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Filosofov back in Warsaw. The second volume of Selected Works by Dmitry Filosofov

Dymitr Filosofov, *Pisma wybrane [Selected Works], vol. 2: Rosjanin w Polsce [A Russian in Poland] (1920–1936)*, selected and edited by Piotr Mitzner, researched by Swiatłana Kuziur, translated by Halyna Dubyk, Ewangelina Skalińska, Robert Szczęśny, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa, 2015, pp. 510.

Over seventy years had passed from the first attempt at offering an edition of Dmitry Filosofov's writings (made by Jerzy and Stanisław Stempowski together with Maria and Józef Czapski)¹ before the two volumes of his *Selected Works*: vol. 1: *Trudna Rosja (1902–1916)* and vol. 2: *Rosjanin w Polsce (1920–1936)* became available in bookshops in January 2016.² The publication in question was edited by Professor Piotr Mitzner, a poet and theatre scholar of note, whose effort was supported by Helena Dybyk, Ewangelina Skalińska and Robert Szczęśny, who translated the texts included in the book, and by Swiatłana Kuziur, who carried out research work for the second volume and provided a bibliography of Filosofov's articles written in 1920–1936. The first volume includes a short preface written by Mitzner introducing the reader to the contents of both volumes. The selection of the texts for the first volume was made on the basis of two Russian editions: *Загадки русской культуры* (2004) and *Критические статьи и заметки. 1899–1916* (2010). The reader is introduced to them by the article of Olga Demidova titled *From the 'Mir Iskusstwa' to the 'new religious community': the Russian period of Dmitry Filosofov's life and writing*. On account of the fact that the first volume

¹ According to Józef Czapski, the typewritten translation of Filosofov's writings about Poland was ready in 1939, but it perished in the Warsaw uprising.

² Published by Cardinal Wyszyński University Press in Warsaw. The edition was financed under the NPRH grant "W poszukiwaniu misji emigracji. Polsko-rosyjskie kontakty literackie w latach 1919–1989", under the direction of Prof. Piotr Mitzner.

contains translations of the texts which had been published previously, there is no need to discuss it in greater detail (except for the introduction, which refers to both volumes). In the review in hand, I will concentrate on the second volume, which, owing to thorough research, provides the general reader with a number of hitherto unpublished articles by Filosofov. It has to be noted that the editor emphasised that the selection was not intended to serve as a critical edition (vol. 1, p. 11). Nevertheless, it deserves consideration on account of the topics addressed.

Filosofov is one of the few eminent Russian émigrés whose works have not been edited in Russia.³ However, it is not surprising that they have been first edited in Poland, since it had been his country of residence for nearly twenty years, not least because of Filosofov's attitude towards Poland, undoubtedly the most favourable among the Russian émigré circles. Before discussing the Polish edition, it seems worthwhile to provide a brief presentation of the author, who was a remarkably interesting art critic, publicist and intellectual involved in political disputes, and a *spiritus rector* of the Russian diaspora in Poland.

Dmitry Filosofov was born in 1872 in Petersburg, in the family of Vladimir, a military prosecutor, and Anna Diagilev, a social activist and sympathiser of the revolutionary movement. The house of this rather unusual couple was a meeting place of the Petersburg elite – among the guests one could find Vladimir Stasov, Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Alexander Pushkin's son Grigory. Filosofov graduated in law from the universities of Petersburg and Heidelberg, the oldest of all German universities. But the greatest impact on him was made by the views of his mother and by the eminent guests whom he could meet at home. He was particularly interested in literature, philosophy and theology: Zinaida Gippius and her husband Dmitry Merezhkovski, whom he met at the editorial office of his cousin Sergey Diagilev's periodical *Миръ укыысства*, played a major role in his study of the latter two disciplines.⁴ In 1901, Filosofov established the Religious-Philosophical Society, founded together with the Merezhkovskis, which gathered such members as, among others, Anton Kartashev, Piotr Struve, Vasiliy Rozanov and Nikolai Berdyaev.⁵ In 1906–1908, they stayed in France, where they frequently met Savinkov; having returned to Russia, they resumed the activities of the Religious-Philosophical Society.⁶ Filosofov was against the war; over time, he came to the conclusion that only a revolution could put an end to it and give rise to civic freedom and

³ In the introduction to the first volume of *Selected Works* Mitzner informs the reader that a critical edition of Filosofov's writings is currently being prepared in Russia: D. Filosofov, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 1: *Trudna Rosja (1902–1916)*, ed. P. Mitzner, Warszawa, 2015, p. 11.

