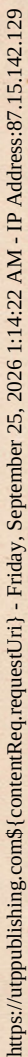


https://utppublishing.com\${contentReq.requestUri} - Friday, September 25, 2026 1:14:22 AM - IP Address:87.15.142.129



https://utppublishing.com\${contentReq.requestUri} - Friday, September 25, 2026 1:14:22 AM - IP Address:87.15.142.129

https://utppublishing.com\${contentReq.requestUri} - Friday, September 25, 2026 1:14:22 AM - IP Address:87.15.142.129

FORM AND TRANSFORMATION IN SOVIET
UNDERGROUND WRITING

This page intentionally left blank

Form and Transformation in Soviet Underground Writing

EDITED BY CATHERINE CIEPIELA,
ANN KOMAROMI, AND ILJA KUKUJ

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Toronto Buffalo London

© University of Toronto Press 2026
Toronto Buffalo London
utppublishing.com
Printed in Canada

ISBN 978-1-4875-8294-4 (cloth)

ISBN 978-1-4875-8322-4 (EPUB)

ISBN 978-1-4875-8301-9 (PDF)

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Title: Form and transformation in Soviet underground writing / edited by

Catherine Ciepiela, Ann Komaromi, Ilja Kujuk.

Names: Ciepiela, Catherine, editor | Komaromi, Ann, editor | Kujuk, I. S., editor

Description: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: Canadiana (print) 20260156604 | Canadiana (ebook) 20260156647 |

ISBN 9781487582944 (cloth) | ISBN 9781487583224 (EPUB) |

ISBN 9781487583019 (PDF)

Subjects: LCSH: Underground literature—Soviet Union—History and criticism. |

LCSH: Soviet poetry—History and criticism. | LCSH: Soviet poetry—Publishing—

Foreign countries. | LCSH: Censorship—Soviet Union.

Classification: LCC PG3026.U5 F67 2026 | DDC 891.71/009—dc23

Cover design: John Beadle

Cover image: Works of Anna Tarshis (pseud. Ry Nikonova) and Dmitrii Prigov from the collaborative art-book *Ir-Faer* (by Boris Konstriktor, Ry Nikonova, Dmitrii Prigov, and Sergei Sigei, 1983), pp. 116–117. Courtesy of Andrei Prigov and Avgust Sigov. *Ir-Faer* is part of LS Collection held at Van Abbemuseum (Eindhoven, Holland).

The manufacturer's authorized representative in the European Union for product safety is Mare Nostrum Group B.V., Doelen 72, 4831 GR Breda, The Netherlands.

Email: gpsr@mare-nostrum.co.uk

We wish to acknowledge the land on which the University of Toronto Press operates. This land is the traditional territory of the Wendat, the Anishnaabeg, the Haudenosaunee, the Métis, and the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation.

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada, the Canada Council for the Arts, and the Ontario Arts Council, an agency of the Government of Ontario, for its publishing activities.



Canada Council
for the Arts

Conseil des Arts
du Canada



ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL
CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONTARIO

an Ontario government agency
un organisme du gouvernement de l'Ontario

Funded by the
Government
of Canada

Financé par le
gouvernement
du Canada

Canada

Contents

List of Figures vii

Acknowledgments ix

The Soviet Underground Revisited: An Introduction 3

CATHERINE CIEPIELA, ANN KOMAROMI, AND ILJA KUKUJ

1 Forms of the Soviet Underground 15

ANN KOMAROMI

Part I: Forms of Transmission

2 From Magadan to Milan: Evgeniia Ginzburg's *Journey into the Whirlwind* as an Example of the Transnational "Socialization of Texts" 49

VALENTINA PARISI

3 *The Blue Lagoon Anthology* and the Form of the Archive 76

CATHERINE CIEPIELA

4 Digitalizing *Obshchenie*: Ol'ga Sedakova's Post-Soviet Poetics 102

MARTHA M.F. KELLY

5 The Eastern European Poets Series 129

MATVEI YANKELEVICH IN CONVERSATION WITH ANN KOMAROMI

Part II: Forms of Poetry

6 Filling the Empty Page: Vasilisk Gnedov on the Way from Book to Text 147

ILJA KUKUJ

7 The Birth of Poetry from the Spirit of Nothing: The Case of
Leonid Aronzon 169

PETR KAZARNOVSKII

8 Tradition, Transformed: Two Dedication Poems by Elena
Shvarts 199

LAURA LITTLE

9 All and Any: On Vsevolod Nekrasov's Textual Variations 233

AINSLEY MORSE

10 Approaching Prigov 258

MARK LIPOVETSKY IN CONVERSATION WITH ILJA KUKUJ

Contributors 273

Index 275

2 From Magadan to Milan: Evgeniia Ginzburg's *Journey into the Whirlwind* as an Example of the Transnational "Socialization of Texts"

Valentina Parisi

Works . . . immediately copied . . . and multiplied by transcript after transcript, vitiated by the blunders of the penman, or changed . . . , or mutilated . . . and printed at last without the concurrence of the author . . . from compilations made by chance or by stealth . . . and thus thrust into the world surreptitiously and hastily, . . . suffered another deprivation from the ignorance and negligence of printers.

– Samuel Johnson¹

Samuel Johnson's famous lament over the state of Shakespearean texts might, with minor modifications, be taken to refer to the "textual condition" of literary works disseminated by the entangled channels of samizdat/tamizdat.² Self-published samizdat texts not only provoked readers to multiply copies of the text, but they also prompted some striking cases of extra-authorial editing. By reproducing a text by typing (and/or taking photographs of) it, the samizdat "reader/scribe" overreached the role traditionally ascribed to the recipient of a literary work and took on the responsibilities of an editor/publisher insofar as he/she established a new edition of the text, designed the external layout of the paper medium (journal, anthology, or book) and became engaged in its further dissemination. Similarly to the notorious case mentioned by Johnson, given the circumstances under which this editorial process took place, authors usually were unable to check samizdat copies of their works. Therefore, it is not surprising that they were

¹ Quoted by McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 16.

² The term *textual condition* is discussed by McGann, *The Textual Condition*. On samizdat (self-published) and tamizdat (published abroad), as characteristic modes of the Soviet underground text, see the introduction.

often distressed by the uncontrolled reproduction of their texts and even protested against it. An obvious example here is 1987 Nobel laureate Iosif Brodskii (Joseph Brodsky), who, in the 1980s, warned samizdat editors in the USSR not to publish unauthorized translations of his English essays. A note in the Leningrad literary journal *Twilight* (*Sumerki*) accompanying publication there of a Russian version of his essay “In a Room and a Half” (“Poltory komnaty”) testifies to his discontent:

After the release of the proof copies of issue 8 we, editors of *Sumerki*, were informed of Iosif Brodskii’s categorical prohibition on the publication of his English texts in Russian translation.

We apologize to I. A. Brodskii. His spokesperson in Leningrad, V. I. Ufliand, and his translator, A. Z. Kolotov, were informed of the accident. We hope that the status of our journal will prevent *Sumerki* from being accused of literary piracy.³

Of course, Brodskii did not accuse *Sumerki* of piracy or copyright infringement, as the vaguely polemical remark of its editors suggested; rather, with his “categorical prohibition” he asserted the right to see his own works circulating *only* in a form that he himself reviewed and approved.

