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The Transnational Socialization of *tamizdat* as a Family Affair: The Networks of the Chernov and Andreev Families*

Ilaria Sicari

Abstract:

During the so-called cultural Cold War, book diplomacy played a determinant role in promoting the transnational production and circulation of clandestine Soviet and Eastern European literature across the Iron Curtain, a geopolitical and ideological border extremely permeable to cultural objects. Through the analysis of the agency of socio-cultural actors (writers, translators, publishers, editors, dissidents, diplomats, activists of social movements, etc.) cooperating in the transnational socialization of *tamizdat*, and the reconstruction of the relational networks established among state and non-state individuals and institutions (literary agencies, organizations, publishing houses etc.), this essay highlights the role played by the most active, variegated and big group of the transnational community of *tamizdatchiki*: the Soviet and Eastern European émigrés. With this aim, the relational and social networks of the Chernovs and the Andreevs will be illustrated, as the members of these prominent Russian émigré families were involved in the smuggling, production and circulation of several *tamizdat*, such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago*, as well as Nadezhda Mandelstam's *Hope Against Hope*.

Keywords: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Nadezhda Mandelstam, Olga Andreeva Carlisle, Olga Chernova Andreeva, Vadim Andreev

The concept of *transnationalism* “refers to the increased interlinkage between people all around the world and the loosening of boundaries between countries” (Schunck 2011, 259). More precisely, “with respect to migration, transnationalism describes immigrants’ engagement in economic, socio-cultural and political activities across borders” (*ibidem*). A perfect example of the transnational activities of émigré communities in all these spheres is constituted by the production and circulation of *tamizdat*. Giving the nature of this specific cultural object as a social and literary practice, as well as a political institution (Klots 2021), the

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analysis of the “multi-dimensional entanglements and transfers across the geopolitical divide” (Niesser, Skowronek, Kind-Kovács, *et al.* 2018, 551-552) reveals the dynamics of trans-systemic interactions which created a sort of “third space” for cultural resistance and political opposition of the Russian, Central and Eastern European diaspora in the West during the Cold War.

The diasporic communities played a highly relevant role in the creation and promotion of these transnational cultural entanglements, often contributing materially to the circulation of texts across and beyond the Iron Curtain (Kind-Kovács 2014, 155-162). In assessing their impact on the transnational socialization of *tamizdat*, it is advisable to adopt a micro-historical perspective (Ginzburg 1993, 2013), by focusing on the agency of each socio-cultural actor – state and non-state individuals and institutions – participating, at different levels and with different roles and aims, to the production of culture. Pierre Bourdieu (1993) stated that, in order to establish the meaning and value of a literary work, it should be inserted in the system of social relations that enabled its production, circulation and consumption. In this perspective, he suggested

to consider as contributing to production not only the direct producers of the works in its materiality (artists, writers, etc.), but also the producers of the meaning and value of the work (critics, publishers [...]) and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such. (Ivi, 37)

In the specific case of *tamizdat*, all the socio-cultural actors (dissidents, human rights activists, translators, literary agents, critics, diplomats, associations, etc.) cooperating in the cross-border migration of texts (*samizdat* and *tamizdat*) should be considered as mediators, acting as gatekeepers not only between different cultures, but also between different fields of cultural productions (official and unofficial), as well as different geopolitical and ideological areas (East and West). In this transnational perspective, the material and symbolic production as well as the circulation of *tamizdat* can be assessed only by establishing the nature of the agency of each actor involved in either smuggling of *samizdat* from the Eastern bloc and publishing of *tamizdat* in the West, as well as in distributing them on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

To this aim, the case of the entangled cross-border relations between two family groups will be analyzed: the Andreevs and the Chernovs. But, for doing so, we shall begin our story from the end.

1. Olga Andreeva Carlisle: the granddaughter of Leonid Andreev

The full story of how *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago* came to the United States will, I suspect, never be known. I have learned enough, however,

to satisfy myself that without your time and dedication, those books would not have been published as carefully, expeditiously, and successfully as they were.¹

With these words, the chief editor of the American publishing house Harper & Row (H&R) – Winthrop Knowlton – wrote to Olga Andreeva Carlisle (born Olga Vadimovna Andreeva) and her husband Henry Carlisle to thank them for their contribution to the publication of two of Solzhenitsyn's most important novels. The couple had indeed played a determinant role in the (almost) secret story of the smuggling and publishing of *The First Circle* (1968) and *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973). In particular, she had acted as Solzhenitsyn's trustee, signing the contract of *The First Circle* and of the first volume of *The Gulag Archipelago* on his behalf and collaborating on their English translation.

In remembering that day of April 1967, when Solzhenitsyn asked her help to publish abroad his novel *V krughe pervom* (*The First Circle*), Olga Andreeva Carlisle wrote:

We walked down a street that was completely deserted. I was very cold. I could feel Solzhenitsyn's rage in his tightening hold on my arm. Our step echoed down that dark, empty Moscow street. Then he spoke, and what he said left me limp, even as his own movements became more charged with energy. Aleksander Solzhenitsyn was asking me to take charge of the publication in the West of the novel the KGB had 'arrested'. It was called *The First Circle*. (Andreyev Carlisle 1978, 3)

However, it was certainly not a coincidence if the path of the young French journalist of Russian origins crossed that of the Soviet writer that day, as the journey that led Olga Andreeva Carlisle to Solzhenitsyn began at the very heart of the Russian intelligentsia of the XIX-XX centuries.

Olga Andreeva Carlisle was born in 1930 in Paris in a Russian émigré family that belonged to the circles of the cultural and political *intelligentsiia* abroad. Her father was Vadim Leonidovich Andreev, the son of the Russian writer and dramaturg Leonid Nikolaevich Andreev and Aleksandra Mikhailovna Veligorskaia. Her mother was Olga Viktorovna Chernova, the daughter of the *eserka* Olga Eliseevna Kolbasina and the stepdaughter of the founder and leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR), Viktor Mikhailovich Chernov.

