

KOLOKOL: Spectres of the Russian Bell

*Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements of PhD (Humanities and Social Sciences)
candidature at the University of Technology, Sydney,
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Certificate of Authorship/Originality

I certify that this work has not been submitted for any degree, or as part of the requirements for any previous degree or qualification.

I also certify that, unless cited, acknowledged or identified, all the work and material this dissertation contains is original.

The translations of poetry presented in this dissertation are original unless otherwise acknowledged.

Jason Kaminski
Melbourne
June, 2007

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Abstract

Kolokol: Spectres of the Russian Bell, submitted by Jason Kaminski in fulfilment of the requirements of PhD (Humanities and Social Sciences) candidature at the University of Technology, Sydney, is an interpretative history of Russian bells (*kolokola*) and bell music (*zvon*).

As a cultural object and sign, the Russian bell is associated with ideas of transcendence, and ideological and creative 'vision.' This interpretation of the signification of the *kolokol* as a sign arises directly from the perception that the bell is essentially a physical (anthropomorphic) body that is capable of 'projecting' or 'transcending' itself in the form of a spectrum.

This essential 'spectrality' defines a history of the Russian bell as an instrument of magical, spiritual and religious ritual, as a cultural artefact associated with changing ideological movements (paganism, Christianity and communism) and as a sign represented synaesthetically in image, sound and text. Ethnographic and campanological studies observe that the *kolokol* 'reflects Russian social history like a mirror', representing the 'voice of God' or *Logos* as an aural or 'singing' icon, pointing to the primordial origins of language.

This dissertation further investigates the idea that the *kolokol* acts as an 'acoustical mirror' and 'ideological apparatus': a medium or spectre through which Russian history and culture is interpellated and reflected. The various logical streams (storytelling, legend, script, text, song, cultural theory, philosophy and ethnography) that contribute to this dissertation form a textual 'polyphony' through which the essential meanings and 'personae' of the *kolokol* as a cultural object are interpreted.

The bell is regarded as presenting an enigma of signification that must be resolved through investigation and definition. The thesis concludes that the *kolokol* acts as an iconic sign of the creative 'Word' (*Logos*) and as a symbolic sign that implies a 'bridge', copula or psychic 'hook', articulating the relationship between the cosmos and consciousness, the material and spiritual, the real and imaginary.

Keywords: Russia, Russian History, Russian Arts, Russian Music, Russian Poetry, Russian Political History, Russian Orthodoxy, Russian Revolution, Bell-founding, Bell Music, Bell-ringing, Campanology, Iconology, Kolokol, Zvon. Word-count: 82,250 (excluding endnotes) 98,300 (including endnotes).

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KOLOKOL: Spectres of the Russian Bell

Preface

In early 1994, I was preparing to leave Moscow after two years studying composition at the Moscow Conservatorium with the Russian composer Edison Denisov. I had lived in Moscow during a pivotal period in Russian history, an historical interstice characterised by a bipolar mix of post-Soviet and pre-capitalist culture. While it was still possible to enjoy traditional *bliny* or *pel'meni* at a run-down soviet-style public eating hall, there was evidence of the sudden busyness of incipient consumerism. Thousands of little kiosks stuffed with imported junk-food and vodka honeycombed the city, and an inchoate club scene and retail sector had, almost indetectably, begun to service a burgeoning *nouveau riche*.

On one of my last days there, as I walked across Red Square, I heard the unaccustomed sound of Russian church bells ringing. Though unfamiliar, their sound seemed naturally Russian to me. They resonated with the colour of Russian culture, consistent with the weight of Russian language and history and consonant with the wide-ranging 'spirit' of Russia, the spirit of *dobrota* ('kindness', 'good-heartedness') that was almost entirely stamped out by the time I returned to Russia at the end of the year 2000. By then, the people had awoken once more to the realisation that history had robbed them in their sleep. Russian bells, in a farcical comeback, now sat alongside *matreshka* dolls as Russo-iconic souvenirs miniaturised for convenient sale to nervous tourists.