A similar lack of authorial control over editing and publishing affected tamizdat, the transnational counterpart of samizdat. In publishing tamizdat abroad, the work was performed by professional and identifiable figures (which in samizdat was not necessarily the case); still, some elements characterizing self-publishing persisted. As several cases demonstrate, authors were often disappointed by the impossibility of actively taking part in transforming their texts from a manuscript into a typographical book. Again, it is worth mentioning Brodskii, who, in February 1965, had warned Roman Grynberg, editor-in-chief of the New York journal *Aerial Ways* (*Vozdushnye puti*), against publishing a

³ From the editorial note appearing in *Sumerki* 8, January–April 1990. Translation by the author here and elsewhere, unless otherwise indicated. Sixteen issues of the independent literary journal *Sumerki* appeared between 1988 and 1995 (Mirzaev, “Sumerki”). Aleksandr Kolotov published his translations of Brodskii’s Nobel speech and the poem on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan *Stikhi o zimnei kampanii 1980 goda* in *Sumerki* 5 (1989). “Poltory komnaty” appears on pages 104–38, and the editorial note was inserted as a leaflet into the journal. Most issues of *Sumerki* are available at the “Elektronnaia biblioteka Andreia Perenskogo” (<https://imwerden.de/razdel-2139-str-1.html>, accessed 27 March 2023). Issue number 8 is lacking there, but it can be found in the historical archive at the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Historisches Archiv, Bremen (f. 01–53, “Sumerki”).

book of *Selected Poems (Stikhotvoreniia i poemy)*. In a letter to Grynberg, Brodskii complained about the “obviously bad timing” of its release – at that point Brodskii was still in punitive exile in Norenskaia – not to mention the “lack of guarantees about the authenticity of the manuscript” and the obvious impossibility of checking proofs before publication.⁴ Moreover, as Brodskii’s translator George Kline recalled, the poet feared that the compilation of poems made by Grynberg and Gleb Struve on the basis of samizdat texts collected in Leningrad by Konstantin Kuz’minskii and Grigorii Kovalev and smuggled to the United States by Aleksandr Ginzburg could contain too many works of *juvenilia* and therefore reflect an early stage of his work.⁵

Grynberg’s stubborn tendency to publish uncensored manuscripts from the USSR, while ignoring authors’ requests (including for compensation), is evident in a few other cases. In an editorial note in *Vozdushnye puti* 4 (1965) he admitted to having published Anna Akhmatova’s memoirs about Amedeo Modigliani and Osip Mandel’shtam without her permission, on the basis of two of the many unauthorized copies which circulated in Russia at that time: “We must apologize to A. Akhmatova for publishing these texts without being asked to do so. If she had known, she might have protested, since these recollections of Mandel’shtam are a draft which would have required some editing by the author. After all, we published the texts the way we found them.”⁶ For her part, Akhmatova as early as 1961 (i.e., after the release of *Poem without a Hero [Poema bez geroia]* in *Vozdushnye puti* 1 and 2) characterized Grynberg and other émigré publishers as “sharks of capitalism.”⁷

As Yasha Klots has demonstrated, tamizdat publications could amplify the perception of a lack of control experienced by authors in samizdat. Tamizdat brought even more elusive figures into the operation: intermediaries who smuggled the manuscripts to the West and proposed them to publishing houses; émigré editors who sometimes were not well acquainted with Soviet culture and therefore could not properly assess the artistic value of recent texts;⁸ Western publishers who printed samizdat works based on the resonance of the dissident

⁴ Quoted from Klots, “Kak izdavali pervuiu knigu.”

⁵ Ibidem. On Kuz’minskii’s collection and publication of underground works, see chapter 3 by Catherine Ciepiela.

⁶ *Vozdushnye puti* 4 (1965), 5–6.

⁷ Basalaev, “Zapisi besed s Akhmatovoi,” 574.

⁸ Klots suggested that lack of knowledge was the reason for Roman Gul’s extensive editing of Shalamov’s *Kolyma Tales* for publication in *Novyi zhurnal* (Klots, “Varlam Shalamov”).

movement beginning in the 1960–70s; and literary agents who handled the sale of the rights in the absence of clear legislation on the matter.

Hence, I propose looking at tamizdat as a transnational example of the “socialization of texts,” a term coined by Jerome J. McGann in the 1980s to describe how, in the course of book production, authorial intentions become enmeshed in the complex interaction among publishers, editors, and other figures.⁹ McGann criticized the idea that a literary work in its finished version is the pure reflection of authorial intention. He argued for an approach to the literary work as the result of a collaborative process that involves many non-authorial figures, such as editors, translators, publishers, and printers, as well as readers. Authorship itself has a dispersed and “socialized” character; that is, it is an intricate communicative network made out of many actors. As a consequence, in *every* publication project, as D.F. McKenzie observed, “an author disperses into his collaborators, those who produced his texts and their meanings.”¹⁰ Similar assumptions inform studies on authorship, as Roger Chartier acknowledged:

As he returns in literary criticism or literary sociology the author is both dependent and constrained. He is dependent in that he is not the unique master of the meaning of the text, and his intentions, which provided the impulse to produce the text, are not necessarily imposed either on those who turn his text into a book (booksellers-publishers or print workers) or on those who appropriated it by reading it. He is constrained in that he undergoes the multiple determinations that organize the social space of literary production and that, in a more general sense, determine the categories and the experiences that are the very matrices of writing.¹¹

This perspective could help describe the interaction among Western publishers and Soviet authors in the tamizdat situation. In particular, the notions of “constraint” and “dependency” provide a conceptual framework for interpreting the dissatisfaction frequently expressed by authors in cases of unauthorized publications beyond the Iron Curtain. Conversely, those authors’ concerns illuminate the forms of mediation and the relationships enabling the publication of the texts.

In the last decade, tamizdat has been re-evaluated as a scholarly subject, following recent trends in Cold War studies that emphasize

⁹ McGann, “The Socialization of Texts,” chapter 3 of *The Textual Condition*, 69–87.

¹⁰ McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 18.

¹¹ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 28–9.

confrontation, exchange and interconnectivity across the Iron Curtain instead of *isolation* and systemic divide. For instance, Friederike Kind-Kovács optimistically defined tamizdat as evidence of the existence of “an undivided, pan-European literature that dismantled (although marginally) the divisions of Cold War.”¹² In her opinion, textual border crossings and transfers “deconstructed the seemingly insurmountable abyss” between Western and Eastern culture and promoted a sort of “cross-fertilization” across the Iron Curtain in both directions. In this perspective, tamizdat becomes “a transnational undertaking that reinforced detente, dialogue, and cultural exchange, counterbalancing the persistent belief in Europe’s irreversible divisions.”¹³

While stressing the importance that “publishing over there,” that is, in the West, had for East European writers, Kind-Kovács seems to overlook the most obvious aspect of tamizdat, that is, the fact that, relocated from one cultural setting to another, both the aesthetics and the social function of texts underwent significant changes. Having originated in an extra-Gutenberg environment, works that in the USSR circulated as samizdat copies were incorporated by tamizdat publishers into Gutenberg print culture.¹⁴ This passage from black market or gift economy to copyrighted reproduction and market exchange had relevant (if not dramatic) consequences for their evaluation and reception, as the authors seemed to be perfectly aware. New evidence recently discovered in the archives makes it necessary to go beyond the simplified view according to which tamizdat publishers succeeded in reconnecting the East and the West by happily satisfying writers’ natural need for publicity and exchange. Certainly, tamizdat re-established a sort of creative dialogue across the Iron Curtain, but communication among the different actors involved in the publishing process was more often characterized by tension and distrust than by confidence and mutual understanding. The “complex editorial and financial interactions” related to the *Zhivago* affair constitute a relevant example: Paolo Mancosu provided new evidence of the attempts Ol’ga Ivinskaia made after Boris Pasternak’s death to send a significant part of his literary estate (including the unfinished play *The Blind Beauty*) abroad, reporting at the same time on the suspicions and conflicts that arose between her and various Western intermediaries.¹⁵

¹² Kind-Kovács, *Written Here, Published There*, 11.