Olga Andreeva Carlisle is a painter, a journalist and a translator from Russian to English². In 1949, when her father was hired as a translator for the Unit-

¹ Winthrop Knowlton to Olga and Henry Carlisle (December 18, 1975), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 62, Anthony Curto, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

² Olga Andreeva Carlisle's paintings and drawings were exhibited in Europe and the USA (Washington Connecticut Art Association, 1960; Galerie Katya Granoff, Paris 1965; Modernism Gallery, San Francisco 1999 and 2000). Her articles and essays were published in several newspapers and literary journals, such as *The New York Times*, *Vogue*, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Voprosy Literaturny*. In addition to Solzhenitsyn's works (*The First Circle*; *The Gulag Archipelago*, vol. 1), her translations include an English edition of Dostoevskii's *The Idiot* – realized in collaboration with her husband Henry Carlisle (1969) –; one of Pasternak's poems (*My Sister, Life, and Other poems*, 1976) – published in collaboration with

ed Nations (UN), she moved to New York with her family, where she studied at Bard and Hunter College. In 1951 she married the American writer and editor Henry Carlisle and settled in the US. She lives in San Francisco to this day.

Olga Andreeva Carlisle was introduced to the literary circles of Leningrad and Moscow in 1960, during her first visit in the USSR, when she was sent as a correspondent by the *Paris Review* to interview Boris Pasternak in Peredelkino. Since her arrival, she was commonly recognized as “the granddaughter of Leonid Andreev”, a title of which she was very proud and that legitimized her in the eyes of the *intelligentsia* as worthy not only of respect, but also of the greatest trust. And in fact, as she was planning a trip to the Soviet Union in company of the photographer Inge Morath and her husband – the American writer Arthur Miller – Olga Andreeva Carlisle wrote to her mother that she was thinking to go to Leningrad and Moscow alone because she could not imagine being seen only as a friend of the Millers’ rather than as Andreev’s granddaughter (внучка Андреевой)³. She was known under the same epithet also in the Parisian Russian émigré circles, as demonstrated by an article published in *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* (April 24, 1965) – *Vystavka kartin vnuchki Leonida Andreeva*⁴ – that reported the news of an exhibition of her artworks at the Katia Granoff gallery in Paris⁵. Her descent from the Russian playwright was also often used to promote her own writings. In 1962, for example, when Random House published the memoir *Voices in the Snow*, the cover featured the following description: “The story of the first visit to Russia of Leonid Andreev’s granddaughter, and of her meetings with Pasternak, Sholokhov, Ehrenburg, Evtushenko and many others contemporary Soviet artists” (Andreev Carlisle 1962). A similar description also appeared in the British edition published in London by Weidenfeld and Nicolson (1962).

2. The Andreevs Network

Olga’s paternal branch was deeply rooted in the Slavic literary tradition not only through her grandfather Leonid Nikolaevich Andreev (1871-1919), one of the most important exponents of the Silver Age of Russian literature. Her

Inge Morath, who was the author of the photographs; and a collection of short stories and pictures by her grandfather Leonid Andreev (*Visions: Stories and Photographs*, 1987). She was also the curator of an anthology of Russian poetry – *Poets on Street Corners* (1968) – translated and adapted in collaboration with several American poets, such as Rose Styron, Robert Lowell, Adrienne Rich and Richard Wilburn, just to name a few. Finally, Olga Andreeva Carlisle penned several memoirs (*Voices in the Snow*, 1962; *Solzhenitsyn and the Secret Circle*, 1978; *Island in Time*, 1980; *Under a New Sky*, 1993; and *Vozvrashchenie v tinnyi krug*, 2004).

³ OAC to her parents (November 16, 1965). Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

⁴ Trans.: The exhibition of Leonid Andreev’s granddaughter. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author.

⁵ O. Mozhaika, *Vystavka kartin vnuchki Leonida Andreeva* (April 24, 1965), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

grandmother, Aleksandra Mikhailovna Veligorskaia (1881-1906), also boasted noble literary origins, being the great-granddaughter of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. Olga's father, Vadim Leonidovich Andreev (1903-1976), was also a writer and a poet. After his mother's death in 1906, he moved in Finland with his father and later went back to Russia to study. In 1917 he returned in Finland and, in 1921, enlisted in the White Army under general Pëtr Vrangel. In 1924 he moved to Paris, where he met and married Olga Viktorovna Chernova – also a memorialist and a translator – with whom he had two children, Olga and Aleksandr (1937-2016). In 1948, Vadim Andreev obtained Soviet citizenship but, following the advice of his brother Daniil, decided not to return to Russia. The following year he got a job as a translator in the Russian delegation of the United Nations and moved to New York with his family. In 1959 the same job led him to move with his wife to Geneva, where he lived until the end of his days in 1976. Olga Andreeva's brother, Aleksandr (Sasha), followed in his father's footsteps as an interpreter and translator for the UN and then for several international organizations. In 1967 he moved to Paris, where he worked as an interpreter for the UNESCO until 1983.

The correspondence of the Andreev family testifies to their extensive list of contacts with some of the most important Russian writers of the time, including Boris Pasternak, Marina Tsvetaeva, Ariadna Efron, Nadezhda Mandelshtam, Kornei Chukovskii, Anna Akhmatova, Lidiia Chukovskaia, Varlam Shalamov, Iliia Erenburg, Bella Akhmadulina and, of course, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. However, it should be noted that the last contact was established not through the Andreevs' ties with Russian literary circles, but the transnational socialist revolutionary networks of the Chernov family.

3. The Chernovs Network

Olga Andreeva Carlisle grew up in the Socialist Revolutionary *milieu* that gravitated around her grandmother Olga Eliseevna Kolbasina, her step-grandfather Viktor Mikhailovich Chernov, and her mother Olga Viktorovna Chernova.