I entered the small church on the Red Square that, like most others in Moscow, had been lying in a state of dilapidation for years. Now it was subject to a church restoration program that would culminate in reconstruction of the Christ our Saviour Cathedral, totally destroyed on Stalin's Orders in 1931. While Russia still lay in economic chaos, this virtual cathedral amounted to an exorbitantly expensive reversal of revolutionary

history. I stayed a while in the little church to enjoy the bells and incense and the grainy incantation of a *basso profundo* priest interspersed with the clicking sound of *babushka*-lips kissing effigies, when something unusual happened. An old lady, who seemed distressed, suddenly started to shout at me, again and again, "*Spasite menia*", – "Save me!" Familiar with the superstitious fanaticism of Russian faith, I recognised that the woman was experiencing some form of evangelical episode. A young priest came to my assistance, leading her away for professional salvation.

I walked from the church. The air outside was so cold that it weighed down like a transparent monolith suspended above my head. I do not recall seeing the bells in their tower from the square outside, but as I became surrounded by the unrelenting repetition and dazzling chaos of their spectral noise, they seemed to transport themselves visibly, extending out to me in a kind of synaesthetic ecstasy, like an icon painted on frozen air. The only time I had actually *seen* Russian bells up close, played by three bell ringers on a wooden stage, was in a bizarre television documentary about Satanic murders in a monastery which I had seen in Siberia, not long after arriving in Russia. Shiny knives inscribed with Satanic symbols were found on the grounds. But most amazingly, as the documentary seemed to show (in slow motion), one of the priests, while playing the bell for the funeral of the murder victim, had suddenly, as if by magic, flown from the platform vertically into the air!

Whatever the truth (or lack of it) of this story, hearing the bells in 'real life', perhaps associated with the ominous undertones of the TV mystery, was like the long awaited emergence of an ancient Zarathustrian prophet from his cave, an oracle speaking to his people. It was only after I left Russia that I reconsidered these experiences and wondered about them. Where had the bells been hiding before their re-appearance? What do bells signify to Russian people? What do they 'say'?

Most of all, what makes their sound so haunting?

Introduction

The Russian bell, or *kolokol*, is one of the most striking features of Russian life (*odna iz samykh iarkikh chert russkoi zhizni*); a fully self-sustained 'language' of Russian culture (*samostoiatel'nym iazykom russkoi kul'tury*)¹, as the Russian campanologist Agapkina has observed. It is a venerated object attributed with spiritual powers, an acoustical equivalent to the church icon. Its anthropomorphised body is a cultural monument comparable in importance to Russia's Orthodox cathedrals or statuesque Soviet-era sculptures. Bells, and their pulsating music (*zvon*), beat at the very heart of Russian cultural history.

The bell, as an object, and as a cultural sign and phenomenon, implies a secret, an encoded primordial or archetypal message. Like other mysterious objects from antiquity, it raises questions and incites curiosity. These 'curiosities' are not peculiar to Russian bells. Alain Corbin writes, in his history of French bells entitled *Village Bells*, that bells present a 'broad spectrum of curiosities and expectations [and] reflect a quest for languages, beliefs, and emotions linking bells to the primordial'.² This idea is confirmed by Agapkina, when she writes:

There is another aspect of bell-ringing as a concept, without which its symbolic exemplifications would be incomplete. In language and folklore, the peal of bells traditionally approaches an arena of understanding and description that signifies the human voice, speech, hailing, news and hearsay (*golos, rech', slavu, vesti i slukhi*).³

One of the primary objectives of this dissertation is to interpret the 'spectrum' of meanings that is associated with the *kolokol* in language and literature and, in doing so, to form a clearer and deeper understanding of the enigma of its 'primordial' significations⁴.

In Russian culture, where bells occupy such an important position in the hierarchy of cultural artefacts, the meanings associated with them are

collectively interpreted as a sign verging on the oracular. In her study of bells in seventeenth century Moscow, the Russian ethnomusicologist Bondarenko states that the content and visual style of inscriptions on Russian bells 'reflect social changes in the community like a mirror' (*kak v zerkale otrazhaiutsia sotsial'nye izmeneniia v obshchestve*).⁵