¹³ Kind-Kovács, *Written Here, Published There*, 6.

¹⁴ Komaromi, “Samizdat as Extra-Gutenberg Phenomenon.”

¹⁵ Mancosu, *Moscow Has Ears Everywhere*, 12. Pasternak’s novel is also discussed in chapter 1 by Komaromi in this volume.

A significant example of all the bargaining, negotiations and compromises which were essential for turning samizdat texts into typographic books is the publication of *Journey into the Whirlwind/Within the Whirlwind* (*Krutoi marshrut*, subsequently: *KM*) by Evgeniia Ginzburg. The first and second parts (chapters 1–57) came out for the first time with Arnoldo Mondadori editore in Milan in February 1967 in both the original version and the Italian translation under the title *Viaggio nella vertigine*.¹⁶ Thanks to the files available at the Archive of the Arnoldo Mondadori foundation in Milan it has been possible to reconstruct most of the circumstances under which Ginzburg's manuscript eventually came out in print in Italy. One of the most interesting elements of the Italian edition of *KM* is the name of the translator, that is, Aldino Betti, which is a pen name and, moreover, a collective one. As a precautionary measure, the translators, Alberto Sandretti (1933–2019) and Dino Bernardini (1933–2017), did not use their own names in order to not spoil their relationships with Soviet authorities, because at that point, they both worked in the Soviet Union.¹⁷

But who were Sandretti and Bernardini? They were both young communists, who, in January 1956, left Italy to study, respectively, philosophy and Russian literature at Moscow State University on the Lenin hills.¹⁸ Sandretti, better known later for his art collection,¹⁹ successfully defended his thesis on aspects of Marx's dialectics in 1961 and started working as an interpreter at the top level. [Figure 2.1](#) shows a photo taken in 1962 of him translating for Nikita Khrushchev at the First Exhibition of Italian Industrial Production in Moscow. Nevertheless, official engagements did not prevent Sandretti from visiting nonconformist artists in their ateliers and enjoying samizdat texts, including Ginzburg's unpublished recollections of the time she served in labour camps in the Kolyma region from 1939 to 1947. A minor part of the text was translated by Sandretti's colleague Dino Bernardini, who later

¹⁶ Ginzburg, *Krutoi marshrut*, and Ginzburg, *Viaggio nella vertigine*. In English, Ginzburg, *Journey into the Whirlwind*.

¹⁷ Bernardini, "Scampoli rossi," 98.

¹⁸ The first group of fifteen Italian communist students selected every year by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in order to attend courses at Moscow State University (MGU) arrived in Moscow in 1955. Sandretti and Bernardini were included in the second group. Others included Gianni Parisi, Gianni Cervetti, and Piero Casi. Bernardini received his degree in 1961 with a dissertation (written under Sergei Bondi's supervision) on Italian translations of *Evgenii Onegin*. About the so-called "Figli del Partito" (Sons of the Party) granted five-year fellowships at MGU, see the documentary film *Sono nato comunista* by Catherine McGilvray (2017).

¹⁹ See the catalogues *Arte contro* and *Russie! Memoria, mistificazione, immaginario*.



Figure 2.1: Sandretti and Khrushchev at the First Exhibition of Italian Industrial Production Moscow, 1962. Sandretti is the man wearing glasses on the right.

became a functionary of the PCI, a translator, and the editor-in-chief of the Italian journal *Soviet Review* (*Rassegna sovietica*).

On 13 October 1966, Sandretti's lawyer and friend Guido Rossi sent a part of the Italian translation to Vittorio Sereni (1913–83), poet and editor-in-chief at the Arnoldo Mondadori publishing house. He defined *KM* as “a diary,” explained that the translation was not finished yet, mentioning the “legal problems” the Italian publisher had to solve if his response were positive. In the files concerning *KM* there is no trace of the manuscript Rossi sent to Sereni or of the Russian original. As both translators said in conversation with the author of this chapter, the translation was made from one of the many transcriptions of *KM* that circulated in Moscow in the 1960s (Figure 2.2). Regarding the huge popularity of *KM* in Moscow and beyond, well-known dissidents Lev Kopelev and Raisa Orlova wrote:

In the early 1960s the manuscript of *KM* started circulating in many copies, we read it and afterwards we passed it to someone else. At the Institute of Marxist-Leninist studies people made 400 copies, after receiving the manuscript from the journal *Youth* (*Iunost'*). Roi Medvedev, who was acquainted with E.S. (Evgeniia Semenovna Ginzburg – V.P.) . . . ,



Figure 2.2: Samizdat copy of Evgeniia Ginzburg, *Krutoi marshrut*. This copy belonged to Igor' Khokhlushkin.

Photo courtesy of the Archiv der Forschungsstelle Osteuropa an der Universität Bremen, FSO 01-122 (Chochluškin, Igor')

handed KM to Andrei Sakharov. At the Institute of Physics the manuscript was photocopied by means of an “Era” machine . . . If it were possible to ascertain the real print run of samizdat texts, we would realize that KM would rank at the top.²⁰

Lacking the same personal endorsements, Vittorio Sereni and his collaborators wondered about the literary quality of the work and about its authenticity – this is not surprising, given the unusual conditions of its transfer. In October and November 1966, Mondadori’s leading consultants read the translation and immediately realized the political relevance of the text. At that point, eyewitness accounts of the Gulag camps were extremely scarce; *Artikel 58* (*Article 58*), the first collection of Varlam Shalamov’s *Kolyma Tales*, was published by Middelhaue in Cologne almost simultaneously with *KM* in 1967.²¹

Thus, it is worth taking into account the reactions of the first non-Russian readers of *KM*. Among them is the report written by the poet Franco Lattes, alias Franco Fortini (1917–94). Fortini was a crucial voice of the Italian post-war left: he served as a partisan in Val d’Ossola in 1944 but left the Italian Socialist Party soon after the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary. Fortini defined Ginzburg’s work as a document of “exceptional interest” on Stalinist repressions:

As a typical representative of Russian culture, Evgeniia Ginzburg Akse-nova was permeated in the 1930s by unlimited devotion to the Party, strong internationalist awareness, and veneration for the Russian literary and political tradition. Here she recounts her terrible story without any affectation, with sincerity, intelligence, and extraordinary forcefulness . . . The book has enormous polemical potential, especially for those acquainted with Soviet history, and it is very likely that its publication will provoke an “affair” (*un “caso”*) in the Soviet Union as well as in the West.²²

Fortini thus expected the publication of Ginzburg’s work to be a literary and political sensation. However, Fortini suggested “a total re-writing in

²⁰ Kopelev and Orlova, “Evgeniia Ginzburg.” About *KM* and samizdat see also Tolstoi and Gavrilov, “Alfavit inakomyshliia. Ginzburg.”

²¹ Schalanow (*sic!*), “*Artikel 58*.” The name of the author was misspelled.

²² Milano, Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Segreteria editoriale estero, Autori parte C, cartella 18, fasc. 18 (Ginzburg Evgenija S.), Franco Fortini, October 24, 1966. Further references to the same collection will be indicated thus: Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.).

order to make readable an often too poor translation."²³ Alberto Sandretti had no experience as a literary translator: before working on Ginzburg's text, he had only translated (together with Vittorio Strada) the volume written by Eval'd Il'enkov, *La dialettica dell'astratto* (*The Dialectics of the Abstract and the Concrete in Marx's Capital*, originally: *Dialektika abstraktnogo i konkretnogo v Kapitale Marksa*), published by Feltrinelli in 1961.