Her grandmother, Olga Eliseevna Kolbasina (1882-1964), was born in Odessa in a family with a long-lasting tradition of revolutionary activism: her stepbrother Vasiliï Ivanovich Sukhomlin and his wife Anna Markovna Galperina were both active in the Russian populist group Narodnaia Volia⁶; as for Olga Kolbasina, she joined the SR party, as did her nephew, Vasiliï Vasilevich Sukhomlin. Her first husband was the painter Mitrofan Semënovich Fëdorov (1870-1942), with whom she had one son, Vadim (1901-[1913]), and two daughters, the twins Natalia (1903-1992) and Olga (1903-1979). In 1905 Olga Kolbasina left her husband and emigrated with her children to Finland, where she met the leader of the SR party, Viktor Chernov (1873-1952). In 1906 they married, had a daughter – Ariadna (1908-1974) – and Chernov became the stepfather to her other children, giving

⁶ On the topic, see Sukhomlin (1966).

them his family name (Chernov-Andreev 1978, 25-26). In 1909 the Chernov family moved to Paris and in 1911 to Liguria, in Italy – first to Fezzano and later to Alassio (ivi, 39). In those years they contributed to the transformation of the Italian Riviera in an important center of the Russian SR party abroad (Venturi 2006), hosting in their Ligurian homes several prominent SRs in exile, such as Ivan Stoliarov, the Sukhomlins and two of the women escaped from the Novinsky prison, Natalia Klimova and Zinaida Klapina (Chernov-Andreev 1978, 44-46). Maksim Gorkii was also among their guests (Sosinskaya, Sosinsky, Duvakin 2021, 74). One of Olga Kolbasina's daughters – Olga Viktorovna Chernova – remembered her childhood in Italy with these words:

Not far from Fezzano, along the shore towards Spezia, stood the village of Cavi de Lavagna. It was a favorite with socialist emigres of various persuasions. Many came to our house to meet Victor and other party comrades. The SRs Kolosov, Ligsy, Filipchenko and Leonovich used to visit, and Ksenya Zilberberg with her daughter, who was our age. She was the wife of a revolutionary executed by the Tsarist government. Kenya was a small, attractive young woman. She and her daughter were beloved by the SR Party comrades who looked after them. I remember with great clarity the arrival at our house of Natasha Klimova – Natalya Klimova-Stolyarova– with her husband and her newly-born Natasha, known as Mushka. Mother adored Klimova, they had been friends for many years. (Chernov-Andreev 1978, 45)

After the February Revolution (1917), the Chernovs returned to Russia by boat through Norway. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Kerenskii's Russian Provisional Government – in which Viktor Chernov served as Minister of Agriculture – a difficult moment started for the Chernovs and, when the Bolsheviks seized power, all the family went into clandestinity. Due to her political activism, Olga Kolbasina was arrested twice and imprisoned, with her daughters, in several Soviet penitentiaries from 1917 to 1921 (Chernova-Kolbasina 1922). Thanks to her friendship with another *eserka* – Ekaterina Peshkova, the wife of Maksim Gorkii – she was released and expelled abroad, moving with her family first to Prague, where she collaborated with the journal *Voliia Rossii*, and then to Paris. And it was precisely in the French capital that the long-lasting friendship between the Chernovs and the Andreevs became a family tie, when Olga Viktorovna Chernova married Vadim Leonidovich Andreev in 1924.

The transnational social network of the Kolbasin-Chernov family group gravitated mainly around the SR circles. The family correspondence includes addressees such as Andrea Caffi, Marc Slonim, Vera Gots, Natalia Klimova, Natalia Stoliarova, the Sukhomlins, and many others. However, their contacts also included several literary personalities such as Marina Tsvetaeva: the Chernovs had met the poetess in Prague, where she lived nearby them with her husband Sergei Efron and her daughter Ariadna (Sosinskaya, Sosinsky, Duvakin 2021, 77). Olga Eliseevna Kolbasina also corresponded with Ilia Erenburg, Lidiia Chukovskaia and Roman Gul. The Chernovs' family ties also extended, beside

the Andreevs, to the Reznikov and Sosinskii families, as Natalia Viktorovna Chernova had married Daniil Georgevich Reznikov (1905-1970), while her younger stepsister – Ariadna Viktorovna – married Vladimir Bronislavovich Sosinskii (1900-1974). A close reading of this family network give us a detailed perspective on the intricated relations among its members. For example, the two brothers-in-law Vadim Leonidovich Andreev and Vladimir Bronislavovich Sosinskii were friends even before being married with the Chernov sisters, as they both had fought alongside the White Army of Pëtr Wrangel during the Russian Civil War. The Chernovs' relational network also certainly revolved around *Volia Rossii*⁷, the newspaper of the exiled SRs: Vladimir Vladimirovich Sukhomlin – Olga Eliseevna Kolbasina's nephew – was among its founders and editors; Olga Kolbasina herself and her husband Viktor Chernov collaborated to the journal, as did their future son-in-law Vladimir Sosinskii, who was the journal's editorial secretary.

The history of the family's background and network helps us highlight their crucial role in the encounter between Olga Andreeva Carlisle (the scion, particularly on her mother's side, of a long line of SR activists) and Solzhenitsyn: it was thanks to Chernovs' long-standing friendship with Natalia Stoliarova – who was the already mentioned Mushka, the daughter of the *esery* Ivan Stoliarov and Natalia Klimova – that the story of the smuggling and publishing of *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago* began.

4. The Andreevs and Chernovs: Nodes of Solzhenitsyn's Network

In 1964, thanks to the mediation of Natalia Stoliarova – who at the time was Ilia Erenburg's secretary – Vadim Andreev was introduced to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who entrusted him with the microfilms of several of his manuscripts, including *The First Circle*. Therefore, when the writer met Vadim's daughter, Olga Andreeva Carlisle, in Moscow in April 1967 and he asked her to help him publish the novel, a microfilmed copy of the manuscript was already safe in Geneva, at her parents' house. The “exceptional courageous man” mentioned in Olga's recollections of the whole episode is therefore her own father Vadim Andreev:

Several years before that freezing Russian spring of 1967, an exceptional courageous man, an admirer of Solzhenitsyn's literary talent, had brought out of the Soviet Union the microfilms of *The First Circle* in a pocket of his trenchcoat.

⁷ Being the press organ of the SRs in exile, *Volia Rossii* was a journal that dealt primarily with political and social issues. However, from 1925 onwards, the editorial board showed an increasing interest in literature, having among its contributors many distinguished literary personalities such as Vladislav Khodasevich, Marina Tsvetaeva, Kostantin Balmont, Boris Zaitsev and Aleksei Remizov. Works by Boris Pasternak, Isaac Babel, Boris Pilniak and Evgenii Zamiatin were published on its pages. From 1920 to 1932, the homonymous publishing house was established in Praga: it released more than 40 titles, most of them of political content, such as *Pravda o Kronshtadte* (*The Truth about Kronstadt*), released in 1921.