⁴ P. Mitzner, *Warszawski "Domek w Kołomnie"*, Warszawa, 2014, p. 11; J.S. Durrant, "Zapomniany warszawianin", typescript in the Archives of *Kultura* in Maisons-Laffitte, fol. 3 (a photocopy of the typescript has been made available to the author by Prof. Andrzej Nowak).

⁵ I. Obłąkowska-Galanciak, *Gorzkie gody... Publicystyka i literacka działalność Dymitra Filosofova na emigracji*, Olsztyn, 2001, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

freedom of religion, which were suppressed by the Tsarist autocracy and the Orthodox Church. Thus, he began to believe in the idea of a democratic state.⁷ As an intellectual, he did not side with any political party, even though he worked in the editorial staff of the cadet periodical *Речь* (*Rech'*).⁸

The coup of 25 October 1917 and the Bolshevik rule prompted the “triumvirate” to flee to Poland (after a year’s stay in red Petrograd), where they engaged in the work of the Russian Political Committee of Savinkov. Filosofov became Savinkov’s deputy and vice-president of the Polish-Russian Society led by Władysław Tyszkiewicz.⁹ Eventually, the “third” Russia did not come into existence: the RPC was transformed into the Russian Evacuation Committee and Savinkov had to leave Poland as a result of the Bolsheviks’ insistence on the fulfilment of the Riga treaty. At an earlier date, disillusioned with Piłsudski’s policy, the Merezhkovskis left for Paris. Filosofov remained and became the head of the Polish branch (reinstated by Savinkov) of the National League for the Defence of Freedom and Motherland. At the same time Filosofov was also a member of the editorial board of the periodical *За Свободу!* (*Za svobodu*). The League disintegrated after the arrest of Savinkov in 1924. Filosofov received two letters from the detainee from which he learned that their author had come to accept the Bolshevik system. Filosofov was devastated by those statements. He handed over those letters to Piłsudski, who nevertheless did not lose his trust in him. From that moment, Filosofov was concentrated on his publicist activities and on organising the émigré circles. In 1926, as the self-dependent editor of *За Свободу!*, he supported the May coup, hoping that the return of Józef Piłsudski to power will help to resolve Russian issues. At the time, he stayed in touch with Tadeusz Hołówko, with whom he consulted the questions related to the development of his newspaper and the establishment of an organization which would consolidate the émigrés. It was owing to his involvement that the coalition-based Russian Social Committee came into existence in 1930, presided by the party of Filosofov recruited from the former Savinkov’s circles, democrats and monarchists.

Filosofov was greatly concerned about young people and supported young talented writers (he helped Gomolicki in finding employment and publicised his work). In this effort, he was supported by Vladimir Brandt, formerly a member of the White Movement, a colonel well-versed in literature. Filosofov delegated him to preside over the meetings of the literary group *Литературное содружество* and edit the supplement to *За Свободу!* targeted at young people (from 1927). Over time, he invited the Novopokolentsy group to become involved in editing his newspaper: the most important representatives of the group were Colonel Brandt and Alexandr Würgler,

⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

⁸ Z. Gippius, *Dzienniki petersburskie. Dziennik warszawski*, ed. H. Chłystowski, Warszawa, 2010, pp. 8–7.

⁹ K. Wędrzigołski, *Pamiętniki, wojna i rewolucja, kontrrewolucja, bolszewicki przewrót, warszawski epilog*, Warszawa, 2007, pp. 388 and 421.

head of the *Национальный союз русской молодёжи*, who became a columnist for *За Свободу!* in 1931 and published his texts in the section titled “В своем углу”.

In 1932, with the help of Hołowko, Filosofov founded the new newspaper *Молва (Molva)*, which replaced *За Свободу!* The newspaper was intended to attract new readers: it was supposed to have a more attractive news section (with more information from abroad) and illustrations. To some extent, the newspaper was the publication outlet of the Russian Social Committee. A year later, due to the conflict between Filosofov and Sergey Wojciechowski (who accused the Russian Youth Organization and the Polish government of pursuing a conciliatory policy towards the USSR), Filosofov’s supporters seceded and, as a result, the Committee was no longer coalition-based.

