members to the basic principles of library utilisation: card catalogues, basic reference sources, and how to care for books; junior bibliophile groups in particular concentrate on these matters.

*Social Use of Personal Libraries.* VOK as an institution has stressed from the outset that personal libraries ought not to be mere accumulations of books unsystematically assembled. They are to be purposefully collected and read or used. A sociological study done in 1976 disclosed that about 800 million books are added annually to personal libraries in the country (not an astonishing figure, averaging about four books per person), that 97% of Soviet families

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, *Sektsiia knigi Moskovskogo doma uchenykh AN SSSR* (Moscow, 1983). In the first 30 years of its existence, this Section held 290 meetings.

have a home library, and that 13% have a library exceeding 1000 volumes.<sup>10</sup> Figures disclosed in 1985 indicated that 40,000 million books are held in Soviet personal collections, eight times more than in all state collections.<sup>11</sup> VOK organisations accordingly have renewed appeals to members to make their books available for 'social use', that is, to their friends and neighbours, or to donate them to construction sites, boarding schools, children's homes, workers' hostels, military units, frontier posts, geological parties, and ships at sea.

The disparity between state and personal libraries is, of course, a meaningless statistic. The real issue is whether state libraries are adequately provided for and, if not, whether donations from private individuals fill gaps or constitute a flood of unwanted material. On the other hand, the values implicit in the campaign are not unworthy: a book lover is to be an inquisitive person, a passionate and unselfish propagandist of the book, or rather not of the book but of reading. This view has figured in another lively debate about the culture of the book: the optimal size and purpose of personal libraries. Consistent with one's interests and profession is one answer, but some would place a numerical limit.

Social use can take another form. Some book collectors have transformed themselves into personal lending libraries and regularly keep hours when friends and neighbours may browse amongst the shelves to choose books for borrowing. VOK reports that several thousand personal libraries have been opened for use on this basis.

### **VOK and Official Campaigns**

Although a mass social organisation, VOK does lend support to state policies and campaigns from time to time as part of its activities. Commonly, this occurs by accentuating the publication of books associated with those policies or campaigns, for example, the anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution, or the formation of the USSR, the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, 1986 as the Year of Peace (proclaimed by the United Nations), and others. Events of this nature become part of the thematic activity plans of VOK organisations at all levels, just indeed as they figure in the publishing plans of State publishing houses and the research plans of learned institutions.

### **VOK and Bibliophile Publications**

A major concern of those who founded VOK was to increase the volume

<sup>10</sup> A. Chernysheva, 'Gazeta, kniga, televedenie', *V mire knig*, no. 11 (1976), p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> L. Sedletskaia, 'Book Lovers' Donations', *Moscow News*, 11-13 January 1986, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

and variety of publications about books, book collecting, bookplates, miniature books—all the facets of the book within the purview of VOK. Some fine volumes have been produced under VOK auspices, but this still remains one of the least impressive sides of VOK achievements.

From 11 October 1974 the weekly newspaper *Knizhnoe obozrenie* became the joint organ of VOK and the State Committee of the USSR for Publishing Houses, Printing, and the Book Trade (Goskomizdat SSSR). A must for anyone seriously interested in the world of Soviet books and book collecting, *KO* gives extensive coverage to VOK activities, to book graphics, ex libris, and recent publications. The *Al'manakh bibliofila*, twenty volumes of which had appeared by 1986, became a VOK publication, beginning with volume five.<sup>12</sup> VOK has issued its own edition of Berkov<sup>13</sup> and a splendid collection of essays by A. A. Sidorov.<sup>14</sup> Essays about books and bibliophiles are highly popular, and VOK includes amongst those titles bearing its logo the fifth edition of Smirnov-Sokol'skii's classic<sup>15</sup> and original collections by Kurochkin<sup>16</sup> and Osetrov.<sup>17</sup> Outstanding in concept and execution, with no real rival in the English-speaking world, is the third edition of a concise manual for the bibliophile.<sup>18</sup> The greater part of VOK publications, however, are posters, postcards, bookmarks, pocket calendars, exhibition catalogues, methods manuals and aids for VOK organisers, and related materials. The same is true of the union republic VOK organisations, although in Georgia the republican organ of VOK publishes its own almanack under the title *Mtsignobari*.

VOK still seeks autonomous publishing arrangements and has suffered in its activities from having to be a 'hanger-on' in the publishing plans of established houses, although through its representation on committees of Goskomizdat VOK has been able to make the views of its constituents known on the desirability of printing certain titles in large numbers, for example, the new three-volume edition of Pushkin. Nevertheless, publishing remains the weakest side of VOK operations for reasons that transcend the lack of printing facilities. A great deal of publishing at union republic and local levels within VOK goes unnoticed even within the world of books. In Azerbaidzhan the local VOK organisations have succeeded in issuing miniature books by using a

<sup>12</sup> Volumes 1–10 are reviewed by the present writer in *The Private Library*, V (1982), 205–208.

<sup>13</sup> Berkov (note 1).

<sup>14</sup> A. A. Sidorov, *Drug knigim—sovetskii bibliofil* (Moscow, 1981), with a lengthy introductory appreciation and commentary by E. L. Nemirovskii.

<sup>15</sup> N. Smirnov-Sokol'skii, *Rasskazy o knigakh*, izd. 5-e (Moscow, 1983).

<sup>16</sup> Iu. Kurochkin, *Knizhnye vstrechi* (Moscow, 1981).

<sup>17</sup> E. Osetrov, *Zolotoi Kliuch* (Moscow, 1977); reviewed in *The Private Library*, II (1979), 32–33. This volume was later reprinted on finer paper.

<sup>18</sup> A. E. Mil'chin (comp. and ed.), *Kratkii spravochnik knigoliuba* (3rd ed.; Moscow, 1984).

Baku printing house. Moldavia, Armenia, and certain other republic VOK societies are readying, through local publishers, their own *Al'manakhy bibliofilov*, and several already publish sundry regular bibliographies (for example, in Estonia a series on Russian writers in Tallinn). Efforts are underway to coordinate, enlarge, and improve the quality of publication, intense pressure being exerted by republic VOK organisations to be allowed to expand substantially this facet of their activities.<sup>19</sup>

### International Links of VOK

VOK is empowered under its Statute to 'cooperate with foreign bibliophile societies in the established procedure'. Nearly all such activity has been with other socialist countries, protocols on cooperation having been concluded with organisations in Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Bilateral contacts with Finland have led to exchanges of visits, and in the field of bookplates with England.