For years he had kept them in a desk drawer in his study. [...] Now, on a late April morning on my way back to America, I was visiting this man in his small apartment, which, filled with books and pictures, looked like a bit of Moscow tucked away in the middle of a great Western capital. (Andreyev Carlisle 1978, 21)

This is, however, a slightly romanticized version of the facts: in the correspondence of the Chernov-Andreev family, we find evidence that Olga had already tried to persuade the parents to give her Solzhenitsyn's manuscript almost a year and half before her trip to Moscow. One of the first letters in which Olga Andreeva Carlisle mentions the 'Solzhenitsyn affair' is addressed to her father in December 1965, where she explains that – with the help of her husband Henry Carlisle, who was well connected in American publishing circles⁸ – she would be able to handle the publishing of the Russian and English editions in the best possible way and with the utmost discretion:

Вчера я с Генри наконец обсудили подробно и внимательно дело Солж. Генри вполне понял все стороны этого дела, и сказал, что, если и когда это будет нужно, мы сможем устроить издание по-английски и русский в лучших условиях. Без пропаганды и т. д. Я думаю, что нужно дать эти вещи все перепечатать, чтобы был экземпляр у вас и у нас. Нужно, конечно, чтобы пересняли люди не знающий русского.^{9,10}

A few weeks later, Olga wrote to her mother asking if Vadim Andreev had received her letter about Solzhenitsyn (получили ли папа мое письмо о Солж.?)¹¹, adding that it should be done immediately (это надо сделать не откладывая)¹². For security reasons, she did not explicitly mention on that occasion what exactly her father was supposed to do. In another postcard dated February 1965 – after

⁸ Henry Carlisle (1926-1991) was an American writer, translator and editor. He worked for the publishing houses Knopf – for which he edited, among others titles, A. Camus' *The Myth of Sisyphus* – and the Rinehart & Company. He was a member of PEN America, of which he became president in 1976. In 1960 he co-founded the publishing house Purdy, Carlisle & Dodds. See Martin 2011, Woo 2011.

⁹ OAC to Vadim Andreyev (December 29, 1965), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 44, Olga Andreyev Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: Yesterday, Henry and I finally discussed the Solzh. affair in detail and carefully. Henry fully understood all aspects of this case and said that, if and when the time comes, we could organize the publication in English and Russian under the best conditions. Without any publicity and so on. I think that we should reprint all these things so that you and we can have a copy. Of course, it [the microfilm] needs to be reshot by people who don't know Russian.

¹⁰ Olga Andreeva Carlisle's Russian letters are written in an uncertain handwriting and often contain several grammatical and spelling inaccuracies, characteristics that can be attributed to her hesitant knowledge of Russian language, since she is born in Paris and is a third-generation Russian émigré.

¹¹ OAC to Olga Chernova Andreyeva (January 20, 1966), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: Did dad receive my letter about Solzh.[enitsyn]?

¹² *Ibidem*. Trans.: This must be done with any delay.

again assuring her parents of her absolute discretion (с нашей стороны, была и будет *discretion absolue*)¹³ – she inquired more directly about the possibility of retaking a copy of the manuscript’s microfilm, provided that her parents knew a trusted photographer in Geneva (нужно сразу переснять, если есть фотограф *de confiance*).¹⁴ A couple of months later, she brought up the issue again, asking if the time was right for her parents to send a copy of Solzhenitsyn’s manuscript to her and her husband, or if they wanted to wait (м.[ожет] б.[ыть], стоило бы переслать нам Солж.[еницын], или подождем?)¹⁵.

On her way back from the USSR to her parents in Geneva in April 1967, Olga Andreeva Carlisle wrote to Henry about her trip. Without explicitly mentioning Solzhenitsyn, the letter conveys her enthusiasm about “undertaking an American book so soon. I keep thinking of it all the time”¹⁶. Soon after, she returned to the US with Solzhenitsyn’s assignment and, finally, a copy of the *First circle*’s manuscript. The Carlises immediately set out to carry out the writer’s wish without putting his safety at risk. Given the danger of the operation, maximum secrecy was necessary. Henry’s contacts in American publishing and literary circles proved essential to identifying potential partners. The first people consulted by the Carlises were two friends, Harrison Salisbury¹⁷ and Thomas Whitney¹⁸. Olga describes them as follows:

¹³ *OAC to Olga Chernova Andreyeva* (February 16, 1966), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: On our part, there was and will be *discretion absolue*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*. Trans.: You need to retake [the photos] immediately if you have a photographer *de confiance*.

¹⁵ *OAC to Olga Chernova Andreyeva* (1966), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: М.[ауе] it would be worth sending us Solzh.[enitsyn’s manuscript], or should we wait?

¹⁶ *OAC to Henry Carlisle* (April 24, 1967), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

¹⁷ Harrison Salisbury (1908-1993) was an American journalist. In 1930 he joined the United Press International (UPI) agency and in 1949 joined also the foreign staff of *The New York Times*, becoming the first American correspondent in Moscow and bureau chief (1949-1954). In 1955 he won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting and received many other awards and honours as well. Salisbury wrote many books, most of them devoted to Russia, such as *Russia on the Way* (1946), *The 900 Days: The Siege of Leningrad* (1969), *Black Night, White Snow—Russia’s Revolutions 1905–1917* (1978). See: Pace (1993).

¹⁸ Thomas Whitney (1917-2007) was an American journalist, diplomat and translator. After graduating in 1940 in Russian history at Columbia University, during World War II he was an analyst in Washington with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). From 1944 to 1947, he was an attaché and chief of the economic section in the United States embassy in Moscow. In 1947, he joined The Associated Press (AP), later becoming the Moscow bureau chief of the agency. From 1953 to 1959, he worked in New York as a foreign editor for the AP. Whitney translated several *tamizdat*: Solzhenitsyn’s *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago*, V. Grossman’s *Forever Flowing*, P. Grigorenko’s *Memoirs* and Iu. Orlov’s *Dangerous Thoughts*. He edited also other books, such as the collection of Khrushchev’s speeches and articles, published in 1963 with the title *Khrushchev Speaks*. See: Fox (2007).

