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Acknowledgments

Like its predecessor, *An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature: Two Centuries of Dual Identity in Prose and Poetry, 1801–2001* (2007), this volume has been in the works for many years.

I would like to thank Boston College for its continuous support of my research.

Patricia Kolb, Editorial Director at M. E. Sharpe, stewarded the original anthology into print. Laura Stearns, Publisher at Routledge, assisted with the transition to the present volume.

Former Boston College undergraduates Elizabeth Baker and Benjamin Wilken assisted me with the preparation of the final text.

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The copyeditor, Dobrochna Fire, herself an accomplished translator, has done a superb job, and I very much appreciate her linguistic acumen and her tactful resistance to my authorial folly.

My thanks go to Kira Nemirovsky, Daria Pokholkova and the entire staff of Academic Studies Press for giving the anthology a loving home.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all the writers and writers' families who have responded to my queries and kindly supplied the information I requested.

Since the publication of *An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature* (2007), the two-volume set in which the majority of these texts originally appeared, six of the writers featured in this anthology have passed away. I would like to remember them here: Ruth Zernova (1919–2004), Bella Ulanovskaya (1943–2005), Vassily Aksyonov (1932–2009), Aleksandr Mezhirov (1923–2009), Inna Lisnyanskaya (1928–2014), and Vladimir Britanishsky (1933–2015). The departure of the historian John D. Klier (1944–2007), who wrote the outline of Jewish-Russian history included in this volume, has left a void in the field of Jewish-Russian studies.

I would never have been able to undertake this anthology without the passion and dedication of a team of gifted translators. Their contributions are labors of love and expressions of their commitment to the cause of making Jewish-Russian literature available in English translation.

I would also like to take this opportunity to remember the contributing translators who have passed away over the past decade: Richard Sheldon, Harold Shukman, Greta Slobin, Andrew Von Hendy, Daniel Weissbort.

My friend and colleague Patricia Herlihy passed away as this anthology was in the final stages of production. I owe her a debt of graditude.

* * *

My parents, David Shrayer-Petrov and Emilia Shrayer, raised me as both a Jew and a Russian in the former Soviet Union. They lived through almost nine hellish years as Jewish refuseniks between 1979 and 1987. I owe to them not only my life but also all the opportunities and freedoms I have enjoyed since we came to America in 1987.

Without my wife, Karen E. Lasser, I would never have been able to complete this anthology, and there are no words in Russian or English to express my love and gratitude.

Our daughters, Mira and Tatiana, were born and came of age in the years that I have been working on anthologizing works of Jewish-Russian literature. Mira and Tatiana inspire me every day.

* * *

I would like to dedicate this anthology to the memory of my paternal grandparents, Bella Breydo and Pyotr (Peysakh) Shrayer, and my maternal grandparents, Anna (Nyusya) Studnits and Arkady (Aron) Polyak Z"L. As young people, my late grandparents left the former Pale of Settlement and moved to great Russian cities, making Russian culture their own while always remaining Jews and never forgetting their Jerusalem.

M.D.S.

Brookline–South Chatham, Mass.

3 February–12 June 2018; 24 October 2018

Note on Transliteration, Spelling of Names, and Dates

A significantly modified (and we hope reader-friendly) version of the Library of Congress system for transliterating the Russian alphabet is used throughout the editor's general introduction, the editor's introductions to individual authors and their works, the English translations of works, and the notes to them. Exceptions are Russian words and geographical and personal names that have gained a common spelling in English, such as Maxim Gorky instead of "Maksim Gorky," Joseph Brodsky instead of "Iosif Brodsky," Osip Mandelstam instead of "Osip Mandelshtam," Vladimir Jabotinsky instead of "Vladimir Zhabotinsky," Babi Yar instead of "Babii Iar,"and so forth. Bibliographical references, including titles of Russian-language periodicals, in the main text, footnotes, and the bibliography of primary sources are rendered in the standard Library of Congress system of transliterating the Russian alphabet, without diacritical marks.