The present writer addressed the Moscow Club of Exlibrists on 31 March 1982 about the activities of the Bookplate Society,<sup>20</sup> and on 16 September 1986 there opened at VOK the first exhibition in the Soviet Union devoted wholly to English bookplates.<sup>21</sup> A travelling exhibition, it was joined on 23 October 1986 by an exhibition of engraved book illustrations and bookplates by Reginald Boulton (Hereford) and George Tute (Bristol) held in the exhibition hall of Goskomizdat, also arranged through VOK by the present writer.<sup>22</sup> The latter exhibition was opened by the two artists, as guests of VOK representing the Bookplate Society. A substantial exhibition of Soviet bookplates is scheduled for Britain in 1987.

There has been no precedent in Soviet history for links in this field, which has made the identification of counterparts difficult, the more so since the matters of interest to VOK are widely dispersed amongst many types of Western organisations, mostly voluntary societies on slender budgets. And many VOK personnel are not professional book people or bibliophiles themselves.

### Bookplates

Attached to the Central Administration of VOK are fifteen scientific-methods councils and two sections. The sections are devoted to miniature

<sup>19</sup> O. Slavin, 'Uluchshat' izdatel'skuiu deiatel'nost' VOK', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 3 October 1986, p. 14, cols. 1-3.

<sup>20</sup> 'Soobshchenie o deiatel'nosti angliiskogo obshchestva ekslibristov', in *Moskovskii klub ekslibristov, Priglasenie na 223 zasedanie. 31 marta 1982 g.* 4 p., reproducing three bookplates.

<sup>21</sup> L. Batalov, 'Angliiskii ekslibris', *Vecherniaia Moskva*, 15 September 1986, p. 3, cols. 2-4; V. Loburev, 'Sovremennyi angliiskii ekslibris', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 19 September 1986, p. 2, cols. 4-5; W. E. Butler, *Sovremennyi angliiskii knizhnyi znak* ([Moscow], 1986). 12 p.

<sup>22</sup> W. E. Butler, *Ksilografii i ekslibris. R. Boulton i G. Tute (Angliia)* ([Moscow], 1986), 12 p.

books (headed by a journalist, P. D. Pochtovik) and to book graphics and ex libris (headed by A. I. Kalashnikov, a wood-engraver). The latter section has just published a catalogue of the Tenin collection of theatrical bookplates<sup>23</sup> and is preparing a directory of three hundred Soviet bookplate designers. It has been singularly active in mounting bookplate exhibitions since 1985, including in 1986 the exhibition of contemporary English ex libris. In March 1986 the Moscow Club of Exlibrists held its 250th meeting, continuing its long-standing tradition of issuing mementoes for each occasion. Although its formation antedates VOK, the Club is now under the VOK umbrella. A fuller study of bookplates in the Soviet Union by the present writer is under preparation. In 1984 VOK sent observers to the XX International Ex-Libris Congress and may decide to take an active part in that organisation, the USSR being the only European socialist country (except Albania) who is not a member of the International Federation of Ex-Libris Societies.

### **Conclusion**

Although VOK has by no means reached its true potential, it has become a remarkable phenomenon in the Soviet world of the book. It desperately requires its own printing house and the wherewithal to enlarge its publications programme. Support services for bibliophiles—binding, book repair, commissioning of bookplates, fine printing by hand press, papermaking, etc.—are still woefully inadequate, and international links are at an early stage of development. But the enormous energies and resourcefulness displayed during its first decade suggest that those abroad interested in Soviet book lore would do well to follow VOK's activities with care and take advantage of opportunities to collaborate where possible and appropriate.

<sup>23</sup> Reviewed in this volume of *Solanus*.

# *Solanus* 1–20: An Index

Gregory Walker

The twentieth volume of *Solanus* was published in 1985 at the end of the journal's second decade. This index is intended to mark the anniversary (followed as it has been by the initiation of a 'new series' and a major change of profile) by recording *Solanus*'s former character and the nature of its contribution to Slavonic and East European studies.

*Solanus*, from its first volume in November 1966, was conducted by Slavonic specialist librarians in the United Kingdom under the auspices of the Standing Conference of National and University Libraries (SCONUL), working through the Conference's Advisory Committee on Slavonic and East European Materials (as it is currently named, after several changes of title). The journal was aimed primarily at librarians dealing with Slavonic and East European collections, and had in particular the mission of making more widely known the resources held by libraries and archives in the UK. The first fifty-odd entries in the index below indicate the consistency with which this commitment was adhered to under *Solanus*'s first four editors: Robert Fulford (1–3), Paul Fletcher (4–8), John Screen (9–13) and Michael Gollop (14–20). Although the descriptions in some of the earlier articles have been rendered out-of-date by subsequent developments, many still give useful amplification to the directory of resources also produced by the Advisory Committee.<sup>1</sup> The index also shows the extent of other topics treated, notably Soviet and East European libraries and archives and the practicalities of using them, and the servicing of Slavonic and East European collections and their readers.

The index includes all articles, bibliographies and reviews published in the first twenty issues of *Solanus*, omitting only short announcements and items of SCONUL business. Arrangement is alphabetical by author (by title for anonymous contributions), under the following headings:

- Library, archive and manuscript collections in the United Kingdom;
- Libraries, archives and books outside the UK;
- Slavonic and East European library materials: administration and usage;
- Bibliographies;
- Miscellaneous;
- Reviews.

*Note:* Copies are still available, in limited numbers, of most of the volumes indexed. Enquiries should be sent to the present Editor.

<sup>1</sup> *Resources for Soviet, East European and Slavonic Studies in British Libraries*, ed. by Gregory Walker with the assistance of Jenny Brine (Birmingham, 1981).