In May 1934, Filosofov embarked on another publishing initiative. The weekly magazine *Меч (Mech)* was intended to reach out to international readership, having one editorial office in Paris and the other in Warsaw. As a consequence of the conflict between Filosofov and Merezhkovski, following the publication of the 20th issue, the cooperation was ended and the magazine was transformed into the daily newspaper edited by Vladimir Brandt. Filosofov continued his publicist activities, but following the fiasco of the international initiative he began to stay aloof from the *émigré* Russian circles. In 1934–1936, he convened the meetings of the Polish-Russian discussion group *Домик в Коломне* (in Polish: *Domek w Kolomnie*; literary meaning: *A Little House in Kolomna*). As his health deteriorated, he moved to the sanatorium in Otwock, where he stayed in the care of Dr Zofia Dobrowolska. He died there on 5 August 1940.

The above outline of Filosofov’s life, much as it may appear lengthy in a review, seems nevertheless indispensable to familiarise the reader with his activities, which formed an extremely important context for his publicist writings. The articles on their own do not provide the reader with a comprehensive picture of Filosofov’s life and work. For instance, they fail to mention his cooperation with Tadeusz Hołowko, the head of the Eastern Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or with Henryk Suchenek-Suchocki,¹⁰ the head of the Department of Ethnic Issues in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Nor do we find there any references to the fact that Filosofov was a salary employee of the Second Division of the General Staff.¹¹

¹⁰ С.Л. Войцеховский, *Эпизоды*, <http://www.dk1868.ru/history/voytzexov.htm#z151> (access: 28 October 2016); S. Kielnicz to M. Milrud, 17 December 1930, in: Л. Флейшман, Ю. Абызов, Б. Равдин, *Русская печать в Риге: из истории газеты «Сегодня» 1930-х годов*, vols. 1–5, Stanford, 1997, vol. 1, p. 325; “in the Russian press in Warsaw, Filosofov will be publicising a favourable opinion, although this is not for certain” – said the deputy minister Bronisław Żongołłowicz, who took part in organising the Orthodox Church council in Poland. It illustrates one of the many aspects of Filosofov’s co-operation with the Polish state in his capacity of a publicist and editor of Russian periodicals. B. Żongołłowicz, *Dzienniki 1930–1936*, ed. D. Zamojska, Warszawa, 2004, p. 166.

¹¹ Ł. Ulatowski, *Niezbrzycki – wybrane aspekty biografii wywiadowczej kierownika Referatu “Wschód”*, http://www.academia.edu/3459067/Lukasz_Ulatowski_Niezbrzycki_wybrane_aspekty_biografii_wywiadowczej_kierownika_Referatu_Wschod, p. 26 (access: 28 October 2016).

This knowledge is very important for the understanding of his publicist writings, as these relationships must have had an impact on them, together with many other factors which I have to omit for the sake of brevity. For this reason, the decision to replace the introduction to the second volume of *Selected Works* with a reference to the previously published (and very interesting for that matter) works by Piotr Mitzner (vol. 1, p. 11) seems to be ill-advised.¹² As a result, the selection lacks integrity and limits the reach of this publication to a very small group of scholars specialising in the history of the Russian diaspora. Had it been otherwise, these articles might have proved to be of interest for a wider readership. The introduction to the volume should contain an analysis of Filosofov's publicist writings in the context of his activities and contacts, both among the émigrés and among Poles and other ethnic groups. It would be useful to address in the introduction the question of the intended readership of his publishing as well as its reception. Other questions might include the following: did it always represent the actual views of Filosofov? Was it subject to censorship?¹³ Who and when subsidised his publications? What was his competition on the press market? What did he intend and plan to do? What did he manage to accomplish? What was his political profile in 1920–1936?

The introduction should also compensate for the deficiencies related to the fact that the reader cannot possibly become familiar with Filosofov's output in its entirety. Unfortunately, *Selected Works* fail to compensate this, nor do we find in it an exhaustive explanation of the criteria of selection of the articles to be included in the book (vol. 1, p. 10).