This cultural 'mirroring' effect of Russian bells is confirmed, and extended, by other Russian campanologists and ethnographers, who describe the *kolokol* as being an aural or 'singing' icon. Among these, Prianishnikov writes that Russian bells are 'sounding icons' (*zvuchashchie ikony*) that unify a people scattered over great distances into an 'organic social whole – a congregation' (*organicheskoe sotsial'noe tseloe - prikhod*).⁶ Similarly, a bell-ringer at the Moscow Kremlin, Igor Konovalov, interviewed in 1995 by Andrei Vorontsov, stated: 'if an icon is prayer in colours, and the cathedral is prayer in stone, then the *kolokol* is prayer in sound – a sounding icon' (*Esli ikona – eto molitva v kraskakh, khram – molitva v kamne, to kolokol – molitva v zvuke, ikona zvuchashchaia*).⁷ In another article, the bell-ringer Vladimir Mashkov similarly describes the *kolokol* as a 'sonic icon' (*zvonkaia ikona*) and as 'sonic insight' (*umozrenie v zvuke*).⁸

Similar observations have been made by Western campanologists. Edward Williams, author of *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (which, though published in 1985, remains the only comprehensive ethnographic study of Russian bells accessible to English speakers) intended to add a second volume to that work. The sequel was to examine 'evidence for regarding Russian bells and bell ringing as aural icons'.⁹ While this work never eventuated, Williams did publish an article entitled 'Aural Icons of Orthodoxy: the sonic typology of Russian bells' in 1991, in a book titled *Christianity and the Arts in Russia*. In this article, Williams ventures into an eschatological interpretation of the iconic nature of bells, especially their appearance (as an apocalyptic sign) in the Book of Revelations. The following passage from a religious publication of 1850, cited by Williams, forms the essential germ of his 'end-of-time' interpretation of the Russian bell:

In Russia our motherland, the variety of our calls to church, at first with wooden, and then with cast iron, beams and finally with the ringing of bells, has its own significance and deep meaning, even an acoustical one between our time and that more distant – the past and the future. The weak sounds of the wood and iron remind us of the prophets' vague, cryptic language, but the clamour and harmonious ringing of bells is a proclamation of the Gospel, its exultation to the ends of the universe, and reminds us of the angel's trumpet on the final day.¹⁰

Williams demonstrates that the *kolokol* acts (like the Biblical trumpet) as a means of communicating the 'Word of God'. Agapkina confirms this idea when she writes that, 'in Russian traditional culture, the peal of bells is always taken to be the "voice of God" (*glas Bozhii*)'.¹¹

Bondarenko's characterisation of the *kolokol* as a medium that records and 'reflects' Russian cultural history, Corbin's use of the words 'reflect' and 'spectrum' to describe the broad range of 'primordial' meanings presented by bells more generally, and the designation of the *kolokol* as a 'sonic icon' by several campanologists, provides the point of departure for an investigation into the 'reflective' or 'spectral' nature of the *kolokol*. In short, the 'spectre' of the bell signifies the speculative world – ideology, belief, the spiritual, otherworldliness or uncanniness, fear, dreaming, the imaginary and the transcendent. The sound of tolling of bells is characteristically 'haunting'.

These 'spectral' implications arise from the form and mechanism of the *kolokol* itself. More than any other sonic object, the bell exemplifies the discovery of a perfect potential within matter for spectral attenuation; it brings materiality into a state of perfect resonance and sonority. It is a mechanism that, in its tolling motion and projection of energy through a space filled with air, sets up a movement of *repetition* that in turn articulates both space and temporality. This time and space-delimiting mechanism describes the 'originary temporalisation of temporality' that Jacques Derrida refers to in his 1987 *Of Spirit*, as being at the 'very horizon of the question of Being'¹² – an analogue of 'spirituality' in historical and existential terms.

The 'voice' of this acoustical mirror, called in Russian the *glas* ('voice'), resembles the psychic 'double mirror' of the maternal voice, 'a medium which preserves simultaneously the *presence of the object* in front of intuition and the *self-presence*'.¹³ The bell's voice calls the subject back to a primordial point of departure: the somatic experience of a mother's voice as the mortal reflection of the eternal *Logos*.

The Russian bell 'mirrors' (and as a medium of reflection also influences) Russian cultural self-image in two primary ways:

- (i) As an object and sign closely associated with *ideological* change in Russian history, especially the historical transition from cosmic paganism to Christianity, and imperialism to atheist socialism; and
- (ii) As a *poetic image*, particularly as an iconic and symbolic sign in visual arts, the moving image, music and poetry.