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## S. P. Luppov—75

Christine Thomas

May 12th 1985 was the seventy-fifth birthday of Sergei Pavlovich Luppov, best known in the West for his trilogy *Kniga v Rossii ...*, covering the history of the book in Russia during the seventeenth and first four decades of the eighteenth century. A short bio-bibliography compiled by his colleagues in the Academy Library (*Sergei Pavlovich Luppov: biobibliograficheskii ukazatel' (k 75-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia)*), Leningrad: BAN, 1985) reveals some unexpected facts about the twisting but logical course of his career. Son of Pavel Mikhailovich Luppov, historian of the Viatka region, Luppov began his career as an engineer and did not become a professional historian until after the war, while working at the History of Leningrad Museum. His candidate's thesis, published in 1957, was on a topic likely to be of interest to a former engineer—the building of St Petersburg. Between 1953 and 1974, as head of the Nauchno-bibliograficheskii otdel of the Academy Library, he was involved in bibliographical theory and practice, regularly compiling and editing bibliographies and masterminding the drawing up of new official Soviet bibliographical standards. In the 1960s he fruitfully combined two areas of his knowledge, history and bibliography, when his contribution on the eighteenth century to the History of the Academy Library led him into the study of the history of the book in all its aspects—production, distribution, libraries and readership, with emphasis on the role of the book in society. This broad and innovative approach, which should perhaps be regarded as a complement to, rather than a substitute for, traditional historical bibliography, opened up new avenues of research, resulting in the publication of Dr Luppov's own thoroughly researched trilogy and, in its wake, a host of other investigations into various aspects of book history. Indeed, in 1974 the Academy Library set up a special section for the study of the history of the book, which has since fostered the exploitation of much new archival material and organised and coordinated a series of conferences, monographs and articles. In these, Dr Luppov has been active as participator, author and editor. His readers and colleagues in the West join in wishing him many more years of professional activity and hope that his future research or his inspiration will result in a history of the book in the times of Elizabeth and Catherine.

## Reviews

N. N. Pokrovskii, *Puteshestvie za redkimi knigami*. Introduction by D. S. Likhachev. Moscow, Kniga, 1984. 191 pp. 75 kopecks.

Since 1965 the Siberian division of the Academy of Sciences has been organizing archaeographic expeditions under the control of N. N. Pokrovskii in search of old books and manuscripts. This vivid and detailed popular account of their activities and finds presents a fascinating side of Siberian peasant culture previously little suspected by scholars. The expeditions have uncovered not only a wide range of early manuscript material, often brought into Siberia by immigrant Old Believer settlers, but also literature written by Siberian peasants. They discovered too, hidden in a suitably remote spot, a scriptorium—shown in photographs—fully equipped for copying and reproduction. The account here reflects both peasant attachment from early times to religious works (finds include the earliest and fullest known text of the trial of Maksim Grek), and Old Believer thought and popular opposition to the encroachment of Church and State. The finds have already been duly presented to the scholarly world. Here Pokrovskii tells for the general reader the story of their discovery and recreates in depth the events and issues behind four of them. The expeditions have been able to acquire books from the peasant owners who had jealously preserved them over generations from tsarist and, it is delicately noted here, Soviet book-burnings; and the book concludes with gratitude to these keepers who have now surrendered their treasures to scholarly, temperature-controlled depositaries. Pokrovskii stresses these works' witness to the living intellectual culture of a popular milieu often held to have had none. This absorbing account leaves one admiring the research and care of the Novosibirsk scholars who saved this heritage. We can only hope that these materials have not now exchanged one inaccessible safe-keeping for another, and that the exposure of this peasant tradition will not, as in so many analogous situations, prove to have contributed to its disappearance.

R. P. BARTLETT

SSEES, London

E. L. Nemirovskii, *Ivan Fedorov (okolo 1510–1583)*. Moscow, Nauka, 1985. 316 pp.

Nemirovskii's survey of the life and work of Ivan Fedorov is intended for a

wide readership, for 'all those interested in the history of the book and in the development of printing techniques'. The author has succeeded in the difficult task of providing a history which is both simple and scholarly, condensing his considerable knowledge of the subject into a concise, vivid and engrossing account. There are many gaps in our knowledge of Fedorov's life and, for the most part, Nemirovskii is careful to distinguish between fact and speculation. He is scrupulous in summarising various alternative theories, while firmly and plausibly advancing his own view of events and sustaining a flowing narrative. He makes excellent use of the evidence available on Fedorov's life, drawing on a wide range of sources, thoroughly footnoted. Most contemporary documents relating to Fedorov were published in *Pershodrukar Ivan Fedorov ta ioho poslidovnyky na Ukraini ...* (Kiev, 1975). Nemirovskii quotes extensively from these and from other documents omitted from that collection.

Biography, however, is not allowed to overshadow bibliography. One of the most valuable aspects of the book is Nemirovskii's clear explanation and appraisal of Fedorov's printing techniques, based on a detailed examination of and accompanied by excellent descriptions of all his imprints. Nemirovskii also enumerates and gives locations of surviving copies and describes early ownership inscriptions.

In Russia, as in the West, once printing techniques had been established they remained basically unchanged for over a century. Thus Nemirovskii is able, on the basis of seventeenth century documents relating to printing in the Moscow *Pechatnyi dvor*, to give a hypothetical description of Fedorov's equipment, materials and methods. He follows this with a short survey of the main developments in Moscow seventeenth century printing. The last forty or so pages of the book represent what amounts to a gallop through eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century Russian printing, bringing us up to the latest computer printing techniques. Essentially, this adds little to what went before. A more logical and valuable conclusion to the book might have been provided by a brief account of seventeenth century Cyrillic printing in the places where Fedorov did most of his work and where his types remained in use until the nineteenth century—the Ukraine and Belorussia.

All in all, the book is an excellent example of the best kind of popularisation, of value to both the general and the specialist reader. Inevitably for such a book, the bibliography lists only the basic and most important literature. Updated editions of Nemirovskii's 1975 and 1983 bibliographies on Fedorov, both printed in small runs and now difficult to obtain, would be welcome.

Ia. Zapasko and Ia. Isaievych, comps., *Pam'iatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraini*. [Monuments of Book Art. A Catalogue of Early Printed Books Published in the Ukraine.] L'viv, Vyd-vo pry L'vivs'komu derzhavnomu universyteti vydavnychoho ob'iednannia 'Vyshcha shkola', 1981-1984. Kn. 1 (1574-1700). [134] pp., ill., some col., 4 krb. 60 k.; Kn. 2, ch. 1 (1701-1764). [130] pp., ill., 4 krb. 60 k.; Kn. 2, ch. 2 (1765-1800). [126] pp., ill., 4 krb. 70 k.