The selection of Filosofov's texts for the second volume was based on the following periodicals: *Свобода, За Свободу!*, *Молва, Меч* and *Wiadomości Literackie*. One should also bear in mind that the earliest articles and interviews of Filosofov published in Poland date back to January and February 1920: they appeared in *Минский Курьер* edited by Aleksander Junosza-Gzowski, and, after his arrival in Vilnius on 22 February 1920, in *Nasz Kraj* and *Wileński Kurier* edited respectively by Juliusz Sumorok and M. Szat.¹⁴ Both in Minsk and Vilnius, the appearance of the famous "literary triumvirate" composed of Gippius, Merezhkovski and Filosofov was met with great public interest, which was widely reported by the local press.¹⁵

¹² Mitzner, *Warszawski "Domek w Kołomnie"*; id., *Warszawski krąg Dymitra Filosofova*, Warszawa, 2015; P. Mitzner, L. Fleishman, *Metamorfozy Lwa (Leona) Gomolickiego*, Warszawa, 2015.

¹³ For example, after the attack on Lizarev three articles in *За Свободу!* were censored, see: the note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland A. Zaleski to the USSR Foreign Affairs Commissioner G. Chicherin on the attack of the USSR trade representative in Warsaw A. Lizarev, 3 June 1928 r., in: *Dokumenty i materiały do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich*, vol. 5, ed. T. Cieślak, I.A. Chrienow, Warszawa, 1966, pp. 328–330.

¹⁴ *Виленский Курьер* – ежедневная газета. ред.-изд. Н.И. Радин; № 41, 28 июля 1919, изд. Н. Радин, за ред. Л. Слонимский, № 127, 22 октября 1919, ред.-изд. Н.И. Радин; № 137, 1 ноября 1919, изд. Н.И. Радин, за ред. М.М. Шат, далее ред.-изд. М.М. Шат, Вильно, 1919–1921.

¹⁵ For mentions of their stay in Vilnius and interviews with them, see e.g. *Dziennik Wileński*, *Wileński Kurier* and *Nasz Kraj*, for more details see: П. Лавринец, *Мережковский, Гиппиус,*

At that time those three émigrés voiced some remarkably bold political statements, which were a prelude to their co-operation with Boris Savinkov, and, by way of his Political Committee, with the Polish state. The most important statement, however, was the following, published by Filosofov in *Минский Курьер*: “when Dima first published in Gzowski’s [newspaper] that the widely disputed borders of the year 1772 were merely a justice – it was a view to which we could all subscribe. Dima went even so far as to write that Plac Saski [Saxon Square] in Warsaw would look better without the Orthodox cathedral – the memorial to the Russian autocratic rule – and that it should be knocked down”.¹⁶ This view was confirmed by our author in Vilnius: “Оба мы с г. Мережковским, – сказал г. Философов, – стоим на почве прав Польши на границы 1772 г. Признание этих прав должно быть исходным пунктом при установлении польско-российских отношений”.¹⁷ I mention it because these were the fundamental texts from which the émigré path of Filosofov began, also with regard to his role as a political activist. Unfortunately, they have escaped the attention of the authors: in the introduction to the bibliography it is stated (apart from the four newspapers mentioned above) that “it seems that at the time he did not publish his texts in other émigré periodicals” (vol. 2, p. 449). Had these texts been translated and included in this publication, these two volumes would seem to be more comprehensive and useful, given the limited access to those Russian periodicals.¹⁸

In selecting the articles, the editors rightly noted that the scope of the topics addressed was so wide that one could have grouped them into several individual volumes dealing with politics, the Orthodox cathedral Church, art, and many other issues in which Filosofov was remarkably knowledgeable. The selection made by Mitzner was intended to emphasize the variety of those articles and the views of the author as they evolved in response to the changing situation in Europe: this conviction has led to organising the articles in chronological order. From among about 600 articles (according to the author of the introduction) which were attributed to Filosofov, 73 have been selected for publication in the book. The critical apparatus provided in the publication includes bibliographical footnotes, spells out the abbreviated names of organisations, and offers explanations of literary allusions and unattributed quotations. The personal index is of great help in navigating through this extensive, 500-page-long volume.