Accordingly, the first chapter of this dissertation - 'The *Kolokol* and Russian Ideology' - is an investigation of the way in which Russian bells have signified and 'reflected' ideological (religious, socio-political and philosophical) change in Russia, while the second chapter - 'Cult of the Russian Bell' - examines the iconography and symbolism of the *kolokol* in the image, music and text of Russia's artistic and creative history. A final chapter - 'The Body and Spectre of the *Kolokol*' - considers how the *kolokol* itself (in particular its body and spectrum, and its music of rhythmic repetition) imply and articulate the ideological and creative 'visions' - that is, the historical 'spectres' - that characterise Russian cultural history.

The *kolokol* is more than a product of Russian culture - it is effectively a reflection of it, and its form bears the historical mark, trace and inscription of cultural and ideological change. The elaborate marks and inscriptions seen on Russian bells are not, nevertheless, a passive effect of this 'spectrality'. Reflecting an absolutism that has prevailed in Russian ideological history, and a cultural emphasis on the spiritual power of letters and images originating from Byzantine interpretations of the concept of *Logos*,

Bondarenko explains that 'ornamentation of bells was not supposed to reproduce the actuality of the world, but to influence it'.¹⁴

Rather than taking a purely ethnographic approach (which, as Williams and later scholars such as Richard Hernandez have found, is limited by the relative inaccessibility of ethnographic research in English¹⁵) this study of Russian bells is an interpretation of the 'story', iconology and symbolism, the voice and 'spectre' of the *kolokol*.

1. The *Kolokol* and Russian Ideology

Innocence always calls mutely for protection when we would be much wiser to guard ourselves against it: innocence is like a dumb leper who has lost his bell, wandering the world, meaning no harm.

[Graham Greene, *The Quiet American*]

The idea that socio-political changes in Russian history are 'reflected' in the formal development of the *kolokol* and its inscriptions is consistently confirmed by cultural interpretations of the bell in the texts (narratives, mythologies, legends, and historical accounts) that define social, political, religious and ideological change in Russia from the end of the first millennium AD to the present day. Acting as an instrument of interpellation, the *kolokol* is not just a passive participant in the stories of Russia's history; it plays an active role as an object, symbol and icon in recording and articulating particular ideological 'visions'.

Bells play a symbolic role in a whole spectrum of writing that reflects Russia's cultural history and historical role in world politics, including the primary chronicles of Kievan *Rus'*, the mystical utopian legend of Kitezha, Mikhail Bakhtin's discourse of *Rabelais and His World*, the writings of pre-Revolution ideologues including Helena Blavatskaya and Alexander Herzen, the post-Revolution anti-utopian novel *We* by Yevgeny Zamyatin and Sylvia Plath's cold war novel *The Bell Jar*, as well as in ethnographic discourses. Through these key historical texts, the *kolokol* has witnessed, recorded, articulated and reflected the mythological relationship between Slavic pagans and their conceptions of the cosmos, the conversion of *Rus'* to Byzantine faith, the spiritual ideologies and social power structures that emerged out of the period of Mongol occupation and the political ideologies

established (and disestablished) during Russia's imperial, revolutionary and cold war periods. All refer to the cosmic, spiritual, ideological or symbolic world of the bell as a metaphor for historical transformation in the speculative realm of idea and belief.

Before continuing with this investigation into the 'spectral' world of the Russian bell, and in particular its associations with ideological and creative visions, a brief definition of spectrality and its significance in the field of religious and political ideology is required. This demands a definite theoretical structure, a *specula* (Latin, 'watchtower') into which the bell can be raised. This structure consists of:

- (i) A definition of spectrality itself, referring to Derrida's analysis of Marx's *The German Ideology* in *Specters of Marx*; and
- (ii) The idea of ideological (spectral) calling, referencing Althusser's concept of 'interpellation' or 'hailing'.

In his analysis of Marx's discourses on ideology, Derrida defines the phenomenon of spectrality as the 'becoming-immaterial' of an object or thing, a transference in which the thing leaves behind its 'objectality', becoming a representation, *idée-fixe*, obsession, or archetypal symbol in consciousness. The spectral is an anthropomorphic projection of Will, speech and temporality that 'breathes life' into the Thing. In its becoming-immaterial, the object assumes an uncanny form that is 'at the same time Life, Thing, Beast, Object, Commodity, Automaton - in a word, specter'.¹ Accordingly, the Russian bell is invested with symbolic powers and meanings by virtue of its being a mechanistic physical object that 'leaves behind' its own materiality as it projects itself in the form of a (sonic) spectrum.