Ukrainian work in bibliography, especially that conducted at the Ukrainian Institute of Bibliology (founded in 1922), developed during the twenties into a systematic discipline. It was during this period that preliminary work was begun on a never-completed union catalogue of old Ukrainian imprints. All such promising work, however, came to an abrupt halt in the thirties, and it was not until the late fifties that interest in this field of enquiry was re-kindled by studies by Zapasko, Kahanov, and others.

Within the last twenty-five years there has been a notable and most welcome upsurge in Soviet scholarly works relating to early Cyrillic printings. The present work, the first volume of which happily coincides with the quadri-centennial of the printing of the *Ostroh Bible*, is a formidable undertaking in that it seeks to provide a union catalogue of all books printed in the Ukraine in Cyrillic and Roman alphabets from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The bibliographical recording of this rich legacy from a time when the Ukraine was at its cultural zenith is no mean task, and it was only appropriate that two recognised scholars, the one a ranking art historian, the other a leading cultural historian, should have collaborated on this awesome project.

Printed on quality paper and bound in hard cover as three separate units, the second volume consists of two parts. The prefaces to the first volume and to the first part of the second trace with ample documentation the history of early printing and book design as well as survey the presses set up on Ukrainian territory. The second part of volume II begins with 1765, the year that marked publications in the so-called *Hrazhdans'kyi* type and which also saw greater attention paid to considerably more varied secular subjects along with certain clear changes in book ornamentation and layout. The format of the work is tricolonnar throughout, with entries given first in chronological, then in alphabetical sequence. Cyrillic imprints precede listings for those set in Roman type. Reduced reproductions of title pages, frontispieces, and ornamentals frequently accompany and corroboratively enliven the bibliographical entries and descriptions to which they are keyed by number. Altogether there are 4176 entries, not including the 20 found in an addendum, and these follow the rules for description as formulated by Zernova, Maslov and Nemirovskii. Transcriptions are given in modernised Cyrillic, numerals

in Arabic form. Works produced by Polish printers are described in abbreviated form according to the standards of Polish bibliography. The inclusion as well of Czech, French, German, Greek, Latin and Polish imprints, together with copious indices of presses and printers, subjects, engravers, abbreviations, bibliographies, etc., all contribute to make the work a truly valuable and important reference tool.

For all of these positive features, there are a number of deficiencies. Armenian and Hebrew imprints are excluded, as are, as the compilers themselves state, the more than 350 'unverifiable' items known only from literary sources, although in volume I certain items known only from what the compilers term 'reliable sources' are asterisked, a practice, however, that strangely enough is discontinued in volume II. The compilers' stress on *de visu* examination for the majority of the entries necessarily delimits the compass of the work to items accessible to them directly. The fact that only 2000 copies were printed of the second part of volume II, which contains the indices for the first part (issued in 3000 copies), obviously means that 1000 copies are in circulation of an unindexed part I. While the illustrations are well chosen, they often lack the sharp definition that one would expect in a work of this kind. Moreover, not only are there 'ghost plates' (I, pp. 104, 117; II.1, p. 16; II.2, p. 12), but it is not uncommon to find plates mis-numbered, e.g. nos. 234, 235, 228 correspond in the text to nos. 228, 234, 235 respectively. An index of plates would here have been of benefit, and a more careful proof-reading would have prevented such regrettable typographical lapses as occasionally mar the text, e.g. *XVII* (II.1, p. 9, n. 2) for *XVIII*; *ta vydannia* (II.1, p. 14) for *ti vydannia*.

NATALIA ZITZELSBERGER

*New York Public Library*

Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700–1800*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1985. xiv, 302 pp. Tables. Bibliography. Index. £32.50.

Professor Marker originally intended to write a social history of ideas from the time of Peter I to the era of the great reforms. Previous researchers in this field have been content to base their views on the study of printed and manuscript materials, but early in his investigations Professor Marker realised that, although the mere existence of a dated book may provide adequate evidence for a judgement on the priority and sequence of particular ideas, it can tell us little about their spread and influence at different levels of Russian society. Information on these aspects must be sought outside the books themselves—in the archives of the State, Church and private publishing houses, in the

accounts and stock inventories of booksellers, and in the records of payments made to authors.

This awareness of the organizational, financial and statistical background to the making and distribution of printed books pervades the whole of Professor Marker's distinguished work. Of course, he is not the first to have appreciated the relevance of this dimension, but he is the first to have investigated it systematically and comprehensively. Especially praiseworthy is his evaluation of the precise significance which can be given to various classes of data.

The first five chapters, 'Printing and the Petrine Revolution', 'The Church and the Academy', 'Schools and Publishers', 'The Emergence of Private Publishing', and 'Publishing in the Provinces', focus on successive time-spans from the end of the seventeenth century to the first years of the nineteenth and are broadly chronological in treatment. In contrast each of the three remaining chapters, 'The Russian Book Trade', 'Book Sales and Reading', and 'Censorship', cover the whole period. Again and again Professor Marker's statistical data enable him to overturn familiar statements repeated in book after book and to present new and unexpected views. His reassessment and radical downgrading of Peter I's contribution to the advancement of publishing in Russia is particularly striking.

There are occasional inaccuracies. For example, Prokopovich's *Pervoe uchenie otrokom* is not *A Student's First Lesson* but rather *First Instruction for Boys* (p. 192). The first edition of Lomonosov's *Rossiiskaia grammatika*, despite the date on its title-page, came out in 1757, not 1755 (p. 195). Voltaire's *Candide* and *Zadig* are not plays but prose stories (p. 205). Fénelon, who died in 1715, cannot really be described as a well known moralist of Catherine II's reign (p. 206). However, such blemishes are minor and probably inevitable in a work so rich in factual detail.

This is a first-rate book, on which the author must be warmly congratulated. Future researchers will have to take its conclusions very seriously.

C. L. DRAGE

SSEES, London

Marianna Tax Choldin, *A Fence Around the Empire: Russian Censorship of Western Ideas under the Tsars*. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1985. 282 pp. \$42.50.

This is an absorbing book in which Marianna Tax Choldin has examined in detail the workings of the Foreign Censorship in nineteenth-century Russia, i.e. the censorship concerned with books and periodicals entering Russia from

outside and also, until 1871, with candidates for translation. As well as memoirs and other secondary sources she has analysed samples of German books from blacklists issued in 1870 and 1898, and in the case of books which were permitted with excisions she has tracked down the originals to find out exactly what it was that attracted the censors' black ink 'caviar'.