[...] each, in complementary ways, was qualified to aid us in the project. Both were experts, of long experience, in Soviet affairs; both were already keenly aware of the central role Solzhenitsyn was playing in the dissidents' struggle; both were persons of tested professionalism and unquestionable integrity. (Andreyev Carlisle 1978, 36)

After consulting them, the choice fell on the publishing house Harper & Row. Together they designed an editorial strategy – inspired by the one carried out by the Italian publisher Feltrinelli to protect the world copyright of Pasternak's novel *Doctor Zhivago* – and aimed at securing the author's rights, respecting his authority and, above all, ensuring his safety. In a letter sent by Henry to his in-laws, Olga Chernova and Vadim Andreev, he explained the plan in detail:

Dear Olga and Vadim,

[...] as you know, we have word that the author wishes the novel to be published here at Christmas, 1968. [...] The best way would be to have all rights for all countries controlled (without the author appearing to be involved) by one organization in one country, such as was the case of DR. ZHIVAGO (Feltrinelli). We have such an organization, set up with extreme secrecy, and ready to act for the author, under Olga's direction, if he chooses to make use of it. It would not be necessary for him to have any open connection with us, or set down anything in writing, etc. It would be enough for him to understand that Olga and her associates and the American publishers will act for him in handling world rights and that he should not release other copies of the ms. or encourage any other publishing situations. If he agrees to this, the group is prepared to defend energetically his 'authorization' – and therefore the copyright – without specifying how it was obtained. (In fact, a false "cover story" would be invented to do everything possible to protect K. [ostia]¹⁹).²⁰

Given the difficulty and danger of consulting Solzhenitsyn on every single issue, the success of this plan required not only absolute secrecy, but also entrusting a person with the authority of making decisions on his behalf. Olga Andreeva Carlisle seemed best suited to fulfil this role, but she needed to obtain the author's consent: she therefore flew back to Moscow in September 1967. As soon as she arrived in the Soviet capital, she sent a telegram to Henry informing him that the deal was "already perfectly successful"²¹: Solzhenitsyn had authorized her to make decisions on his behalf regarding the publication of *The First*

¹⁹ Kostia, often abbreviated as K., was the name by which Solzhenitsyn was referred to in the correspondence not only of the Chernov-Andreev family, but also of all the other "invisible allies" who helped him smuggle and publish his works in the West. For more information about the transnational network of Solzhenitsyn's helpers, see Solzhenitsyn 1995.

²⁰ *Henry Carlisle to Olga and Vadim Andreev* (July 31, 1967), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

²¹ *OAC to Henry Carlisle* (September 13, 1967), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

Circle. A couple of weeks later, back at her parent's home in Geneva, Olga sent her husband a more detailed letter about the outcome of the meeting:

The Kostia part of the trip was a tremendous success – met with NS [Natalia Stoliarova] at great length on the day of my arrival, evolved a code [...]. Then that night, at common friends and at K.[ostia]'s request, there was a party [...] and I had a 40 min. session with him on a balcony [...] where I was able to tell him, always however in euphemism, about our arrangements, and he, his plans and desires regarding the novel. There is no misunderstanding whatever regarding our complete control of it. He wants it ready for Xmas 68, appreciate fully what we are all doing for him [...]. Of course, there is a real danger of having the book “stolen” from us beforehand, but it won't be K.[ostia]'s doing – it's just that lots of literary pirates float around Moscow now. *Que faire?*²²

In her memoirs, Olga Andreeva Carlisle claims that it was at that party that Solzhenitsyn granted her full use of the royalties of the American edition of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, released by the newyorkese publishing house Fawcett World Library in 1963. At the time, the royalties were held by Thomas Whitney, who had translated the work and acted as treasurer on behalf of the Soviet writer (Andreyev Carlisle 1978, 68-73). However, if we compare this version of the story to other archival documents, we find a number of incongruencies: there is evidence that Olga had submitted an application to the Julia A. Whitney Foundation in Washington – of which Thomas Whitney was the trustee – “for the purpose of performing translation and editorial work in connection with certain Russian literary materials in my possession”²³ as early as in June of that year, namely a couple of months before the “balcony meeting” with Solzhenitsyn.

To ensure maximum protection of the rights, it was decided to proceed with the simultaneous publication of the work in different languages, involving a number of European publishing houses that would support H&R in the enterprise. November 1967 was a crucial month for the editorial fate of *The First Circle*, as demonstrated by the extensive correspondence between Alan Schwartz – the attorney hired by H&R to look after its interests – and Erich Linder – the literary agent appointed by Cass Canfield (H&R) to handle the sales of the work's rights in Europe²⁴. From the first moment it was clear that, as the author was unable to provide a written statement or to sign the contract, it would be impossi-

²² *OAC to Henry Carlisle* (October 5, 1967), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

²³ *OAC to Thomas Whitney* (June 20, 1967), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 62, Thomas Whitney 1967-1980, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

²⁴ The correspondence between Cass Canfield and Erich Linder is held in Milan, at the Fondazione Arnaldo and Alberto Mondadori (FAAM), in the collection of the Agenzia Letteraria Internazionale (ALI Linder), folder Harper & Row (1968). On the role of the literary agent Erich Linder in the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works, as well as of other *tamizdat* books, see: Sicari (2025).

ble to defend in court the interests of H&R and its associated publishers should they be threatened by the release of a pirate edition. Nevertheless, Schwartz wrote to Linder that:

[...] it may be possible to obtain a written authorization and copyright assignment from the author. However, even if this is obtained neither H&R nor the foreign publishers would be in a position to guarantee that such authorization could be produced if needed because it would remain in the possession of the author's representative and would be used only at the discretion of that representative.²⁵

When, shortly thereafter, a rumour began to circulate in the Russian émigré circles that an Italian publisher was about to publish a work by Solzhenitsyn²⁶, it was then decided to send someone to Solzhenitsyn in order to obtain some form of written authorization from him. This task was entrusted to Aleksandr (Sasha) Andreev, Olga's younger brother, who went to Moscow in the winter of 1968. On January 29 he sent a letter to Henry, reporting the outcome of the meeting:

I met K.[ostia] at Mrs. M.[andelshtam]'s pad on Saturday morning [...]. In view of all these possibilities of pirate editions [...] he would favor a much earlier publication date [...] he's leaving the whole date question for Olga to look after and decide [...]. This *carte blanche* to Olga becomes even stronger in case of his death or arrest. [...] For the letter: he agrees in principle, understands it would strengthen O[lga]'s position (while remaining undivulged), doesn't see how it could protect intermediaries though (neither do I really). [He] Is willing to sign next occasion (he thought it might be a little imprudent at this stage).²⁷

However, despite Solzhenitsyn's refusal to sign any document for fear that it should fall into the wrong hands – making him unable to deny his involvement in the publication of his work abroad – Solzhenitsyn promised to deliver the manuscript of his next work (*Arkhipelag GULag*) to Olga and Henry in order for it to be published by H&R²⁸. This promise not only proved his good faith and commitment to the Western publisher, but would also have allowed Olga Andreeva to convince H&R of the validity of their agreement even in the absence of a written declaration from the author:

²⁵ A. Schwartz to E. Linder (November 29, 1967), ALI Linder, Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst (1967), FAAM.