Furthermore, Fortini suggested the publisher should provide the edition with footnotes, a map of the Russian far east, and an "extensive preface" that would distance KM "far from any current political controversy whatsoever" and place it "in the Russian literary tradition on imprisonment, which includes Archpriest Avvakum, [Dostoevskii's] *The House of the Dead*, Vera Figner and Petr Kropotkin."²⁴ About the authenticity of the manuscript, Fortini had no doubts: "All cultural references, all unconscious allusions are absolutely convincing. No forger would be able to . . . react in a such typically Soviet way, to act like a young Soviet woman of the 1930s."²⁵ The poet had some firsthand experience of the USSR: in 1955 he was introduced to Alexei Surkov, Secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers, and went to the USSR on a two-week trip. Later, he visited the Soviet Union with his wife Ruth in July 1960.

Another collaborator of Mondadori, the writer and journalist Oreste Del Buono (1923–2003), a fringe member of the Group 63 circle of "Neovanguardia" novelists, declared that the stylistic roughness of the manuscript did not disturb him. He called it "a fascinating popular novel, which would deserve a place on an ideal bookshelf between [Dumas's] *The Count of Monte Cristo* and [Tolstoi's] *Resurrection*."²⁶ His emphasis on the "popular" character of Ginzburg's work is interesting. Del Buono was an eager supporter of what some critics at that time might have dismissed as "popular culture": in 1966 he teamed up with Umberto Eco to compile a collection of seven essays on James Bond, and in the 1970s his appointment as editorial chief of the comics magazine *linus* identified him as the man who discovered Charles Schulz's *Peanuts* for Italy.

In his report, Del Buono gave some advice about how to present Ginzburg's text:

I would suggest including this extraordinary work in the New Foreign Writers series, rather than in the Contrails [Mondadori's series for recent

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), O. Del Buono, Milano, 4 December 1966.

history – V.P.] in order to avoid any political accusation and to highlight the genuine character of the novel, which recounts a peculiar individual story, addressing the widest possible audience.²⁷

Furthermore, he suggested that the Mondadori editors “reflect on the possibility of releasing soon the tales of her [Ginzburg’s – V.P.] son, the extremely talented Aksenov, so reserved, so moderate, so tender in his defence of individual feelings.”²⁸ Here Del Buono refers to Vasilii Aksenov’s popular, officially published novellas *Colleagues (Kollegi)*, *Oranges from Morocco (Apel’siny iz Marokko)* and *It’s Time, My Friend, It’s Time (Pora, moi drug, pora)*, whose translation Mondadori commissioned in 1963–4 from Vittorio Nadai. It is hard to ascertain why the planned volume never came out: in fact, Mondadori published only Aksenov’s uncensored novel *Ustione (The Burn)*, translated by Giovanni Buttafava and Sergio Rapetti in 1980, that is, a year after the release of the second volume of *KM*, which was also translated by Buttafava (and edited by Rapetti).²⁹ Aksenov enjoyed a good reputation among Mondadori consultants; for instance, Elio Vittorini in 1963 stressed the Chekhovian *pathos* of *Oranges from Morocco* and described it as a “beautiful crepuscular tale.”

Mondadori’s editors accepted both Fortini’s and Del Buono’s suggestions about *KM* and decided to emphasize the artistic value of the book, rather than its political message. In addition, Sandretti – identified by Sereni in a note dated 9 December 1966, as “the channel through which we received the manuscript [and] consequently the direct or indirect representative of the author”³⁰ – insisted on the necessity of downplaying the political meaning of *KM* and omitting the circumstances under which the manuscript was smuggled to Italy, in order to not expose Ginzburg to possible persecution at home. Contrary to Fortini’s suggestion, Sandretti asked Mondadori not to provide an extensive preface, only, if anything, a short note at the beginning.

After making this request (perceived as the author’s will), Sereni did not commission a preface from Fortini.³¹ He urged his collaborators to

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Aksyonov, *The Burn*. Ginzburg, *Viaggio nella vertigine*, 2. In 1963, Buttafava edited *A metà strada dalla luna*, an anthology of short stories of “young Soviet authors” titled after Aksyonov’s novella *Na polputi k lune (Halfway to the Moon)* and published by Sugar.

³⁰ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), V. Sereni to M.T. Giannelli, Milano, 9 December 1966.

³¹ In this respect the French edition of the first part (released in 1967 by Éditions du Seuil under the title *La vertige*) displays a totally different strategy, being

finish editing the translation as soon as possible. Sereni had discovered that the French poet Claude Roy had recently mentioned Ginzburg's text in an article in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, and he feared that an edition of *KM* would be forthcoming in France as well.³² This would have had highly undesirable consequences for Mondadori, since, as Sereni explained in his note, the publishing house was about to constitute a separate legal entity (Proposte editoriali s.r.l.) in order to be able to sell the rights to *KM* worldwide.

Consequently, the publication of *KM* became extremely urgent. An intense exchange between Sereni and his colleagues continued into the Christmas holidays. On 29 December 1966, Sereni sent to Mondadori editor Alcide Paolini the text written for the book flap by Del Buono. Here he justified the inclusion of *KM* in the newly launched fiction series of New Foreign Writers by insisting that the literary quality of the book overshadowed its importance as a testimony. At the same time he extensively quoted from Roy's article to emphasize Mondadori's *coup*. At the end he proclaimed: "Now Mondadori has published for the first time worldwide the text Claude Roy wrote about." The correspondence with Paolini shows to what extent Sereni was involved in the crafting of paratextual elements for the Italian version of *KM* (Figure 2.4). For instance, Sereni composed the blurb "The strength to write = the strength to live" (*Coraggio di narrare = coraggio di vivere*). Sereni's concern with avoiding any scandal is attested also by the letter dated 1 February 1967 (two weeks before the book launch), where he explained to Mondadori's CEO his decision to withdraw all promotional materials from circulation because the catchphrase did not match the criteria on which he and his colleagues had agreed: "I preferred not to bother you in Paris with problems that it is impossible to solve by phone. In any case, the brilliant slogan devised by our collaborators during our absence for the well-known Soviet book is: 'From the deportation camps comes the voice of a new Russian woman writer.' Being an intellectual, I am clearly not able to appreciate the commercial sensibility here. I rejected this kind of strategy."³³ The attempt to soften the potentially explosive character of the book is reflected also in the minimalist design chosen for the front cover of the Russian edition (Figure 2.3).

accompanied by a preface penned by Jean-Jacques Marie, a historian specializing in the Stalinist period.

³² Claude Roy, "Les fantômes de la Place Rouge," *Le Nouvel Observateur* 103 (2 Nov. 1966): 13–6.

³³ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), V. Sereni to Ufficio Direzione Letteraria, 1 February 1967.