One of the main conclusions is that this 'fence around the Empire' was full of holes—and the censors knew it. The Empire was too big and border security too lax, then, to stop books entering. The censors kept fairly quiet about the futility of their work because (and this is one of the surprises in the book) on the whole the censor's lot was not an unhappy one. The three celebrated 'poet-censors'—Tiutchev, Maikov and Polonskii—turned the institution into a kind of literary seminar, being paid to scan all the latest European books and erring wherever possible on the side of permissiveness. The workload increased steadily, but this does not seem to have unduly worried Polonskii at least, since he farmed out many of the books to his friend Elena Shtakensneider.

Choldin finds the censorship to have been much less petty than is often assumed and more concerned with historical texts that were found to be offensive (particularly in their treatment of the Romanovs) than with subversive ideas. Marx got through unscathed as did most longwinded revolutionaries. The censors were very strict about sexual naughtiness, but few examples come out of the German samples because the offenders were more often French. Cheap editions were much more likely to be banned than expensive ones, even though they can scarcely have reached a mass audience in their original language.

The scholarship is generally excellent, the statistical and anecdotal evidence nicely balanced, and the diligent reader will be rewarded for his pains by the fleeting appearance of such censor-eccentrics as Baron Gan of Odessa who was reputed to give his parrot the final word in doubtful cases. One small anxiety is that the author has not herself studied the censorship reports in the Central State Historical Archives, but has relied on selected extracts published by Soviet scholars in the 1930s. There may be no particular bias in these, but one would really need to be certain of that before drawing conclusions about the priorities of the censors for the period before 'blacklists' are available (p. 44).

The great strength of the book is that it rises above the fascinating detail of the Russian nineteenth century to tell us something of the mentality that lies behind censorship in other times and places. In Tiutchev's day the censorship was relatively benign because restrained and inefficient. His twentieth-century successors were not to be so lax.

Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1985. xxii, 450 pp. Illustrations. Tables. Bibliographical essay. Bibliography. Index. \$37.50.

In this fascinating study, Professor Jeffrey Brooks of the University of Chicago examines the popular literature which was increasingly available in Russia in the last decades of the tsarist regime. On the basis of his study of literally thousands of commercially published works, he draws challenging conclusions about the value of this reading matter, which was all too easily, he suggests, condemned by educated Russians as trashy and corrupting.

The book begins with two background chapters which discuss the growth of literacy and schooling in the period. These surveys are necessarily somewhat impressionistic, but the author argues persuasively that peasants valued literacy, and saw access to the printed word as a means of acquiring greater control over their own lives and environment. Reading fiction for pleasure and entertainment was more popular in the towns, but the habit was spreading to the villages by the last pre-revolutionary years.

The next two chapters describe the main forms of popular fiction: the *lubok* literature, chapbook-style booklets distributed in the countryside by peddlers throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; serialised novels published in cheap newspapers from the 1880s; detective stories and other adventure novels, often sold in instalments, especially after 1905; and women's novels in the same period. These last types of fiction were more accessible to and popular with lower-class urban readers than with peasants. The following four chapters consider themes which the author identifies in the popular literature: freedom and order, the basic concern of the bandit tales; nationalism and national identity; science and superstition; and success. In all of these themes, he sees the development of a new and more modern outlook by the early twentieth century.

The final chapter discusses sources of popular literature other than the commercial publishers: literature 'for the people' sponsored by Church and State, as well as by the radical and revolutionary intelligentsia. It is here, and in his brief 'Epilogue', that Professor Brooks stresses his main argument: that readers, even lower-class readers, are themselves the best judges of what interests them, and that the market is a better mechanism than sponsorship for identifying and satisfying their demand. This is a brave and controversial thesis, not least because Brooks's own readership of professional educators and enlighteners may be expected to share the prejudices of their pre-revolutionary Russian counterparts against pot-boilers. And if the case is not entirely convincing (consumer-demand arguments can also, after all, be used

to justify the free availability of pornography), it is undoubtedly presented in an intelligent and thought-provoking way.

A more general doubt concerns Brooks's assumptions that the values inherent in the popular literature reflect the collective attitudes and mentality of its lower-class readership, rather than solely those of the individual authors; and that the readers were attracted to the literature by the deeper themes and messages it contained, rather than by the more superficial escapism of exciting plots and exotic settings. I also wonder whether in comparing the treatment of themes over time he adequately takes into account the different conventions of various genres of popular literature (this is also a problem with his suggestive but somewhat perfunctory comparisons with Russian folklore and with Western European and North American popular literatures). Sometimes, too, he draws conclusions that seem to go further than his evidence permits, as when he sees the popularity of foreign detective heroes in the early twentieth century as evidence of growing Westernisation and cosmopolitanism. The heroes of the chivalric tales which were popular in the *lubok* literature from the late eighteenth century, after all, were also of foreign origin; and Bova Korolevich, Milord Georg and Eruslan Lazarevich may be regarded as the Sherlock Holmes, Nat Pinkerton and Kio-Hako of their day. Such reservations apart, however, this is a splendid trail-blazing work which will open up debates about approaches to the study of Russian popular culture, and will stimulate further research. Librarians as well as researchers in the field will be grateful for the appended 'Bibliography of Russian Popular Commercial Literature', which includes not only locations in the USA and USSR, but also call numbers for titles in Soviet libraries.

MAUREEN PERRIE

*University of Birmingham*

Gerald Janecek, *The Look of Russian Literature: Avant-Garde Visual Experiments 1900-1930*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1984. 500 pp. Illus. Index. \$47.50.

In addition to his general introduction, Janecek has divided his subject into five chapters, each dealing mainly with one figure who made innovations in the presentation of his writing to the reader. All but the Symbolist Belyi have been discussed by previous authors writing on Russian Futurism. However, Janecek has approached the subject primarily from a literary point of view, not from that of a literary historian like Markov (*Russian Futurism: A History*, 1968), nor from that of an art historian like Compton (*The World Backwards*,

1978)—both of which he expects his reader to know. Belyi seems an awkward bedfellow with the Futurists Kruchenykh, Kamenskii, Zdanevich and Maiakovskii, but he was the subject of Janecek's doctoral research. The chapter on Belyi is about the failure of publishers to realize the intentions revealed by his typewritten manuscripts. To the present reader the double-cube spacing of the manuscript, which was dropped by the publishers and largely ignored by Janecek, is more interesting than the lining up of '-s which was more or less achieved. Janecek's method of dealing with each chapter as a discrete entity means that he does not open the question of whether Belyi's practice influenced the later use of related devices. Nor does he link Belyi with Kruchenykh—which he might have done by considering the underlying reasons for Belyi's choice of a double-cube. His discussion of Kruchenykh is of a different kind, because Kruchenykh did not use a publisher, but often produced handwritten, lithographed books. It is difficult to pinpoint Janecek's motives for examining these, since he admits that he has not made a study of *zaum* poetry and his discussion of the illustrations depends often on microfiche versions, which are harder to decipher than the originals. Fortunately the British Library Reference Division now has a fine collection of the material, so interested readers can make up this deficiency for themselves.