Философов: три Виленских интервью, <http://www.russianresources.lt/dictant/Materials/Lavri-nec.html> (access: 22 May 2016).

¹⁶ Z. Gippius, *Dzienniki*, p. 446.

¹⁷ “Mereżkowski i Filosofov o stosunkach w Sowdepji”, *Nasz Kraj*, 46 (25 February 1920).

¹⁸ To the best of my knowledge, the only collection (and very scanty at that) of the issues of *Минский Курьер* is held in the University Library in Warsaw. Unfortunately, the issues from January and February 1920 (at the time when Filosofov published his texts in that periodical) are missing.

I would like to draw particular attention of the reader to those texts by Filosofov which dealt with Poland's policy towards Russian minority and immigration. One particularly interesting example of his publicist writings is the article *После высылки* in which he cautiously commented on the deportation of Savinkov.¹⁹ He reminded the readers that 23 years before Savinkov was detained in Warsaw Citadel for participating in the Polish patriotic manifestation in Vilnius against the setting up of a monument to Count Muraviov also known as "Veshatel". He emphasised that the expulsion would be detrimental to Polish-Russian co-operation. Filosofov stated at numerous instances that as an émigré he did not want to interfere in Polish affairs, but he did not always live up to this declaration, using various pretexts to point out mistakes to the Poles in a friendly manner, which sometimes annoyed even his Polish friends. However, one has to admit that his remarks were often correct and perhaps that was why they aroused strong emotions²⁰. For instance, in the article *Новая фаза в польско-русском вопросе*, he warned (and probably scandalized most Russians) that "in future Russia will always be the 'Piedmont' for national minorities in Poland if these minorities do not receive satisfactory treatment. [...] Poles are the hosts in their own home. Their policy in the Eastern regions is harmful to them, it is their issue and we have nothing to do with it. But let me repeat that if the future of Polish-Russian relations depends on this or that policy towards national minorities, then we, engaged in the fight for Polish-Russian rapprochement, have our say".²¹ In his publicist writings Filosofov looked for the golden mean which could reconcile the national interests of Poles, Ukrainians, Russian and Belarussians. In doing so, he vigorously opposed all manifestations of chauvinism among all the nations whose interests played out in the Eastern borderland.²² He was also an ardent critic of anti-Semitism and rebuked Polish writers for their indifference to that issue.²³ These views must have brought him closer to Tadeusz Hołówko, one of the protagonists of the Promethean movement, who served as the head of the Eastern Department in the Ministry of Internal

¹⁹ D. Filosofov, "Po deportacji", *Свобода*, 1921, no. 259, in: id. *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 16–18.

²⁰ "The first speaker was Filosofov, whose obsession with Poland's attitude towards Russia I find terribly annoying. He digs out some insignificant articles written by God knows what scribblers and harps on them. [...] There is indeed something provocative in his pontificating about what our attitude to Russia should be like, even for myself, for all my objectivity and philosophical outlook on the world"; M. Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki*, vol. 3: 1935–1936, ed. T. Drewnowski, Warszawa, 2009, p. 36.

²¹ D. Filosofov, "Nowy etap w kwestii polsko-rosyjskiej", *3a Свободы!*, 1922, no. 234, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 31–33.

²² Filosofov, *Wciąż o tym samym*, *3a Свободы!*, 1924, no. 71, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 59–62; "Wojujące nacjonalizmy", *3a Свободы!*, 1924, no. 85, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 62–64; "Tragiczne przemówienie Sieriebriennikowa", *3a Свободы!*, 1924, no. 155, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 76–79.

²³ Filosofov, "List otwarty pisarzy polskich", *Wiadomości Literackie*, 1929, no. 24, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 132–134. For his attitude to Jews and the Zionist movement, see the article "Naród marzycieli", *3a Свободы!*, 1923, no. 219, 226, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 47–59.