²⁶ On that occasion, the rumor about the forthcoming publication of Solzhenitsyn's work by an Italian publisher did not refer to *The First Circle*, but to *Rakovyi korpus* (*Cancer Ward*), which was in fact published in January 1968 by Alberto Mondadori's publishing house – Il Saggiatore – in an edition by "Anonimo sovietico" (Soviet anonymous) titled *Divisione cancro*. On the topic see Sicari 2023.

²⁷ Sasha Andreyev to Henry Carlisle (January 29, 1968), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

²⁸ A couple of months later, Sasha Andreev smuggled out of the USSR the microfilm of Solzhenitsyn's *Arkhipelag GULag*, which was published in the US with the title *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973). See: Sikorskaia (2011).

But [...] he's giving you the rights to his next book. He's willing for you to use this info with your *Kompanyony* – or roughly the same circle that knows about Ø [*The First Circle*] – to strengthen your legal claim and position. This work will be finished and ready for transmission in June. [...] It is a *khudozhestveny*²⁹ history/treatise on the whole Stalinist camp universe.³⁰

The strategy succeeded and on February 16, 1968, the contract was signed between H&R and Olga Andreeva Carlisle as Solzhenitsyn's trustee³¹.

The work of editing and translating *The First Circle*'s manuscript started soon after Sasha's return from Moscow and involved the efforts of several members of the Chernov and Andreev families. From a letter sent by Vadim Andreev to Henry Carlisle we glean a number of details about the organization of this collective work:

[...] il faut le plus vite possible l'éditer soit en russe, soit en anglais. Doda et Natacha se chargent de l'édition russe. Doda peut trouver l'imprimerie suffisamment discrète; Natacha se charge des travaux de machine à écrire elle-même avec des chapitres qu'elle donnera à des dactylos de confiance qu'elle connaît. Si vous êtes d'accord, nous, dès votre confirmation, pourrons lui envoyer notre copie et elle pourra commencer le travail immédiatement. [...] Si vous n'avez pas jusqu'à présent trouvé une autre possibilité pour l'édition russe, écrivez-moi pour que je puisse envoyer le manuscrit, et à Doda pour confirmer la commande.³²

Although Henry's answer to this letter was not stored in the archive, we know from another letter that he sent shortly thereafter to Sasha that a typewritten manuscript for the Russian edition was planned to be prepared in the United States by the publishing house H&R on the basis of the material provided by Olga and Henry Carlisle with the help of Vadim Andreev:

We have prepared a frightening-looking hodge-podge of photostats, direct photo prints, re-typed pages (by V.[adim]) and handwritten cues [...]. As soon as the

²⁹ This is a misspelled transliteration or, at least, one created as an imitation of the American pronunciation of the Russian adjective художественный (*khudozhestvennyi*), which, in this context, means "fictionalized".

³⁰ See: Sikorskaia (2011).

³¹ Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 62, Harper & Row, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

³² *Vadim Andreev to Henry Carlisle* (January 29, 1968), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: It must be published as soon as possible, either in Russian or English. Doda [Daniil Reznikov] and Natasha [Chernova] will handle the Russian edition. Doda may find a fairly decent printing press, while Natasha will take care of the typewriting work herself, entrusting the chapters to typists she trusts. If you agree, we can send her our copy as soon as you confirm, and she can begin work immediately. [...] If you have not found another possibility for the Russian edition yet, then write to me so that I can send them the manuscript, and to Doda to confirm the commission.

famous signature is affixed, Harpers will get it and distribute it to two (possibly three) Rus[sian] stenographers who are ready to go.³³

Despite the existence of these gaps in the archival series, we cannot exclude that the retyped pages here mentioned were realized with the collaboration of the Reznikovs, namely Natalia Chernova and her husband Daniil Reznikov. The collective work carried out by various members of the family on the translation is indeed very well documented.

Although the H&R English edition attributed the translation only to Thomas Whitney, archival records reveal that the work was performed by several hands. Since numerous copies of the manuscript were already circulating in the West³⁴, the translation needed to be completed as soon as possible in order to avoid being beaten to the punch by unauthorized editions, the work of translating and editing the manuscript was therefore divided among several members of the family: Olga Andreeva Carlisle translated it from Russian into English, and Olga Chernova Andreeva and Vadim Andreev translated into French some particularly difficult passages, as evidenced by the letters sent by Olga Chernova to her daughter with the interlinear translations and the explanation of some specific terms, such as “sharashka”³⁵.

The revision and editing of the English translation was then entrusted to Henry, who did not know Russian but was a native English speaker, a writer and a professional editor. Sasha Andreev and his wife Judy (who as an American was also an English native speaker) also significantly contributed to the editing of the English translation³⁶. However, despite the fact that both Henry Carlisle and Thomas Whitney signed a translation contract with H&R³⁷, the decision to attribute the translation to Whitney alone was prompted by purely practical issues related to the security and confidentiality of the operation: Henry’s identity needed to remain secret in order to protect, in turn, that of the Andreev family and their networks of Russian friends, first of all Solzhenitsyn himself. In a

³³ *Henry Carlisle to Sasha Andreev* (February 10, 1968), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

³⁴ See *Sasha Andreev to Henry Carlisle* (January 29, 1968), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives; *Vadim Andreev to Henry Carlisle* (January 29, 1968), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

³⁵ *Olga Chernova Andreeva to OAC* (February 20, [1968]), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives; *Olga Chernova Andreeva to OAC* (February 22, [1968]), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

³⁶ *Judy Andreeva to Olga and Henry Carlisle* (1968), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives; *Judy Andreeva to Henry Carlisle* (1968), Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

³⁷ Olga Andreev Carlisle papers, Box 62, Harper & Row, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

letter sent to her mother soon after the signature of the contract, Olga Carlisle expressed her concerns about their safety:

[...] Перевод Кости выйдет анонимно. Но для *copyright*, в *Washington DC*, нужно имя — и это будет имя Генри. Оно останется анонимным, но, если кто обратится в *copyright office*, будет информация выдана: переводчик Henry Carlisle. Без этого *copyright not valid*. Закон.