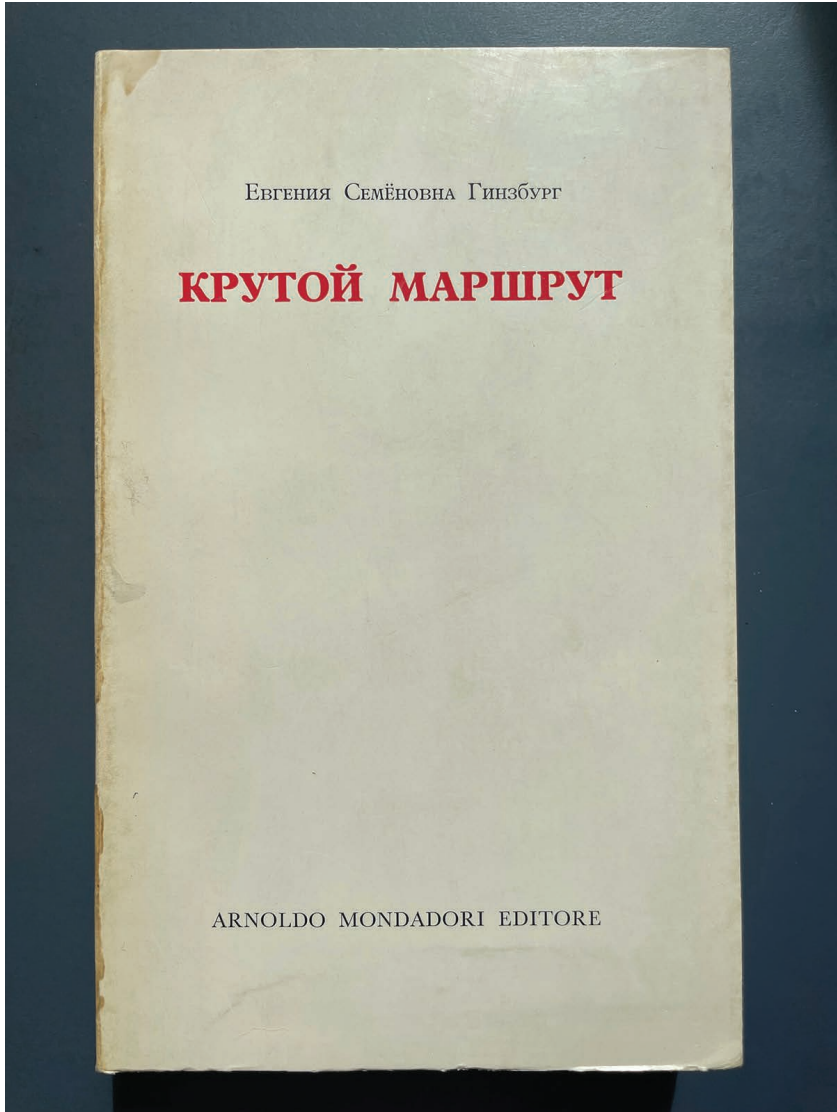


Figure 2.3: Evgeniia Semenovna Ginzburg, *Krutoi marshrut*, Mondadori edition, 1967.



Figure 2.4: Evgenia Semionovna Ginzburg, *Viaggio nella vertigine* (Italian translation), first part.

Its sobriety was undoubtedly at odds with the rhetorical pathos of the cover designed by L.G. Skuratova for the Posev edition, which came out in Frankfurt am Main the same year (Figure 2.5).³⁴

Despite the precautions taken by Mondadori, Ginzburg immediately came under attack at home after *Viaggio nella vertigine* (and the Russian original of *KM*) came out in Milan on 14 February 1967. A clash with the Soviet authorities seemed unavoidable just one year after the notorious trial of Andrei Siniavskii and Iulii Daniel' for their unauthorized publications abroad. At a meeting of the editorial board of the newspaper *Izvestiia*, the KGB secretary of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Vladimir Semichastnyi described *KM* as "a slanderous work, useful for our enemies," that is, a literary work which could be used by hostile bourgeois opponents as part of a propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union.³⁵

As Kopelev and Orlova remembered it, Ginzburg's friends, fearing possible consequences, suggested that Ginzburg declare that Mondadori had received neither the manuscript nor the authorization to publish it from her. On 22 March 1967, Ginzburg wrote a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, Petr Demichev, in which she complained about the publication of her own book in the West. A typescript (probably a draft) of this letter is included among the papers of Sarra Babenysheva, a literary scholar and critic who was actively engaged in the campaign in defence of Siniavskii and Daniel'. Ginzburg wrote:

I have no idea how it happened that this manuscript [the one transmitted to the Institute of Marxist-Leninist studies – V.P.]³⁶ was reproduced in many copies. Personally, I had nothing to do with it . . . Unfortunately, the inevitable has happened. I am indignant at the arbitrary action of the Italian publisher Mondadori, who published the book without informing me and

³⁴ Single chapters of *KM* in Russian appeared in the NTS journal *Posev*, on 17 February, 24 February, 3 March, and 10 March 1967. Arnoldo Mondadori wrote to Lev A. Rahr, editor in chief of Posev Verlag, on 27 April 1967, suggesting Rahr contact the Mondadori legal representative in Cologne, Germany, Rodolfo Boden, for questions related to the publication of *KM* in Germany. See Fondazione Mondadori, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Cartella archivio storico il Saggiatore, A. Mondadori to L. Rahr, 27 April 1967. The Posev publishing house was established in the Mönchehof camp for displaced persons in 1945 as the organ of the anti-communist organization NTS (see note on NTS in chapter 1 by Komaromi in this volume).

³⁵ Kopelev and Orlova, "Evgeniia Ginzburg."

³⁶ See Tolstoi and Gavrillov, "Alfavit inakomyssliia. Ginzburg."



Figure 2.5: Evgeniia Ginzburg, *Krutoi marshrut*, Posev edition, 1967.

without my authorization, moreover, in unfinished form, with an abrupt end. I am sure that the publisher is pursuing purely commercial goals.³⁷

Ginzburg's letter to Demichev is interesting in many respects. At that point she was already aware of the first reviews in the Italian press, as well as of Del Buono's comments. What shocked her particularly was the fact that her book, "written, as they say, with the blood of my own heart" was advertised as "a fascinating, thrilling novel in the fashion of *The Count of Monte Cristo*."³⁸ That means that she had already received Alberto Mondadori's letter of 7 March 1967, informing her that the book had come out and that "both critics and readers had warmly welcomed it."³⁹ It seems likely that some reviews quoting Del Buono's words were sent with the letter. Needless to say, the publisher's insistence on the fact that Mondadori did everything possible to prevent *KM* from becoming the object of political manoeuvres failed to reassure her.⁴⁰

Distancing herself from the publication abroad, Ginzburg also declared her willingness to explain her position in the official organ of the Italian Communist Party, *L'Unità*. On 1 June 1967, the daily paper published an article by Moscow correspondent Adriano Guerra in conversation with Ginzburg. In it, she indirectly accused Mondadori of having stolen her manuscript: "What would an honest person do finding in the street something that does not belong to him? Well, in a civilized society a basic rule states that it should be returned to the legal owner . . . How should we therefore define the action of someone who, having found something that belongs to others, takes advantage of it in his own interest?"⁴¹ Ginzburg suggested Mondadori profited from her work, which was unpublished in the USSR, and unfinished: "What Mondadori has published is only a part of my 'novel-chronicle'⁴² and it will take me a year, at least, to conclude it. In the first place I am writing it for Soviet readers. As soon as I finish my book, I will hand it over to a publishing house in my own country."⁴³

Ginzburg did not mention the fact that after Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* appeared in print in November 1962, she

³⁷ Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Historisches Archiv, Bremen (f. 103).

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Fondazione Mondadori, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Cartella archivio storico il Saggiatore, A. Mondadori to E.S. Ginzburg, 7 March 1967.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Guerra, "Il viaggio nella vertigine," 3.

⁴² The author herself defined *KM* as a "chronicle of the period of the cult of personality," see Ginzburg, *Viaggio nella vertigine*, 8.