After interesting expositions of the layout of printed poems by Kamenskii and plays by Zdanevich, in his final chapter Janecek investigates the change in layout of Maiakovskii's poetry that took place in the early 1920s. He explores the poet's own readings (preserved on disks) to see whether he used the *lesenka* to indicate the pauses he wanted, and those of more recent readers (also available on disk) to see whether they take them as guidelines. In other words, he sees in what way the 'look' influences the sound and, therefore, the meaning. The ladder lines, Janecek suggests, were adopted to less effect by other poets in the 1920s in their poems published in *Lef* and *Novyi Lef*. But he fails to state that Maiakovskii was the editor of both periodicals and may easily himself have added the structure to the submitted manuscripts at the last moment, just as Janecek says he added it to his own. Since Rodchenko designed the typography of *Pro Eto* in which the ladder lines were first used (and was also the designer of *Lef*), he should perhaps have been given more credit for this invention which is considered the hall-mark of Maiakovskii's late work.

None the less, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in the period; as a bonus the attention to its design parallels the subject. (It is surprising that there is no mention of the designer who contributed much to the reader's appreciation of the book.)

Klaus Mehnert, *The Russians and their Favorite Books*. Stanford, California, Hoover Institution Press, 1983. 296 pp. \$19.95.

Klaus Mehnert's book is based on a simple but original idea. He visited the USSR three times in 1981, 1982 and 1983 and talked to several hundred ordinary Russians, selected at random, about their favourite modern Soviet novels. He also interviewed booksellers and librarians, and examined their order and reservation files. Everywhere he met with a warm and enthusiastic response. On this basis he drew up a list of the 24 authors most frequently mentioned, read their popular works and, where possible, interviewed the authors. The first section of the book provides an account of how he carried out the study, followed by a description of the causes and effects of the 'book boom', which is based on recent articles in the Soviet press and on his interviews. The bulk of the book is taken up with thumb-nail sketches of the career and attitudes of each favourite author and summaries of their most popular novels and stories, conveying the flavour of the work, its plot and characters. He briefly discusses the popularity of foreign and classical novels. The final section consists of a thoughtful analysis of why the Russians like certain types of novel, notably those dealing with World War II, Siberia and village life, and commenting on a variety of topics raised in these novels, from sex to Stalin.

Mehnert is not concerned with the literary merits of the books under discussion, but with the light their popularity sheds on ordinary readers' aspirations and concerns. He does draw a rather rosy picture of the Soviet reader. He deliberately ignored the numerous sociological studies which illuminate media use in general, and did not draw on the findings of the many in-depth studies of reading carried out by the Lenin Library and other organisations in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. These often give a much less positive impression of the ordinary reader's reading habits and preferences than Mehnert does, and take some account of those who seldom read books. Mehnert's approach inevitably concentrates on keen readers, those who use libraries regularly and devote a great deal of effort to acquiring books. His respondents tended to mention chiefly 'good' books—even the detective stories, thrillers and science fiction are all by acknowledged masters of these genres, who have won the approval of the critics as well as of ordinary readers. Yet Soviet research has shown that many people are merely interested in a particular type of novel, not in individual authors, and do not recall the author and title of the book they have just read. Typical readers tend to read whatever comes to hand, seeking entertainment and relaxation. The committed and knowledgeable book readers whom Mehnert interviewed were probably not average Russians. Although Mehnert's book does not aim to be a solid sociological study or a work of literary scholarship, it is based upon a life-time

of observing the USSR, frequent visits to the country, a deep knowledge of Russian literature and a great affection for the Russian people (though not the Soviet system). His portrait of Russian readers may be incomplete and impressionistic, but it is nonetheless illuminating and perceptive.

JENNY BRINE

Leeds

Wojciech Zalewski, *Fundamentals of Russian Reference Work in the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Russica Bibliography Series, no. 5. New York, Russica Publishers, 1985. 170 pp. Index. \$13.50.

'Reference work' is a phrase pregnant with meaning to any librarian, but rather less so to researchers in Russian and Soviet studies, whom this book aims to guide through the huge and heterogeneous *assortment* of bibliographic and other reference books applicable to their studies. The 'reference network' (p. 3) in this particular field contains some gaping holes and many patches of over-large mesh, while parts of the net have not been dropped overboard for a trawl in decades.

Part I of the book, after introductory sections on publishing and bibliographic compilation in Russia, deals with libraries and archives, with general bibliographies, and with non-bibliographic reference works. Part II treats at some length the bibliography of Russian history, literature and language. Its treatment of the other humanities (5+ pages) and the social sciences (7+ pages) can only be called perfunctory. Regard should be had to the statement (p. 3) that the guide '... builds on already existing reference books'. It does not claim to be a systematic selection of the most important sources. Coverage in Part I and in the three principal subjects of Part II is extensive and up-to-date, although one is struck by the omission of many guides to resources. Published descriptions of some of the most important specialised library collections (at the Hoover Institution and the Library of Congress, for instance, and in West Germany and Helsinki) are left unmentioned. Another category of reference work not listed is that of abstracting and updating services such as *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, *ABSEES*, and the *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*.

Most sections have introductory paragraphs on the availability and range of bibliographic coverage, and some incorporate highly practical advice on the conduct of literature searches. There is very little descriptive or critical annotation attached to the individual works listed: for this the user will still need to turn to the listings produced in earlier years by Maichel, Horecky and Horak. Some features of the book's own reference network deserve comment. The numbering of items and more precise cross-referencing would have been

far preferable to the frustration of 'op. cit.' and 'cited below'—especially when the 'op. cit.' is 110 pages away from the original reference when found. The use of a uniform typewriter typeface for all text and headings is no help to legibility nor to distinguishing the book's complicated internal subdivisions. The lack of a title index is hard to comprehend, especially since something like half the works mentioned in the book have no named author or editor and hence do not appear in the one 'name' index. A list of standard abbreviations could have prevented such confusing usages as MPB (instead of GBL) for the Lenin State (not Public) Library.