Нужно сделать так, чтобы Том [Уитни] дал свое имя вместо Генриного, для вашей безопасности. Поэтому, я напишу на днях *brouillon* письма Папы к Тому, с этой просьбой *directement*. Пошлю вам, а вы ему. Папа у него пользуется громадным престижем, и он наверно не откажет. Пока, пусть папа ему напишет просто дружеское письмо, по-русски, большими буквами, *pour le charmer*.³⁸

Thus, to convince Tom Whitney be the only one to sign the translation, Olga Carlisle suggested to her father to write him a flattering letter, and even offered to send him a draft. The Carlisle papers contain copy of this draft, written in French by Olga on behalf of her father, but there is no evidence that Vadim Andreev actually sent it to Whitney³⁹. However, Olga discussed this issue with her mother on several occasions, as evidenced by Olga Chernova's letter dated February 20, 1968, in which she categorically rejected her daughter's proposal to ask Marc Slonim to sign the translation if Whitney refused to do so⁴⁰. To get around the issue of the signature, Olga Chernova suggested creating a pseudonym that would contain their four names (Olga and Henry Carlisle, Olga Chernova and Vadim Andreev) plus that of Thomas Whitney, or using a neutral invented name such as "Watson"⁴¹. In any case, the matter was happily resolved: Whitney agreed to sign the translation, thanks to the intercession of Harrison Salisbury and H&R's attorney Alan Schwartz⁴².

³⁸ OAC to Olga Chernova Andreyeva (undated), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: [...] Kostia's translation will be published anonymously. But, for copyright, in Washington DC a name is required, and that will be Henry's name. It will remain anonymous, but if anyone contacts the copyright office, the information will be: the translator is Henry Carlisle. Without the name, the copyright will not be valid. It's the law. It is necessary to arrange it so that Tom [Whitney] gives his name instead of Henry's one, for your safety. Therefore, in the next few days I'll write a *brouillon* of a letter from dad to Tom, with this request *directement*. I'll send it to you, and you to him. Dad enjoys enormous prestige with him, and he probably won't refuse. For now, let dad just write him a friendly letter in Russian, in capital letters, *pour le charmer*.

³⁹ OAC's draft of the letter to Thomas Whitney (undated), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

⁴⁰ Olga Chernova Andreyeva to OAC (February 20, [1968]), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 64, Book I, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² OAC to Olga Chernova Andreyeva (April 3, 1968), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

The editorial micro-history of *The First Circle* is so complex and intricate that it cannot be fully unraveled, not least because the purpose of this article is to demonstrate the significant and essential contribution made by Olga Andreeva Carlisle and her family to the publication of this and other *tamizdat* works. In his memoirs, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn gave due credit to Vadim and Sasha Andreev and to Olga Chernova, listing them among the “invisibles allies” who helped him smuggle and publish his works abroad (Solzhenitsyn 1991a; 1991b; 1995). However, he had only harsh words for the Carlises, expressing strong resentment toward Olga Andreeva Carlisle in the English edition of *The Oak and the Calf* (1980):

I see Olga Carlisle’s role in the fate of my works as consistently negative. Due to a combination of circumstances — owing to my confidence in the Andreev family from which she stems, rather than to any close knowledge of Olga Carlisle or the kind of person she is — she was entrusted with the manuscript texts of *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago*, both of which had already been brought out of the USSR. At no point did she herself risk anything whatever. The American translation of *The First Circle* was preemptorily edited by her husband Henry Carlisle, who knows no Russian, with the result that considerable further editorial work was necessary. The translation was rejected by the British publisher. She permitted other translations of *The First Circle* to be produced in perfunctory ways: many are inferior in quality, the French especially so. [...] Her attitude and manner of dealing with people were sharply at odds with all our conceptions during these years of struggle. (Solzhenitsyn 1980, 320 footnote)

Following this accusation, in 1980, when Solzhenitsyn was already in the US, Olga and Henry Carlisle sued him for libel. The judge, however, dismissed the case by establishing that the opinion there expressed was guaranteed by the first amendment on freedom of speech (*The Washington Post* 1981). The trial did not put a stop to the reciprocal recriminations, and Olga Carlisle and Solzhenitsyn continued to push forward their own versions of the story in a number of *memoirs* and interviews⁴³. Nonetheless, despite the complexity of the conflict, evidence demonstrates the significant and essential contribution of Olga Andreeva Carlisle and her family in the smuggling, publication and circulation not only of Solzhenitsyn’s works, but also of other *tamizdat* written by other authors.

5. Instead of Conclusions: *Tamizdat* as a Family Affair

There is abundant archival evidence that the Andreevs and the Chernovs participated in the circulation and publication of other *tamizdats*. As early as 1957,

⁴³ In 1991 Olga Carlisle published *Solzhenitsyn v krug tainom* (*Voprosy literatury*, 1, 192-225) and in 2004 *Vozvrashchenie v tainyi krug*. In 1991 Solzhenitsyn published *Nevidimki* (1991a; 1991b) and in 1995 its English translation (*Invisible Allies*), between 1998 and 2003 *Ugodilo zërnyshko promezh dvukh zhernovov*, and in the years 2018 and 2020 its English translation *Between two Milestone*.

several members of the two family groups were involved in smuggling a copy of the manuscript of Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* as well as in a (failed) attempt to publish an English translation of it. Pasternak's novel, which was to become the first *tamizdat* ever published, was released in 1957 by the Italian publishing house Feltrinelli. And it was precisely in the archive of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Editore in Milan that, while reconstructing the editorial micro-history of *Doctor Zhivago*, Paolo Mancosu found evidence tracing back to the Carlises.