Affairs from 1927. After he was murdered, Filosofov wrote one of the most beautiful obituaries dedicated to his memory: “The ‘glass houses’ of co-existing nations were perhaps more important to him than the ‘glass houses’ of social justice. And even if with regard to the national question he displayed an extremely maximalist attitude, supporting the separatist aspirations of the ‘peoples of the East’, he did fully understand that this policy would be unrealistic and devoid of any authority, that it would be like a ‘sounding brass’, if in his own home country, in Poland, he did not see a peaceful co-existence of nations, a just settlement of the issue of national minorities”.²⁴

Another group of texts which deserve thorough study is composed of calls to action and manifestos addressed to the émigrés, or, more generally, to all Russians. One of the most interesting texts in this context is *Встряска и самопроверка*,²⁵ presenting a dramatic plea of Filosofov for financial support for *За Свободу!* Did the fate of his newspaper really depend on the support from the emigre community? The last issue of *За Свободу!* appeared on 3 April 1932, but no later than on 6 April the first issue of *Молва*, was published, edited by two close associates of Filosofov, Nikolai Riazantsev and Vladimir Brandt, with whom he worked in *За Свободу!* The publishing work required constant financial support, which in the case of both *За Свободу!* and *Молва* was provided by the Polish state (it would be superfluous to discuss in this review when and which institutions financed their publications, but the fact remains that Tadeusz Hołówko greatly contributed to the founding of *Молва*). Was this plea for financial support a mere bluff? Not necessarily. Filosofov always had too little cash at his disposal and owing to greater financial means he gained greater independence in his actions. Moreover, he garnered acclaim from the staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Second Division of the General Staff, who were keen to support those newspapers which were widely read and as such could be almost entirely self-dependent. Filosofov broached another important subject in his article *Борьба с эмигрантской уравниловкой* and posed the question of whether in the face of the mass denationalisation of young Russian people the funds should be directed at educating and supporting the most talented of them²⁶. In one of his foundational articles selected for the book, *Чего мы хотим*, Filosofov discussed the profile of the new periodical: “By its very nature, the newspaper will be anti-communist, anti-materialist and anti-Marxist. All these ‘anti-’, however, need to carry a definite message. [...] However arrogant it might seem, if the émigré community does not revise its ideology, sooner or later it will have to lay down their arms”. In the article Filosofov also declared that it would support the activities of the National Union of the New Generation.²⁷

²⁴ Filosofov, “Pamięci Pana Tadeusza”, *За Свободу!*, 1931, no. 236, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, p. 199.

²⁵ Filosofov, “Wstrząs i samokontrola”, *За Свободу!*, 1932, no. 45, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 203–205.

²⁶ Filosofov, “Walka z emigrancką ‘urawniłowką’”, *Молва*, 1932, no. 67, 72, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 227–230.

²⁷ Filosofov, “Czego chcemy”, *Меч*, 1934, nos. 1–2, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 291–295.

The same issue of the periodical included the text of the seminal lecture delivered by Filosofov: *От чего зависит возрождение эмиграции? Доклад, прочитанный 18 марта 1934 г. на собрании "Литературного содружества"*. He stated in the lecture that the Russian émigré community should draw on the experience of the Polish "Great Emigration" (he drew particular attention to Mickiewicz) and proposed to establish "the Order of Lugubrious Knights".²⁸ One other article worthy of notice is *К читателям*, where Filosofov explained why his periodical was transformed into a daily newspaper and passed on to the younger generation represented by Georgiy Sokolov and Vladimir Brandt.²⁹

Not only was Filosofov the voice of the émigrés' conscience and a commentator on Polish internal affairs, but he also analysed international relations, as can be seen in such texts as *About rats and humans* and *The neutral state and neutrality* written in 1935-1936, in which he presaged the outbreak of war.³⁰ He devoted a great number of his articles to Bolshevik Russia. In one of those, he commented on the accession of the USSR to the League of Nations and criticised the policy of the French Deputy Prime Minister Edouard Herriot, while in another he discussed the report of Otmar (Jan Stanisław Berson) from spring 1935. On that basis Filosofov came to the conclusion that owing to the religious sentiment the Russians "gain a healthy national awareness"³¹ – indeed, Stalin did ease the repressions of the Orthodox Church during the mobilisation effort against the Third Reich, but this was not a symptom of change that might have been taking place in the USSR.³² This view may suggest that Filosofov adopted some of the ideas of his associates related to the Novopokolentsy movement (they believed in the anti-Bolshevik revolution and the primordial purity of the Russian people) and that he felt the urge for seeking positives which might mitigate, even to a limited extent, the realistic (and pessimistic) vision of Russia's future. Those ideas, however, affected the clarity of Filosofov's vision.