⁴³ Guerra, "Il viaggio nella vertigine," 3.

had sent her manuscript to the liberal Soviet journals *Novyi mir* and *Iunost'*, both of which refused to publish it. Her hope to see *KM* printed in the USSR, as she told it to Guerra, is contradicted by what she wrote in the epilogue of the second part of her book, namely, that: "by the end of 1966 I had resigned myself to the fact that *KM* would have been circulating in the USSR only as samizdat." However, as she went on to say, Ginzburg was not particularly happy with either the samizdat circulation or the tamizdat publication: in both cases she regretted not having enough control over the textual reproduction and the publishing process. About the success *KM* enjoyed in samizdat, she wrote: "As soon as I started receiving reader responses from Leningrad, Saratov, Krasnoiarsk and Odessa, I understood that I had completely lost any control over the astonishing life of my unpublished work." This amounted to a "complete estrangement of a work from its author."⁴⁴ Such estrangement became even more dramatic after *KM* appeared in print in the West. Ginzburg summarized her feelings:

It was a totally new situation, created by our strange times: I am referring to the spiritual condition of an author of such editions. Her feelings are mixed. On the one hand, she cannot prevent herself from feeling joy at seeing her own manuscript turned into a book. On the other hand . . . [this book appeared] without my corrections, without any participation in the publication . . . without the possibility of correcting typographical errors.⁴⁵

While this regret on the author's part is fully understandable, it should be stressed that the circumstances under which the two volumes of *KM* appeared in print, the first at the end of the 1960s and the second one decade later, were radically different: the transfer from samizdat to tamizdat had dramatically changed since the USSR joined the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works in 1973.

How did Mondadori manage to publish the second volume of *KM*? Zhores Medvedev acted as an intermediary between the author and representatives of the Italian publishing house – he dealt in the first place with Donato Barbone, who was Mondadori's literary director at the time. According to Elisabeth Stevenson, a representative of Mondadori in the United Kingdom, Medvedev, a Soviet biologist and émigré based in London, wrote to her that his brother Roi Medvedev in the USSR had informed him that Ginzburg had completed her work on the

⁴⁴ Ginzburg, *Krutoi marshrut*, 375.

⁴⁵ Ginzburg, *Krutoi marshrut*, 376.

second and third parts of *KM*.⁴⁶ However, she did not dare circulate the manuscript even among her closest friends, because she was afraid it would be smuggled to the West, as had already happened with the first part. Nevertheless, in her letter dated 14 March 1973, Stevenson asked Barbone whether the “sequel” of *KM* could be of interest to Mondadori. The answer was positive, as testified by a note written by him on the margins of Stevenson’s letter: “Thank you, of course we are extremely interested.”⁴⁷

After two years of silence, Barbone (through Stevenson) asked Zhores Medvedev to update him on the situation concerning the manuscript and Ginzburg’s royalties abroad. Possibly he heard rumours about an arrangement made by Vasilii Aksenov with Leonard W. Schroeter a lawyer based in Seattle, who, in the 1970s, represented many Soviet writers in the West. On 23 March 1975, Medvedev replied:

I made inquiries through Roy and was informed about the following: the lawyer from Seattle is not too reliable. Aksenov, in fact, gave him power of attorney for his works, but Ginzburg did not authorize him to represent her and never gave him any documents. Aksenov was not too happy about this lawyer either, because this lawyer was not able to collect anything from any [of] Aksenov’s own foreign publications and translations. Two years after Aksenov gave him power of attorney, the lawyer did not send Aksenov one kopeck or one cent, to say nothing about dollars or liras. Although I do not have any legal experience, I did a much better job on Dudintsev’s behalf, collecting for him a sizeable amount for his book *NOT BY BREAD ALONE*, published in 1957, and I kept providing the family with income for about two years, giving him a chance to complete his new novel.⁴⁸

Medvedev added some remarks on Ginzburg’s personal situation:

E.G.’s health is very poor and she probably won’t last more than a year. She receives X-ray treatments, but her cancer has metastasized. She told Aksenov she would like to help him with money, if possible, but did not

⁴⁶ Zhores Medvedev’s biography of T.D. Lysenko under the title *L’ascesa e la caduta di T.D. Lysenko* (*The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko*) was published in Italy by Mondadori in 1971.

⁴⁷ Milano, Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Archivio storico Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, Segreteria editoriale estero, Autori parte C, cartella 18, fasc. 18 (Ginzburg Evgenija S.), E. Stevenson to D. Barbone, Londra, 14 March 1973.

⁴⁸ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to D. Barbone, 23 March 1975. The texts of Zhores Medvedev’s letters in English have been slightly edited for clarity.

make any special document authorizing him to claim her royalties. Probably this oral promise made him act.⁴⁹

From this moment on, Zhores Medvedev's correspondence with the literary director of Mondadori became quite intense. On 4 April 1975, Medvedev asked Barbone (on behalf of Ginzburg) his opinion about *E cominciò il viaggio nella vertigine* (*And the Steep Journey Began*, 1974), a film directed by Toni De Gregorio and inspired by KM. Barbone answered him: "As to the film of *Krutoi marshrut* I have not seen it and I cannot tell you how good it was. I can only tell you that it was severely attacked by our left press. I understand that some 'friends' of Eugenia took care that the film was not announced as 'based on the book,' but on the book as well as other sources . . . its commercial success was very poor."⁵⁰ In the same letter dated 15 May 1975, Barbone wrote that he had already opened a bank account in Switzerland for Ginzburg, at Schroeter's request. He explained to Medvedev that, according to Italian law, any money transfer abroad had to be justified with a contract, adding, "Should you be able to obtain from Eugenia an authorization for you to receive the payments still due to her by us, I shall be happy to follow those instructions."

In a confidential letter from 28 May 1975, Zhores Medvedev proposed to Mondadori a possible strategy to overcome Ginzburg's fears and publish the manuscript:

Ginzburg herself would never be ready to sign a contract with a foreign publisher. But at the same time the book which you published is only the first part (about 40%) of the work. Officials know about the existence of a second volume (which is in some respects more interesting), but they warned her long ago that if she distributes it, or gives it to "samizdat" she will have trouble (she will be expelled from Party and some other actions are possible – concerning her personal pension, etc). But she wants her 2nd volume to be published in due time. She entrusted the mission to Roy [Medvedev], not her son, because her son and other relatives are vulnerable to official pressures . . . She made provisional arrangements to publish the second volume by sending it with materials from *The Twentieth Century*. Roy did not hesitate to accept the task and the risk involved. In that case, he will have written permission to deal with the volume and I will be in a position to sign the agreement on his behalf . . . Of course, if I

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), D. Barbone to Zh. Medvedev, 15 May 1975.

receive this material as part of *The Twentieth Century* I will take it out of the journal and deal with it separately and offer you the world rights (as I did with Roy's book on Sholokhov, which was extracted from the journal and published in France in June by Christian Bourgois Ed.)⁵¹

Contrary to Zhores Medvedev's hopes, Ginzburg had already entrusted her son to act on her behalf with a power of attorney signed on 17 April 1975, to which Medvedev referred in a letter to Barbone on 4 June:

I do not know what kind of financial operation would be possible for him [Aksenov] by taking this letter to the Swiss bank where you put some money. Probably you should write to him (and her) and explain your problems and I will send your letter through the diplomatic mail – some of my friends from *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and Scandinavian correspondents in Moscow keep diplomatic channels open for me and I can send my friends letters and books without KGB interference. Probably the CIA reads them, but at least they do not destroy them.⁵²

Before leaving for his summer holidays, Barbone informed Medvedev that he met Aksenov in Milan and that "thanks also to yours and Roy's assurance and mediation, Eugenia's affairs have been settled. Tell me if you want to know more details."⁵³ Barbone strongly hoped that through Medvedev, the manuscript would soon get into his hands. The literary director of Mondadori added: "We are of course ready to handle the world rights, if you prefer, or the Italian rights at least."⁵⁴

In Mondadori's files there is a short note written in English by Aksenov to Barbone and dated 28 July 1975: "I've appreciated your kindness and help so much. I hope we will be working together in the future. I asked Mr. Schroeter to get in touch with you. Let us have a connection via Mr. Schroeter . . . I'll tell my mother about the nice people at Mondadori."