The author has compressed into the book a great deal of assistance for those beginning research in Russian studies, and much of value even to the long-serving specialist. Nevertheless, and particularly with the less experienced scholar in mind, it need not have left evaluative comment to other compilations, and its consultation could easily have been rendered less of a hit-and-miss affair.

GREGORY WALKER

Oxford

Günther Wytrzens, *Die Slavica der Wiener Mechitaristen-Druckerei*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 460. Bd. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985. 337 pp. Illustrations. Indexes.

The work under review will have been awaited with particular anticipation by those who attended the 1984 ABDOSD conference in Vienna, to which Professor Wytrzens made a memorable contribution ('Die slavischen und slavenkundlichen Drucke der Wiener Mechitaristen', in *13. ABDOSD-Tagung, Wien, 28–30 Mai 1984. Referate und Beiträge*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 178 ff.). The Mechitarists, or Armenian Benedictines, are an order founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and have been active in Vienna since early in the nineteenth. They not only have to their credit the creation of important libraries and highly regarded research in Armenian culture, but are also widely known through their Vienna printing house. Besides works printed and published on behalf of the Mechitarist Congregation itself, a great deal of Slavonic printing was carried out for other customers—notably of schoolbooks for the Austrian government.

This volume is a catalogue of the *Slavica* printed by the Mechitarists in Vienna. It is preceded by an introduction, a statement of the principles of description employed and a list of abbreviations for the bibliographic reference works cited; and followed by indexes to names, titles, subjects and years of publication. The scrupulously applied principles of description,

designed to yield comprehensive information, leave nothing to be desired, and their quality greatly enhances the multi-dimensional data furnished by the name index. The chronological index from 1818 to 1947 shows the time-scale of the order's printing activity in the Slavonic field. This blossomed during the 1840s to reach its highest point in the '60s and '70s of the nineteenth century.

This reviewer made spot checks on every page of the indexes. In view of the immense diligence shown by the compiler and the praiseworthy deliberation shown in the very explicit name index, it is only somewhat shamefacedly that the omission of Alex Jan 209*a* and Gundulić 99*b* can be mentioned.

Behind the 360 entries in the catalogue lie 434 printed works. The large number of items in the languages of the former Habsburg Monarchy, especially South Slavonic, is to be expected, but the high proportion of Serbian publications deserves attention: not only are they the most numerous (130) and the earliest to appear (Karadžić's dictionary of 1818), but they also represent the widest range of native and foreign writers, including Karadžić, Njegoš, Daničić, Cicero, Shakespeare, Schiller, Dumas and Harriet Beecher Stowe. The information given here also throws further light on the well known 'phase displacement' between developments in, for example, Serbia and Bulgaria due to the longer period of Turkish rule in the latter country. A considerable number of the publications date from the period of disintegrating Ottoman rule in South-Eastern Europe.

As the subtitle states, this volume is presented as a contribution to the history of Viennese printing and Austrian culture. True as this is, it is inadequate as an evaluation of a very substantial and noteworthy piece of work which is also a profile of the Mechitarists' achievement and of their relationship with the Slavonic world. Beyond this, it proves the fruitfulness of a choice of topic which combines the history of printing with linguistic and literary studies. Finally, it is one further contribution, and no mean one, to the long and respected tradition of Slavonic studies in Vienna. Not only bibliology and Slavistics but other disciplines too—notably church history—should be duly grateful, as much for the wealth of stimuli provided as for the reliably assembled and presented factual material.

HORST RÖHLING

Bochum

(An earlier version of this review appeared in *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie* 5 (1986), in German.).

Andrea and Dennis Deletant, *Romania*. World Bibliographical Series, 59. Oxford and Santa Barbara, Clio Press, 1985. xviii, 236 pp. Index. Map. £29.50.

(Item numbers in curves and quotations are from the book reviewed.)

Clio's country-by-country approach (from Eastern Europe: Yugoslavia, the USSR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia had been dealt with by March 1986) imposes across the total bibliographical spectrum an unfortunate unevenness of coverage and a squandering of space on constantly repeated items such as *Russia, the USSR and Eastern Europe* (774: 'extremely selective ... about Romania'). However, Romania does not fare badly from this Procrustean treatment, and one is grateful that an opportunity was offered to the authors to fill a gap left since Stephen Fischer-Galați's *Rumania: A Bibliographic Guide* in 1963.

Aimed at the non-specialist, the listing is mainly of books in English, but as the approach is topic-oriented and the range of topics far-reaching, journal articles and items in French, Romanian or German are brought in where needed. The cut-off date is 1983. Dennis Deletant, a lecturer in Romanian at London University, and his Romanian-born wife, have provided a succinct historical introduction which rounds up all the salient issues, and notes which situate and evaluate the literature with a scholarship and felicity of expression which make them a readable account in themselves.

In a text which offers plenty of scope, errors are few: 'Fetjö' (178) should be 'Fejtö'; Rațiu (285) loses his cedilla in the index; *News from Romania* (712) has been *Romanian News* since 1977 and is a weekly. *Anuarul statistic* (449) first appeared in 1904, not 1957, and is indexed as 'Annuanul ...'. Omissions are inevitable and acknowledged, but amongst them only Ceaușescu's voluminous *oeuvre* and the works of Nicolae Iorga available in English seem surprising. On the other hand, since a selective bibliography is *rekomentatel'naia* by implication, a warning note on the phenomenon of the Western hagiographer might have been more useful than entries for the likes of Lindsay (19: 'myopic') and Govender (184: 'performs a disservice'). The arrangement facilitates reference, and the index (of authors, titles and subjects) is thorough, though not too helpfully arranged in its subject aspect. It is a pity that not all personal names were included: it is disconcerting to find no reference to Dracula!

However, this discovery of minor blemishes is but the result of the attention which the excellence of the work compelled from this reviewer. This is a valuable general guide to the Romanian experience which the specialist also should not overlook.