Filosofov did not avoid addressing religious questions. Not only did he take part in the discussion concerning the Orthodox faith, but was also actively interested in Catholicism: he readily appreciated some advantages of the latter, but he was definitely not a supporter of the union.³³ His attitude to the issues related to the Orthodox Church is so complicated that it would require a separate article to confront his publicist writings with the activities of the officials involved in the initiative of convening the council of the Orthodox Church in Poland.

²⁸ Filosofov, "Od czego zależy odrodzenie emigracji", *Меч*, 1934, nos. 1–5, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 295–308.

²⁹ Filosofov, "Do czytelników", *Меч*, 1934, nos. 19–20, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 338–341.

³⁰ Id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 411–416.

³¹ D. Filosofov, "Zdrowa reakcja", *Меч*, 1935, no. 19, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 392–398.

³² The complexity of this policy is tellingly explained by Włodzimierz Bączkowski in *Rosja wczoraj i dziś. Studium historyczno-polityczne*, Jerusalem, 1946, pp. 57–58 and 137–138.

³³ D. Filosofov, "Książęta Wołkońscy", *Меч*, 1934, no. 24, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 346–353.

Another group of texts represented in the book is composed of reviews and articles written by Filosofov (sometimes under the pseudonym of Staryi Tieatral), discussing various cultural events taking place in Warsaw; one has to admit that as a critic Filosofov was fairly strict and demanding. From among the most interesting reviews published in the book one should note in particular the text titled *Kantor. Impressions of a 'goy' (on the occasion of the concert of religious music in the Great Synagogue of Warsaw on the last day of Hanukkah)*,³⁴ and even more so the review *Without style*.³⁵

In addition to that, the reader may find there many other interesting articles, such as an interview of Filosofov with Aleksander Lednicki,³⁶ a commemorative text about Aleksander Kiereński and his archive, and about the Polish Museum in Rapperswil.³⁷

The article *About Adam Mickiewicz* can be found in the annex. Despite the fact that it was not well received by Polish Mickiewicz scholars in 1932, it nevertheless had an impact on the research carried out by Maria Czapska, and owing to its innovative approach it has proved to be a forerunner of research taken up by Polish scholars only after World War II³⁸.

It is worth emphasising that in addition to the selected texts the book contains a bibliography of Filosofov's articles (compiled by Sviatlana Kuziur; it provides a concise description of the contents for each bibliographical record) – the titles of the texts included in the selection are printed in bold. It might appear, given that the criteria for the selection of the texts are not provided, that the bibliography lists all texts by Filosofov published in the selected journals – the list in itself is of great help, but unfortunately the user has to bear in mind that it is incomplete. What makes it worse is that some very important articles are missing. One of the texts which are particularly conspicuous by their absence is the extremely interesting text titled *Ядовитые цветы (За Свободу!*, no. 187, 17 August 1926), in which Filosofov responded to the attacks of the socialist journalists who accused Russians of Russifying the Orthodox Church and the population of the Eastern borderlands. Filosofov argued that such attitudes could prove to be advantageous only to the Bolsheviks, the common enemy of Poles, Russians and Ukrainians. The bibliography does not list the article *К обыску в Россике (За Свободу!*, 212, 15 September 1928), which had to do with the inspection in the "Rossica" bookshop and publishing house owned by the former senator Nikolai Serebrennikov, who was a nationalist minority activist. Considering the importance of the Convention of Russian Minority Organisations, it is also regrettable that the list does not mention

³⁴ Id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 100–109.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 79–82.

³⁶ D. Filosofov, "U Pana Aleksandra Lednickiego", *За Свободу!*, 1928, no. 260, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 120–125.

³⁷ D. Filosofov, "Rapperswil", *За Свободу!*, 1928, no. 18, in: id., *Pisma*, vol. 2, pp. 109–111.