On October 17, 1957, a month before *Doctor Zhivago*'s publication, Sarah Collins – who was in charge of the foreign section of the homonymous British publishing house, which had recently purchased from Feltrinelli the rights to the English edition of the work – wrote to Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: the American publisher Rinehart and Co. had informed her that they possessed a copy of the manuscript, and had even proposed a joint publication of the English translation (Mancosu 2018, 586-587). As soon as Feltrinelli learned the news, he wrote to Rinehart and Co. and to Henry Carlisle, who at the time was working as an editor for the American publisher (Martin 2011) and, on his part, had personally contacted Feltrinelli to enquire about the possibility of joining the English edition of the work (Mancosu 2018, 587-588). Feltrinelli also wrote immediately to Kurt Wolff – editor of Pantheon's publishing house, which had purchased the rights to the American translation of *Doctor Zhivago* – to inform him of the danger of a possible pirate edition. It was from Wolff that Feltrinelli obtained the information about Henry Carlisle:

As for Mr. Henry Carlisle, I happen to know him slightly: he is married to a Russian-born lady of French nationality, and he was a member of the editorial staff of Alfred Knopf for some time but left them about a year ago. (Ivi, 591)

This reference to his wife, Olga Andreeva Carlisle, is an important detail useful to highlight Henry's network of family contacts with the Russian émigré circles that, finally, linked him also to Boris Pasternak. And in fact, in a letter sent to Vadim Andreev on September 8, 1957, Boris Pasternak wrote that he was expecting the visit of Vadim's brother-in-law Vladimir Bronislavovich Sosinskii, through whom he planned to send him the manuscripts of several poems unpublished in the West and a copy of his novel in the hope of having them published abroad (ivi, 598-599)⁴⁴. As Mancosu has shown, Pasternak did give Sosinskii a typescript of *Doctor Zhivago* that reached the Carlises in the USA (*ibidem*). Olga Andreeva Carlisle's papers contain further evidence of the central role played by Ariadna Viktorovna Chernova (her aunt) and her husband Vladimir Sosinskii (her uncle), especially after they moved to Moscow in the 1960s. In particular, the Sosinskiis maintained the contacts with both Nadezhda Mandelshtam and Natalia Stoliarova after Olga Carlisle was declared "persona non grata" by Soviet authorities in 1970. We could mention as evidence a letter

⁴⁴ On Ariadna Viktorovna Chernova and Vladimir Bronislavovich Sosinskii's visits to Pasternak, see also Sosinskaiia, Sosinskii, Duvakin (2017 [1969]).

in which Nadezhda Mandelshtam informs Olga Carlisle that she has met with the “Moscow branch” of her family (московский филиал вашей семьи)⁴⁵, referring to a visit from the Sosinskiis (У меня была Ариадна Викторовна с Владимиром Брониславовичем)⁴⁶.

The Hoover archive also contains evidence of the role played by Olga Andreeva Carlisle – again with the support of her family – in the case of other *tamizdat* works. We can see it, in particular, in the case of Nadezhda Mandelshtam’s *Vospominaniia* (*Memoirs*) from Olga’s correspondence with Clarence Brown, Nadezhda Mandelshtam’s trustee with the Atheneum publishing house that held the world copyrights to the work published in 1970 with the title *Hope Against Hope*. After a visit to Moscow in 1967, Olga Andreeva Carlisle sent to Brown two important messages, one from Nadezhda Mandelshtam about her memoirs, and another from Varlam Shalamov, regarding the publication of his *Kolymskie rasskazy* (*Kolyma Tales*):

N.[adezhda] J.[akolevna] was very worried by the message you conveyed to her, concerning the fact that it might cause you difficulties if I were to read her MS [manuscript] now in your possession. [...] She wants me to be able to read this MS just as soon as possible and I assured her that it would be done with the utmost discretion both on your and my part. [...] The other message concerns Mr. Chalamov’s [sic] writings. It is his express desire that they all be published as soon as possible.⁴⁷

Olga’s role in the publication of Nadezhda Mandelshtam’s memoirs was not only that of a mediator between her and Brown, but also as a publishing consultant, due to the great trust the Russian writer placed in her:

Regardless of the final decision about the publication of her *Memoirs*, my feeling is that translation should proceed as fast as possible [...] Henry and I have read the part that Mr. Bessie showed us, and we both feel that you [Brown] are doing a superb job which can only please her in every possible way.⁴⁸

The last significant instance of the crucial role played by the Chernovs and Andreevs families in the production and circulation of *tamizdat* concerns Solzhenitsyn’s *The Gulag Archipelago*. In a letter to her mother, Olga Andreeva Carlisle warned her that it would be difficult to pay the family members who had helped transcribe, edit and translate the manuscript of Solzhenitsyn’s work –

⁴⁵ *Nadezhda Mandel’shtam to OAC* (November 17, no year), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 99, Nadezhda Mandel’shtam, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Transl.: the Moscow branch of your family.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*. Trans.: Ariadna Viktorovna visited me with Vladimir Bronislavovich.

⁴⁷ *OAC to Clarence Brown* (May 19, 1967), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 99, Clarence Brown, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

⁴⁸ *OAC to Clarence Brown* (November 18, 1969), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 99, Clarence Brown, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.

namely Olga Chernova, Vadim and Sasha Andreev, and the Reznikovs – precisely because of their family ties:

[...] невозможно чтобы разные суммы были выплачен родственникам, sans justification. [...] Это все было бы легче если не родственные отношения – а то получается какая-то МАФИА.⁴⁹

The cases examined above through a close reading of archival sources hopefully offered a broader perspective on the transnational socialization of *tamizdat*, giving due importance to the agency of Soviet, Central and Eastern European émigré communities. By intertwining the data relating to the editorial micro-history of specific publications (collected by mapping the routes of texts) with those of the Chernov-Andreev family (collected by mapping the relational networks), our goal was to illustrate a research method for reconstructing the *topography of Cold War culture* – specifically, a geospatial and socio-cultural representation of the 20th-century intellectual history that sheds new light on the dynamics behind the production and circulation of culture on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

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⁴⁹ OAC to Olga Chernova Andreyeva (Tuesday, no year), Olga Andreyev Carlisle papers, Box 39, Olga Carlisle, Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Trans.: It is not possible to pay sums of money to relatives sans justification [...] All this would be easier if there were no family ties, otherwise it turns out to be a kind of МАФИА.

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