## Recent Soviet Works on Bookplates

Vincas Kisarauskas, *Lietuvos knygos zenklai 1518–1918*. Vilnius, Mokslas, 1984. 224 pp. 4 r. 10 k.

E. S. Kashutina and N. G. Saprykina, *Ekslibris v sobranii Nauchnoi biblioteki Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Al'bom-katalog*. [Moscow], Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1985. 224 pp. 2 r. 90 k.

E. I. Makedonskaia and Iu. P. Martsevich (comps.), S. A. Vul' (ed.), *Katalog vystavki knizhnykh znakov iz sobraniia narodnogo artista SSSR B. M. Tenina. Teatr, kino, tsirk, estrada, balet, muzyka*. Moskva, 1985. 140 pp. 1 r. 30 k. (Vsesoiuznoe dobrovol'noe obshchestvo liubitelei knigi. Tsentral'noe pravlenie. Sektsiia ekslibrisa i knizhnoi grafiki. Moskovskii klub ekslibristov.)

Bookplate design and collecting in the Soviet Union have been enjoying a renaissance since the early 1960s, initially through the spontaneous combined efforts at village level of dedicated artists, bibliophiles, and bookplate collectors and, since 1974, with centralised support from the Exlibris and Book Graphics Section of the All-Union Voluntary Society of Bibliophiles (VOK). The invaluable exhibition catalogues, checklists of individual artists, bookplate 'picture-books', and local society ephemera produced by enthusiasts are at last being joined by substantial works of reference, all of the works under review being admirable examples.

Kisarauskas's catalogue of Lithuanian bookplates, in a class of its own, ranks with U. Ivask's *Opisanie russkikh knizhnykh znakov* (1905–18). Himself a bookplate designer of considerable accomplishment, Kisarauskas has received several awards simply for the attractive dust jacket and layout. About 1100 items are recorded—super libri, bookplates and labels, bookstamps, and manuscript inscriptions—and nearly half of them illustrated. 'Lithuania' for the purposes of the catalogue is defined as the personal and institutional libraries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; persons in the 1569 United Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth who maintained close links with the Grand Duchy; personal and institutional libraries in the Lithuanian *gubernii* and East Prussia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including Lithuanians in exile; certain of the Russian and Polish nobility who maintained residences in the Grand Duchy; and bookplates designed by Lithuanian artists for bibliophiles and libraries abroad. Both public and private collections in the USSR were consulted, and locations are given for each plate where known. There is a fine bibliography. Students of Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, and Jewish booklore will find the catalogue indispensable. Some of the lacunae identified by Kisarauskas are bound to come to light: it is a pleasure to record that the bookplate collection of Michal E. Brensztejn (entry 43), listed as

'whereabouts and fate unknown', is in fact at the National Art Museum in Warsaw.

Kashutina and Saprykina, the latter tragically killed while their book was in press, have reproduced 210 Russian and foreign bookplates from volumes in the Rare Book Division of the Moscow State University Library. The discovery of the Lomonosov Library at Helsinki has reminded librarians once again how important the evidence of provenance and ownership can be; would that more produced works such as this. The album is divided into four categories: Russian and West European super libri of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries; Russian and Soviet bookplates of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries; foreign bookplates of the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries; and a handful of unidentified bookplates. The general introduction is a bit shaky, especially regarding European material since the sources cited are obsolete in many details; but the section introductions are much surer and the annotations to the plates themselves excellent. Many plates reproduced are accompanied by engraved portraits of their owners. As for the plates themselves, none are unknown to the literature, but many are certainly uncommon in collections. Of the several English plates represented, the most interesting is a Chippendale design for James Grieve MD, who first translated Krashennikov, *Opisanie zemli Kamchatki* into English. Books from the libraries of Joseph Smith (British Consul at Venice) and William Lee (1688–1754) of Hartwell, Bucks., also made their way to Moscow University.

Star of stage and screen, Boris Tenin (b. 1905) began to collect bookplates from the early 1940s and has assembled what must be the finest collection of theatrical bookplates in the world. 'Theatre' encompasses the stage, cinema, circus, variety, ballet, music, and any individual or institution connected therewith: performer, author, director, proprietor, stagehand, etc. The very range of the collection gives evidence of an expert and passionate student of theatre history. The Tenin Collection<sup>1</sup> numbers more than 2000 foreign and Soviet plates, of which about half were selected for public exhibition in Moscow<sup>2</sup> and inclusion in an admirable catalogue which illustrates 250 of the least known. Tenin has prepared notes on the entire collection for a forthcoming book on the subject. Unlike the exhibition, the catalogue is organised alphabetically by owner with brief biographical notes, indication of relationship to the theatre, the text on the plate itself, the technique, and the

<sup>1</sup> E. I. Makedonskaia, 'Theatrical Bookplates in the Tenin Collection', *The Bookplate Journal* II (1984), pp. 75–87.

<sup>2</sup> The exhibition was given a remarkable reception. For a photograph of Tenin explaining the exhibition to visitors together with four bookplates from his collection, see *Izvestiia*, 9 February 1986, p. 6, cols. 1–5.

designer where known. Amongst the first reference publications under the aegis of VOK on bookplates, it has set a fine standard and is, one hopes, merely the first of many to come.

W. E. BUTLER

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## Books Received

Axel Andersen, J. B. Friis-Hansen, Leif Kajberg, *Libraries and Information Centres in the Soviet Union*. Ballerup, Bibliotekscentralens Forlag, 1985. 158 pp. Illus. Tables. Map. Index. Danish Kroner 193.00.

Anthony G. Cross, *The Russian Theme in English Literature from the Sixteenth Century to 1980: An Introductory Survey and a Bibliography*. Oxford, Willem E. Meeuws, 1985. 278 pp. Illus. Index. £16.00.

Abbot Gleason, Peter Kenez and Richard Stites (eds.), *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1985. xii, 304 pp. Illus. Index. \$27.50. Particularly noted contributions are:

pp. 130–150: Peter Kenez, 'Lenin and the freedom of the press: the Bolsheviks' attitudes to the control of newspaper publishing and their practice 1917–1920'.

pp. 151–174: Jeffrey Brooks, 'The breakdown in the production and distribution of printed material, 1917–1927'.

Wojciech Zalewski, *Collectors and Collections of Slavica at Stanford University*. Stanford, California, Stanford University Libraries, 1985. xiv, 114 pp. \$16.50.

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