³⁸ E. Skalasińska, *Filosofow jako mickiewiczolog?*, in: Filosofov, *Pisma*, vol. 2, p. 421.

the text *Сезд представителей Русских Меньшинственных Организаций (За Свободу!*, 92, 5 April 1931), which illustrates Filosofov's attitude to the convention. It is particularly striking that it also omits the article *Просщальная статья (За Свободу!*, 75, 3 April 1932), given that this text should not only have been listed in the bibliography, but also included in the selection. It was the last article written by Filosofov for *За Свободу!* In it, the author explained the reasons for discontinuing the periodical, presented his views on cooperation with young people, called the intellectuals to adopt activist attitudes and outlined the concept of the *Orden Bednich Ritsarey* – it was indeed one of the foundational manifesto articles by Filosofov. From among the texts illustrating Filosofov's relations with the émigré activists living outside of Poland, the following articles are also missing: *Инсинуации Милюкова (Молва*, 138, 20 September 1932); *Демократический релятивизм (Молва*, 179, 8 August 1933), in which he criticised the relativistic attitude of the members of Pavel Milukov's *Крестьянская Россия* party to the USSR as well as those concerned with international politics: *Обаяние Франции (Молва*, 11, 17 April 1932); *Растерявшиеся отцы (Молва*, 177, 5 August 1933); *Десять лет фашизма (Молва*, 172, 29 October 1932); in the latter article, he presented a particularly interesting view on the international situation and stated that only "fascism" can lead to a rapprochement between Moscow and New York. Other missing articles include *Где бюро меньшинств (Молва*, 84, 11 April 1933), in which the author criticised the ethnic policy of the Polish state, and a very interesting review of the opera *Смерть Иоанна Грозного (Молва*, 161, 16 October 1932).

To finish off this brief discussion of the appended bibliography, I would like to mention one other article which has been included in the list of articles, but in my view should have been selected, at least in part, for publication in the book. The commemorative texts by Filosofov about Piłsudski would have made the selection more comprehensive; in particular I refer to the text *Воскресные беседы: Великие люди и мы (Меч*, 26, 7 July 1935; 27, 14 July 1935; 28, 21 July 1935; 30, 4 August 1935). That long article (or a part thereof) has not been included among the texts selected for publication in the book; it should be noted, however, that the editors of the volume could at least have provided a bibliographical reference to its previously published translation.³⁹

Conclusions

The greatest flaw of the book is the lack of precision as regards its character. It is not a scholarly edition, for it fails to provide a critical discussion of the published writings, an exhaustive explanation of the criteria of selection, a presentation of the

³⁹ Mitzner, *Warszawski krąg*, pp. 175–204.

author himself and a comprehensive list of newspapers in which he published his texts (there is no mention of *Минский Курьер*, *Wileński Kurier* or *Nasz Kraj*). The bibliography of the articles is also misleading as it does not offer a comprehensive list of Filosofov's publicist writings, nor does it inform the reader about the fact that it is incomplete. It is not a selection prepared with the general reader in mind either – it seems that the intended readership is primarily academic, given that the second volume is about 500-page-long, the introduction in the first one is rather short, the reader cannot learn about the places in Warsaw so important to Filosofov (thus, without an introduction, the publicist writings seem to be devoid of context), and finally, the graphic layout is not particularly attractive and does not include any iconographic material.

With the financial support from the NPRH grant programme, owing to which the edition was funded, its authors had an opportunity to offer a good, scholarly selection of Filosofov's texts. Unfortunately, the result is somewhere in between and leaves a sense of incompleteness. We are left to expect that at some point some academic journal will publish a supplement to this edition which will contain the most important text missing in the selection reviewed and complete the list of Filosofov's articles without which his views may seem difficult to understand.

To conclude, I would like to note that the second volume of *Selected Works* by Dmitry Filosofov is the first (and very extensive at that) selection of the émigré publicist writings of not only the most prominent representative of Russian emigration in Poland, but also an eminent figure for both the Russian diaspora globally and for the history of Polish-Russian relations. In terms of the topics addressed, it offers a cross-sectional view of Filosofov's activities as a publicist, one which includes many names of famous people: politicians, artists, social activists and scientists. It is therefore a must-read not only for all researchers studying the Russian emigration, but also, more generally, for readers interested in the history of the Second Polish Republic and Russia / the USSR. Despite the aforementioned shortcomings, this selection should be of interest to a significant number of researchers in Polish-Russian affairs, whom I encourage to reach for both volumes of *Selected Works* by Dmitry Filosofov.

Translated by Damian Jasiński