The historical role of the *kolokol* as an instrument of convocation (calling, appealing) is encapsulated in Louis Althusser's concept of ideological interpellation, which 'presupposes the "existence" of a Unique and central Other subject, in whose Name the religious ideology interpellates all individuals as subjects'.² Althusser elaborates upon the nature of this calling-between the sovereign or divine voice and the subject/appellee (that

the bell symbolically articulates) when he contends that the subject recognises selfhood, or becomes-knowing, when identifying its self as being the one hailed or called through an ideological apparatus. The call to recognition hails the subject into a state of interpellation in which (s)he becomes both subject to, and an agent of, that ideological call.³

This theoretical framework offers the basic definitions required to support the main proposition for this study of bells in Russian social and political history; that the *kolokol* acts a symbol and 'agent' of ideology (an ideological apparatus) and that it does so because the spectrum emitted by a sounding bell implies the 'becoming-immaterial' of the world and 'appeals' to, or interpellates with, subjective consciousness. As a symbolic 'voice', the *kolokol* is a sonic instrument of convocation, a 'sonic icon' of the *Logos*. It is a symbolic 'copula' linking the material, human world with the spiritual and ideological world.

Early Bells and Pagan Mythology

Archaic bells existed in the lands that the Slavs would eventually call *Rus'* well before Kiev was established as the centre of their civilisation during the course of the ninth century. The Scythian people, whose culture flourished in the Russian steppes from 700 – 200 BC, left behind burial mounds containing bronze bells cast in the same basic form as later Russian sleigh bells, an enclosed sphere holding sounding beads (kernels) that would act as the sounding agent when shaken.⁴ These small bells were the formal predecessors to the type of small silvery bells (*bubentsy* – jingles) that adorn the Russian *troika*. In pagan times, the 'spectre' of the *kolokol* acted as a medium for human interlocution with the cosmos and the mythological world inhabited by a pantheon of gods, goddesses and spectral powers that were believed to have control over natural and cosmic cycles – that is, over life and death.



A Scythian Bell.⁵

The powers of almost all the deities of the Slavic pagan pantheon were in some way connected with the cosmos, the sun, stars and meteorology. The only important exception was Mokosh, the mother goddess who was bound to the earth and cycles of fertility.⁶ Cultural interpretations of the bell as a symbol in Russia are derived from an ancient connection with the powers attributed to Perun, the God of thunder, one of the most influential of Varangian-Slavic pagan deities with Zeusian powers linked to the Scandinavian god Thor. In *Bells and Bell Music in Folk Culture*, A N Davydov points out that etymological, religious⁷ and literary comparisons of tolling bells with natural thunder arise not only through sonic associations, but also from the important role of bells in centuries of pagan ritual associated with deities of thunder and lightning:

[Although], with the adoption of Christianity, the prophet Elias partly replaced him in the minds of our ancestors, [it was] *Perun*, the thunder-God, [who made] bell ringing a symbol of heavenly thunder. [...] And, according to the beliefs of Russian pagans, it was none other than the thunder-God who, with his thundering voice [*gromovym glasom*] awakes nature from her dream.⁸

Bells were also used to evoke the return of the sun during the Koliada festival, a ritual to guide the sun from below the earth and into the sky, bringing purification and fertilising fire to ensure the continuation of life itself

- to 'awake nature from her dream'. The Winter Solstice festival divided agrarian, cosmic and natural human cycles. The name of this pagan festival shares the same etymological root as the Slavic word for bell (*kolo* – 'wheel, cycle') and is also related to the name of the Greek *Kalianda* festival. While Koliada evoked the return of the sun, and was therefore held at the time of the winter solstice, the *Radunitsa*, or festival of the dead, was held at the height of summer. The Koliada festival was a festival of life and birth that freed life from the dark confines of the maternal womb. It was believed that Koliada was an interstitial time of 'half-light, when the living and dead communed and the promise of new life emerged out of the frozen ground'.⁹