We have adopted the transliteration system established by YIVO and commonly used in English contexts for the spelling of all Yiddish words and expressions, including those using Cyrillic in the Russian originals. *The Yiddish Dictionary Sourcebook: A Transliterated Guide to the Yiddish Language* by Herman Galvin and Stan Tamarkin (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1986) has been a useful resource for verifying spellings. Hebrew words and expressions have been transliterated to conform to English-language rather than Russian-language standards.

While the bibliography of primary sources lists transliterated Russian titles of all literary works, the editor's general introduction and the editor's introductions to individual authors and their works provide transliterated Russian titles or transliterated quotations from the Russian originals only where the editor has deemed it absolutely necessary. Otherwise, English translations, as literal as possible, are provided instead.

Where a Russian periodical is mentioned for the first time in a particular entry, the English translation is followed by the Russian title in parentheses. In some cases, however, major Russian periodicals, such as *Pravda* or *Novy mir*, are known in English-language scholarship by their original names and have gained common spellings. These titles have not been translated.

All quotations from the Hebrew Bible are from *A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1985); all quotations from the New Testament are from *The Revised English Bible with Apocrypha* (Oxford/Cambridge: Oxford University Press/Cambridge University Press, 1989).

In working on this anthology, the editor drew on a number of published and some unpublished sources. The following encyclopedias and dictionaries proved invaluable: *Encyclopedia Judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1972); *Evreiskaia entsiklopediia,* 16 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1906–13); *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia,* 10 vols. plus 3 supplements (Jerusalem, 1976–2001); *The New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia,* new revised edition (New York, 1992); *Russkie pisateli 1900–1917: biograficheskii slovar'*, 5 vols. pub. to date (Moscow, 1989–).

Unless otherwise specified, the dates in the table of contents and at the end of each individual text refer to the completion of the work; in some instances, the date of first publication follows if it differs significantly from the date of completion. Unless otherwise specified, a parenthetical date in the editor's general introduction, the editor's introductions to the individual authors and their works, or the notes refers to the first publication of a work; in some cases, the date of completion precedes if it differs significantly from the date of first publication. Parenthetical dates for nonliterary works always refer to the date of publication. Where two dates are provided for a historical event, the first refers to the Julian calendar, used in Russia prior to 1918, and the second to the Gregorian calendar.

For information about the primary sources that have been consulted and the history of the publication of all the works included in the anthology, please see the bibliography of primary sources following the Selected Bibliography at the end of this anthology.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Russian in the introductory essays, headnotes, explanatory notes, and footnotes are by Maxim D. Shrayer.

Unless otherwise indicated, all bibliographical notes, introductory essays and headnotes, explanatory notes, footnotes, and bibliographies are by Maxim D. Shrayer.

Note on How to Use This Anthology

One would certainly benefit from reading the anthology sequentially, in the order in which the eighty-one authors and their works appear in the table of contents. However, in addition to a chronological and consecutive reading, this anthology yields itself readily to selective reading in accordance with the reader's predilections, literary interests, or fascination with a specific author or a particular period of nineteenth- or twentieth-century Jewish and Russian (and Soviet) history. Individual sections of the anthology and works by particular authors can be read out of sequence or one at a time.

In addition to the editor's general introduction and introductory essays preceding each of the eight sections, the anthology includes a concise survey of Jewish-Russian history written by the historian John D. Klier. Readers less familiar with the main historical events that shaped the destinies of Russia's Jews would especially benefit from consulting Klier's outline, found in the back of the volume.

Names of the authors featured in this anthology are boldfaced throughout, except in the sections devoted to their own works. A critical essay highlighting principal biographical events, artistic contributions, and place in literary history introduces each individual author. The introductory essays focus primarily on the writers' artistic careers, while their other professional and/or social occupations are referenced only insofar as they directly pertain to their literary works. Additionally, each work or selection of works by a given author is prefaced by a headnote containing information about the work's conception and publication and outlining some of the historical and literary contexts that might help the reader understand it better.