In December 1975, Stevenson went to Moscow and met Evgeniia Ginzburg and her son Vasilii Aksenov, who, in the meantime, had

⁵¹ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to D. Barbone, 28 May 1975. Roy Medvedev edited a samizdat edition (after his *Political Diary* [portions anthologized in Cohen, ed. *An End to Silence*]) called *The Twentieth Century* (*XX vek*). Materials from it were published in tamizdat with Zhores's help, as this letter indicates (*Dvadtsatyi vek*).

⁵² Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to D. Barbone, 4 June 1975.

⁵³ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), D. Barbone to Zh. Medvedev, 31 July 1975.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

entrusted Schroeter to draw up the contract with Mondadori. Stevenson wrote to Barbone, informing him that

[t]he manuscript will be sent to Schroeter through diplomatic channels. I hoped they would be able to send it to London through Roy M., but Zhores told me that Roy did not agree because of the size of the manuscript. And, as a matter of fact, Ginzburg assured me she had no chance to send it to London and certainly she did not even dream about handing it to me (she was right: Soviet customs checked my luggage in Leningrad).⁵⁵

As seen in a telex sent on 31 December to Maria Barra, Mondadori's representative in New York, Barbone refused to make a blind offer, preferring to see the manuscript beforehand. Stevenson told Barbone:

Roy got [the manuscript] microfilmed and it was sent with some other material for Zhores, via a diplomat flying from Moscow to Rome. Ginzburg wanted it to be forwarded directly to you, but Aksenov, the silly fool, convinced her to have it addressed to Schroeter. Zhores received his envelope posted from Rome on February 12, so at least we know that our material has reached the West. It sounds though that Schroeter left for Europe before the envelope had a chance to reach him in Seattle. Or did he bring it with him? I hope your meeting went well.⁵⁶

Getting a copy from Schroeter proved to be no easy task. On 12 April 1976, the lawyer wrote to Barra that the microfilms were "so poorly done" that he tried "four separate processes in order to make them clearly legible" and was still not satisfied with the results. He concluded: "I see little point in forwarding to you the microfilms as they are."⁵⁷ He continued to report difficulties in improving their quality over the following weeks. From London, Zhores Medvedev wrote he could not believe that the microfilm was "completely illegible" and that it should be possible to produce "good or at last readable photoprints."

⁵⁵ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), E. Stevenson to D. Barbone, 22 December 1975.

⁵⁶ As Stevenson explained to Barbone in the same letter, "The chap who did the microfilm wants to be paid with some Mondadori art books . . . The 'Grandi di tutti i tempi' books would do," Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), E. Stevenson to D. Barbone, 25 February 1976. Barbone wrote on Stevenson's letter the reminder "Giotto Mantegna Raffaello Leonardo" and arranged the gift through Piero Ostellino, correspondent in Moscow for *Corriere della Sera*, who was already in touch with R. Medvedev.

⁵⁷ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), L. Schroeter to M. Campbell (Barra), 12 April 1976.

He emphasized the reliability of the photographer who prepared it, along with “all the microfilms which Roy, Turchin and etc. have sent to me during the last two years.”⁵⁸ He expressed suspicion that Schroeter hoped to delay the shipment to contact other foreign publishers in search of a better advance.

Medvedev’s distrust turned out to be well-founded. On 9 June 1976, Medvedev forwarded to Schroeter a letter received from Moscow, where Aksenov asked his attorney to show more flexibility with Mondadori about his own advance, in order to not irritate the Italian publisher. In his accompanying letter, Medvedev supported Aksenov’s request and explained to Schroeter that “the book by Ginzburg, while certainly very important, is not a sensation after Solzhenitsyn’s *Gulag* and other works, and this is a second volume anyway. So it has to be treated like any other book, not as something extraordinary.”⁵⁹ In his reply to Medvedev, Schroeter revealed that he was playing both ends, in spite of Mondadori’s pre-existing right to the manuscript: “I think that . . . you are a little too pessimistic about the prospects for the Ginzburg book. Publishers I have spoken to are enormously interested in receiving it and are willing to promise substantial advances and have exhibited great interest in it. I think I will have not too much difficulty marketing it.”⁶⁰

In his turn, Medvedev forwarded Schroeter’s letter to Stevenson: “From Mr. Schroeter’s letter I realized that he has his own policy very different from the intention of his main client – E. Ginzburg.”⁶¹ Stevenson received Medvedev’s (and Schroeter’s) letters, when she came back from Moscow, where she had met Ginzburg, representing Mondadori.⁶² Whether Ginzburg knew that Schroeter had not sent yet the microfilm of the second and third parts to Mondadori is unclear; in any case she explained to Stevenson she would like to revise the galleys of the Russian volume during the trip to Europe she was planning together

⁵⁸ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to E. Stevenson, 29 April 1976. Medvedev refers here to the physician and computer scientist Valentin Turchin.

⁵⁹ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to L. Schroeter, 9 June 1976. Medvedev expressed the same idea to Stevenson: “I personally think that the second part is interesting, but not as important as the first one.” He suggested consulting Michael Scammell (who, according to him, had also read the second part in 1973, as he was in Moscow) for a more detailed expert opinion. Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to E. Stevenson, 4 May 1976.

⁶⁰ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), L. Schroeter to Zh. Medvedev, Seattle, 16 June 1976.

⁶¹ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), Zh. Medvedev to E. Stevenson, 23 June 1976.

⁶² Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), D. Ciapponi to M. Barra, 25 June 1976.

with her son to take place shortly thereafter, in July, on invitation of the French PEN Club.⁶³

Finally, after reporting Ginzburg's wish to Schroeter, Maria Barra received the microfilm on 30 June 1976 and forwarded it to Milan. On 3 September a telex sent by Mondadori secretary Donatella Ciapessoni informed her that Egidio Pentiraro (Barbone's successor) was expected to meet Ginzburg in Paris at L'Aiglon hotel the following day, submit her the galleys, and show her the contract they had arranged. And, as a matter of fact, on 4 September 1976, Ginzburg wrote in her diary: "4/9 Pentiraro has arrived. A handsome, fascinating young man, straight from the silver screen. Lively conversation in French on the basis of our mutual amnesty. I worked late."⁶⁴

The next day, Ginzburg signed the contract (in French) with Mondadori⁶⁵ and commented: "The die is cast" (*Zhrebii broshen*). A comparison of the published diary with a version contained in Sarra Babenysheva's papers reveals that Ginzburg's daughter Antonina cut this and other remarks regarding the negotiations with the "nice people from Mondadori" from the version of the diary that appeared in *Oktiabr'*. She was probably not able to interpret them. For example, she did not add footnotes explaining who "Elizavet" and "Pentiraro" were. Even more interestingly, she removed Ginzburg's hint about a new conflict between her publisher and the Seattle lawyer: "29/9: Pentir.'s visit. Their conflict with Shr.," which one finds only in the version among Babenysheva's papers. As a matter of fact, in an urgent letter sent on 27 September 1976, Schroeter declared the 60 per cent figure granted by Mondadori to the author for foreign translations to be "unconscionable":

I understand that was the figure used in 1967 under wholly different circumstances where it was impossible to have any direct connection with the writer, where all dealings were subject to problems of piracy, where the writer had no authorized Western representative or attorney, and where the entire situation was in no way regularized. This has dramatically changed . . . I want to make it clear that the 1967 contract between Mondadori and Proposte editorials can in no way constitute a basis for the terms of the present contract.⁶⁶

⁶³ In Paris she met Aleksandr Galich and Anatolii Gladilin. See Tolstoi and Gavrilov, "Alfavit inakomysliia. Ginzburg."

⁶⁴ Ginzburg, "Ot Okhotskogo moria," 32.

⁶⁵ The second volume appeared from Mondadori in 1979 (Ginzburg, *Viaggio nella vertigine*, 2) and in English in 1981 (Ginzburg, *Within the Whirlwind*).

⁶⁶ Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), L. Schroeter to Arnaldo Mondadori editore, 27 September 1976. Fulfilling Schroeter's request, Mondadori reduced his share to

Schroeter's protest is significant, because it shows to what extent the editorial situation had changed in the decade after the appearance in print of the first volume of *KM*. In addition to the aspects he enumerated in his letter, we can mention in conclusion other relevant differences that affected this singular case of transnational socialization of a manuscript. For instance, a translator well acquainted with Russian literature (Giovanni Buttafava) replaced the duo Sandretti-Bernardini, who would probably have been more at ease as interpreters. A Soviet dissident (Zhores Medvedev) already based in the West tried to act as a link between his compatriots and Western publishers, which was not the case in 1967. Finally, unlike what happened in the 1960s, unprecedented mobility allowed the author to go abroad and take part in the mise-en-page of her manuscript. As a result, the loss of control she experienced on occasion of the first tamizdat publication was considerably mitigated as the second one took place. Taken as a whole narrative, the two stages of the publication process make the case of Ginzburg's *Krutoi marshrut* a uniquely telling example of the complex elements involved in transferring samizdat texts across the Iron Curtain.

WORKS CITED

- Aksjonov, Vasilij. *L'ustione: romanzo in tre libri: tardi anni sessanta, primi anni settanta*. Mondadori, 1980.
- Arte contro. *Ricerche dell'arte russa dal 1950 a oggi. Opere dal Fondo Sandretti del '900 russo*. Edited by A. Obukhova. MART; Skira, 2007.
- Basalae, Innokentii. "Zapisi besed s Akhmatovoi (1961–1963)." *Minuvshee: istoricheskie al'manakh*, published by E.M. Tsarenkova, notes by I. Kolosov and N. Krainevaia, vol. 23, Atheneum, Feniks, 1998.
- Bernardini, Dino. "Scampoli rossi. Ricordi di un comunista impenitente." *Quaderni di Slavia*, vol. 7, 2017, p. 98.
- Buttafava, Giovanni, editor. *A metà strada dalla luna: racconti di giovani scrittori sovietici*. Sugar, 1963.
- Chartier, Roger. *The Order of Books. Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Polity Press, 1994.
- Cohen, Stephen F., editor. *An End to Silence: Uncensored Opinion in the Soviet Union. From Roy Medvedev's Underground Magazine "Political Diary."* Norton, 1982.

30 per cent and increased the author's share to 70 per cent. See Fondazione Mondadori (Ginzburg, E.S.), V. Aksyonov to L. Schroeter, 30 September 1976.

- Dvadtsati vek. Obshchestvenno-politicheskii i literaturnyi al'manakh. Izbrannye materialy iz samizdatnogo zhurnala "XX-i vek."* 2 vols. TCD Publications, 1976–77.
- Ginzburg, Eugenia. *Journey into the Whirlwind*. Translated by Paul Stevenson and Max Hayward. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967.
- Ginzburg, Eugenia. *Within the Whirlwind*. Translated by Ian Bolan. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.
- Ginzburg, Evgenia Semionovna. *Viaggio nella vertigine*. Mondadori, 1967.
- Ginzburg, Evgenia Semionovna. *Viaggio nella vertigine*. Vol. 2. Mondadori, 1979.
- Ginzburg, Evgeniia. "Ot Okhotskogo moria k Sredizemnomu: putevye zametki," edited by Antonina Ginzburg. *Oktiabr'*, vol. 8, 2012, pp. 27–37.
- Ginzburg, Evgeniia Semenovna. *Krutoi marshrut: Khronika vremen kul'ta lichnosti*. Mondadori, 1979.
- Guerra, Adriano. "Il viaggio nella vertigine. Colloquio a Mosca con Evghenia Ginzburg." *L'Unità*, 1 Jun. 1967, p. 3.
- Ilienkov, Evald Vasilievitch. *La dialettica dell'astratto e del concreto nel Capitale di Marx*. Feltrinelli, 1961.
- Kind-Kovács, Friederike. *Written Here, Published There. How Underground Literature Crossed the Iron Curtain*. Central European University Press, 2014.
- Klots, Iakov. "Kak izdavali pervuiu knigu Iosifa Brodskogo." *Colta*, 24 May 2015, www.colta.ru/articles/literature/7415-kak-izdavali-pervuyu-knigu-iosifa-brodskogo. Accessed 28 August 2021.
- Klots, Iakov. "Varlam Shalamov mezhdru tamizdatom i Soiuzom sovetskikh pisatelei (1966–1978)." *Colta*, 10 Jan. 2017, www.colta.ru/articles/literature/13546-varlam-shalamov-mezhdru-tamizdatom-i-soyuzom-sovetskihpisateley-1966-1978. Accessed 29 August 2021.
- Kopelev, Lev, and Orlova, Raisa. "Evgeniia Ginzburg v kontse Krutogo marshruta." *Daugava*, vol. 6, no. 144, 1989, <https://imwerden.de/publ-12937>. Accessed 29 August 2021.
- Mancosu, Paolo. *Moscow Has Ears Everywhere. New Investigations on Pasternak and Ivinskaya*. Hoover Institution Press, 2019.
- McGann, Jerome J. *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. University of Virginia Press, 2014.
- McGann, Jerome J. *The Textual Condition*. Princeton University Press, 2020 (orig. 1992).
- McKenzie, D.F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Medvedev, Roy. *Qui a écrit "Le Don paisible"?* Christian Bourgois, 1975.
- Mirzaev, Arsen. "'Sumerki.' 30 let spustia." *TSQ*, vol. 61, 2017, <http://sites.utoronto.ca/tsq/61/Mirzaev61.pdf>. Accessed 9 March 2022.

Russie! Memoria, mistificazione, immaginario. Arte russa del '900 dalle collezioni Morgante e Sandretti. Edited by G. Barbieri and S. Burini. Terraferma, 2010.

Schalanow, Warlam. "Autorisierte Übersetzung aus dem russischen Originalmanuskript von G[isela] D[rohla]." *"Artikel 58": Die Aufzeichnungen des Häftlings Schalanow.* Friedrich Middelhaue Verlag, 1967.

Tolstoi, Ivan, and Andrei Gavrilov. "Alfavit inakomysliia. Ginzburg." *Poverkh bar'ero*, Radio Svoboda, 1 Sept. 2019, www.svoboda.org/a/30139370.html. Accessed 9 March 2022.