Throughout the individual introductory essays and headnotes, efforts have been made to introduce a system of cross-references: every time another author or work featured in the anthology is mentioned or a major historical or literary event discussed elsewhere is evoked, a parenthetical reference points to its appropriate place or places in the anthology. This cross-referencing approach also emphasizes instances of dialogue among authors and of interplay among their texts. A comprehensive index of names, works, and selected subjects referenced in the anthology, located in the back of the volume, should be especially helpful to readers who wish to trace these connections.

The editor's general introduction outlines the details of the periodization of Jewish-Russian literature and the organizing principles behind the anthology's division into eight separate sections. The brief introductory essays placed before each individual section of the anthology focus on the various intersections of historical events and aesthetic developments.

The chronologically and historically oriented organization of this anthology could never achieve perfect order and transparency simply because writers' lives do not fit too neatly within external boundaries, however carefully conceived. This is why the order of writers and works in the anthology and within its individual sections is based in part on the time of a work's creation and in part on its year of publication. The latter circumstance is especially valid for the post–World War II sections of the anthology. To those writers whose works span beyond the chronological confines of a given section, such as **Genrikh Sapgir, Yan Satunovsky,** or **Boris Khazanov**, the editor has applied the notion of a critical mass of the composition dates (for example, the majority of the author's works were composed in the late 1960s) or the publication dates (such as, the works were composed in the 1970s in the USSR but published in the 1990s in emigration).

Finally, given the limited available space and a desire to feature a diversity of authors and works and to illustrate each of the historical periods with adequate and representative works, hard choices had to be made in the final selection of the included texts. It is therefore important to keep in mind that length and number of works in and of themselves do not represent a value judgment of a given author's status and contribution. Furthermore, some longer prosaic or poetic texts yield themselves poorly to abridgment and had to be included almost in their entirety. Where a selected text could be included only in extracts, ellipsis points […] within brackets indicate the location of the abridgement. In a few cases, the editor felt that longer introductions were necessary in order to do justice to the complexity of the critical debates surrounding the career of a particular Jewish-Russian author (**Boris Slutsky**, for example). Additionally, the historical and cultural backgrounds of several individual works called for longer headnotes (such as **Lev Levanda**'s *Seething Times*). But only in three instances (**Ilya Ehrenburg**, **Vasily Grossman**, and **Boris Slutsky**) are the author's works represented in more than one section of the anthology. These three exceptions are the result of the special circumstances of these authors' lives and the indispensability of their works to the sections of the anthology in which they appear. In these three cases, separate headnotes introduce the works by the same author found in the different sections.

For the reader's convenience, an alphabetical index of writers included in the anthology is found in the back, with page numbers following each writer's name. Also found in the back of the volume are detailed bibliographies that reflect the history of each work's publication. In some cases, obtaining complete information on a given work's original publication, either in periodical or in book form, was an arduous task, and the editor and publisher would be grateful to readers for any additional information they might have. At the bottom of the last page of each individual author's selection, the reader will find information on copyright. In several cases we have been unable to obtain information on the present copyright owner, and we invite anyone with knowledge thereof to contact us.

In preparing this anthology, the editor was lucky to have worked with a team of excellent literary translators. A separate index of translators is found in the back of this anthology and lists all contributions of each translator by author. Faithfulness to the originals' meaning and design, precision in places bordering on literalism, and commitment to safeguarding the "strangeness" of the original texts' appearance and provenance have shaped the editor's formal expectations. This applies particularly to the efforts to rescue and preserve the originals' prosody and versification. In places going against the grain of the currently dominant practices in Anglo-American verse, the editor and the translators have sought to protect the originals' intactness, their structural accoutrements and formal vestments. At the same time, the editor has done his best to shield the translators' artistic autonomy. Where translators have introduced substitutions and accommodations, notably in some of the verse translations, they have made those choices not as acts of cultural violence but in the belief that art does stand to gain something in translation.

General Introduction: The Legacy of Jewish-Russian Literature

By Maxim D. Shrayer

DUAL LITERARY IDENTITIES

What are cultures measured by? Cultural contributions are difficult to quantify and even harder to qualify without a critical judgment in hand. In the case of verbal arts, and of literature specifically, various criteria of formal perfection and originality, significance in literary history, and aspects of time, place, and milieu all contribute to the ways in which one regards a writer's contribution. In the case of Jewish culture in Diaspora, and specifically of Jewish writing created in non-Jewish languages adopted by Jews, the reckoning of a writer's status is riddled with a set of powerful contrapositions.

Above all else, there is the duality, or multiplicity, of a writer's own identity—both Jewish and German (Heinrich Heine) or French (Marcel Proust) or Russian (**Isaac Babel**) or Polish (Julian Tuwim) or Hungarian (Imre Kertész) or Brazilian (Clarice Lispector) or Canadian (Mordechai Richler) or American (Bernard Malamud). Then there is the dividedly redoubled perspective of a Diasporic Jew: both an in-looking outsider and an out-looking insider. And there is the language of writing itself, not always one of the writer's native setting, not necessarily one in which a writer spoke to his or her own parents or non-Jewish childhood friends, but in some cases a second or third or forth language—acquired, mastered, and made one's own in a flight from home.[1]

Evgeny Shklyar (1894–1942), a Jewish-Russian poet and a Lithuanian patriot who translated into Russian the text of the Lithuanian national anthem

1 In the context of Jewish-Russian history and culture, the juxtaposition between a "divided" and a "redoubled" identity goes back to the writings of the critic and polemicist Iosif Bikerman (1867–1941? 1942?), who stated in 1910, on the pages of the St. Petersburg magazine *Jewish World* (*Evreiskii mir*), "Not dividedness [*razdvoennost'*] but redoubledness [*udvoennost'*]"; quoted in Shimon Markish, *Babel' i drugie*, 2nd ed., 186 (Moscow and Jerusalem: Personal'naia tvorcheskaia masterskaia "Mikhail Shchigol'," 1997).

and was murdered in a Nazi concentration camp outside Kaunas, wrote in the poem "Where's Home?" (1925; in this anthology):

> . . . In Judaism fierce, hidden strengths appear
> To nurture twice exile's flowers
> And deep within the heart's most buried bowers
> To pick amongst them and to make it clear
> You're going either where all's alien but dear
> Or where the majestic past regales the hours . . .[2]
>
> (Trans. Maxim D. Shrayer and Andrew Von Hendy)

The poem was composed at a time when dreams of a Jewish state were becoming much more than a poet's parable. The land "where all's alien but dear" is, of course, Shklyar's native Pale of Settlement, while the place where "the majestic past regales the hours" is Shklyar's vision of Israel. The duality of a Diasporic Jew's loyalties is both political-ideological and cultural-linguistic. In the poem's final line, envisioning his own life as a Jewish-Russian poet and translator of Lithuanian poets into Russian come to Israel to hear children "greet [him] with words of welcome in *ivrit,*" Shklyar employs the italicized (and transliterated) Hebrew word for the ancient Jewish tongue. The poet's word choice in the final, rhyming position also underscores the shape of his identity: linguistically and culturally at home in the east European abode where "all's alien but dear" and spiritually, if symbolically, traveling to the land of Israel, "where the majestic past regales the hours," and yet, where the Jewish-Russian poet is culturally a foreigner.

"Exile" in Shklyar's poem is the Diaspora, where Jews have added Hebrew-Farsi, Ladino, and Yiddish to their Hebrew, while also translating their identities, albeit never fully or completely (but is translation ever?), into Arabic, Spanish, Italian, French, German, English, Polish, Russian, and many other languages spoken in the places of their dispersion. But Shklyar's "exile" is also the Jewish poet's exile from his literary home, his Russian tongue, and this duality renders nearly meaningless debates about the legitimacy of "Jewish" literatures in "non-Jewish" languages.

In the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the torrents of history, coupled with personal artistic ambitions, thrust Jewish writers across the globe in numbers far greater than ever before. In their adopted countries, some continued to cultivate writing only in their native non-Jewish languages, while others became translingual authors. Using the Jewish languages to define the

2 Hereinafter, unless indicated otherwise, all translations from the Russian are the editor's own.