During this festival, chaos was unleashed in the form of female courtship rituals, male transvestitism, the burning of logs to remember the ancestors living in the *pech'* ('oven'), feasting and food ceremonies and other bizarre excesses. This state of disorder reflected the disappearance of the sun before its being reborn from the earth. The freestyle ringing of bells is one reflection of this chaos that endured in Christian observances during the Easter festival. In Greece and Italy a similar mix of Christian and pagan rites surrounding birth and death, including chaotic counter-church festivals, have survived into modern times. During holy week in the Italian village of Montecastello di Vibio, the death of Christ is traditionally marked by silencing the church bells from Thursday until Easter; instead of ringing bells, boys go 'on the rampage' with noisemaking devices.¹⁰

In Vasilika, Greece, during the feast of the Annunciation, young men present bawdy plays and wear women's clothes.¹¹ On the Sunday before Lent, children throw soot at one another, boys 'put on women's clothes and [walk around] with mincing steps and female gestures [...]'.¹² On Good Friday, boys go from house to house crying "*Mavros in o uranos*" ("The sky is black"),¹³ suggesting the disappearance of the sun.¹⁴

Animistic beliefs that originated in the Varangian-Slavic faith system have been continued into modern times through their association with bells. Examples, evident in folklore and in some components of Christian ritual in Russia, include belief in the spiritual power of certain places (especially

bathhouses, crossroads, boundaries, churches, cemeteries, barns, thresholds, holes in frozen rivers) and of objects such as trees, water springs, herbs, animals, and bell bronze¹⁵. An omen or spectre of death, for example, takes the form of a crow cawing on a bell tower.¹⁶ Bell bronze was used in the production magic amulets in the shape of axes, keys, combs, teeth, crescent moons and bells.¹⁷

While the Russian bell was (and still is) most often associated with the power to protect against the 'evil eye'¹⁸ and with ideas of purification, malefic magic spells originating in occult practices also make mention of bells, as in the following example, which was recited after cutting off the end of a church bell rope at sunrise and tying it into three knots. This particular spell was intended to create impotence in a rival male, the bell-ringer's rope signifying the phallus:

Just as the bell hangs so may the member of (name) hang down before (female name), now and for ever. Amen.¹⁹

As implied in this quotation, the symbols of Christendom were sometimes 'inverted' or corrupted in occult ritual to perform magical or evil spells. This includes iconoclastic use of 'dead' candles made with the tallow of human corpses, or the inversion of crosses. Iconoclastic events such as falling bells or bell clappers would similarly be seen as a portent of evil. The reverse peal, called in Russian *perebor* (the descending version of the *perezvon*) signifies death.

After the arrival of Christianity, when Satan replaced the pagan Chernobog as the 'black' god of evil, the demonic souls of dead magicians were still thought to haunt bell towers, as W F Ryan confirms in *The Bathhouse at Midnight*:

[The] belief was that the Devil enters the body of the dead *koldun* through his mouth, flays him and eats his flesh before donning his skin. The demon in the body of a dead magician was sometimes thought to haunt bell-towers.²⁰

The survival of pagan ideology (along with some of its artefacts, including bells) into modern times is not limited to contemporary adherence to a range of superstitions, however. Pagan thinking, especially the animist belief that the natural world is a realm inhabited by the spirits of the dead,²¹ is central to the ideology of the Russian theosophist movement, among whose founders was the esoteric philosopher and mystic, Helena Blavatskaya.

In *Isis Unveiled*, written by Blavatskaya in 1877, there is a detailed description of Shamanistic use of archaic bells made of brass and iron, which indicates that adherence to paganism was still strong in Siberia at least until the end of the nineteenth century:

[Many Siberians] are firmly convinced of the supernatural powers of the Shamans. Whenever they assemble to worship, it is always in an open space, or a high hill, or in the hidden depths of a forest – in this reminding us of the old Druidical rites. Their ceremonies upon the occasions of births, deaths and marriages are but the trifling parts of their worship. They comprise offerings, the sprinkling of the fire with spirits and milk, and weird hymns, or rather, magical incantations, intoned by the officiating Shaman, and concluding with a chorus of the persons present. The numerous small bells of brass and iron worn by them on the priestly robe of deerskin, or the pelt of some other animal reputed magnetic [sic], are used to drive away the malevolent spirits of the air, a *superstition* shared by all the nations of old, including Romans, and even the Jews, whose golden bells [worn with pomegranates by their holy men on the hems of their vestments] tell the story. They [the Shamans] have iron staves also covered with bells, for the same reason. When, after certain ceremonies, the desired crisis is reached, and the 'spirit has spoken', and the priest feels its overpowering influence, the hand of the Shaman is drawn by some occult power toward the top of the staff, which is commonly covered with hieroglyphics. With his palm pressing upon it, he is then raised to a considerable height in the air, where he remains for some

time. Sometimes he leaps to an extraordinary height, and [...] pours out prophecies and describes future events.²²

The Russians' long-standing fascination with magic and the spiritual world was identified early on. The 1570 Third Pskovian Chronicle recorded that Russians remained 'deceivers and prone to witchcraft'²³ centuries after paganism was officially eradicated.

This pre-history of the *kolokol* continues to influence cultural understandings of the bell and its spiritual spectre in Russia today. As each stage of the history of the Russian bell unfolds, it reflects new significances in the realm of ideological and religious speculation, without ever relinquishing the meanings with which it has formerly been associated.

Bells and the Christianisation of *Rus'*

Though Bondarenko's claim that the *kolokol* 'mirrors' changes in Russian social history is made in reference to the inscriptions they bear, these socio-historical changes are also seen in the metamorphosis of its actual physical form. The transformation of the archaic bell from the 'seed-pod' model into the form of the Russian church-bell would not have happened were it not also for the influence of Byzantine culture that entered into the cultural and ideological arena in *Rus'* toward the end of the tenth century. The *kolokol* became an ideological medium that witnessed and recorded the spectres arising from diverse streams of spirituality in Russian cultural history at this time, including Christianity and paganism. The history of bells in Kievan Russia thus articulates an ideological *mélange*, a fusion of pagan and Christian belief systems that is sometimes termed in Russian *dvoeverie*, or 'double faith'. The role of the archaic bell as a 'cosmic interlocutor' thus joined forces with the Byzantine bell as a simulacrum for *Logos*, the creative Word of an omnipotent God.

In 'Dvoeverie and Popular Religion',²⁴ Eve Levin reviews Soviet Marxist analyses that considered *dvoeverie* to have arisen through active opposition

in agrarian society to elite, Christian and urban society, assuming that the state adopted Christianity as a means of control over peasantry and urban working classes. This dual faith-system (*dvoeverie*) was regarded as having resulted either from a failure on the part of the Orthodoxy to penetrate largely illiterate agrarian society, or simply through a mutual borrowing of ritual ideas between the two systems.

The relatively late arrival of Christianity in the East, the particular extremity of popular religion (evidenced by an almost hysterical veneration of religious objects like icons and bells) and the existence of a range of superstitious folk beliefs in Russia, contributed to a fusion of mysticism and ritual far more complex than a dual faith, however. The limitation of a dualistic definition implied by the term *dvoeverie* is that it excludes the diverse influences of popular religion, which embraced sorcery, clairvoyance, magic, astrology, folk medicine and practices declared heretical by the church. As Levin points out, it also overlooks the primary motivation of mythology common to both Christianity and popular religion, namely, psychological and natural archetypes that encompass the cosmos, natural cycles and the enigma of human existence itself.²⁵

Similarly, the *kolokol* interpellated not only in pagan and Christian rites, but also in the popular superstitions and animistic ideas of *staraia vera* ('old belief'). This amalgam of belief systems is not, therefore, the simple addition or replacement of one stratum of symbols and beliefs with another, but involves transference, mutual redefinition and a resulting synthesis of new meanings. The transference of magical powers from the archaic bell to church bells is reciprocated in the use of church bells in festivals that contain remnants of pagan rites, especially at Christmas and Easter. The production of 'popular' bells to be used as devotional gifts and love letters demonstrates a convergence between the form of Christian bells, the social status and mystical properties of archaic pagan bells and the sentimentality of popular belief.

The result of all this complex splitting, recombination and transference of meaning is, according to Francis Conte, a syncretic heterodoxy of 'popular

religion'. Conte's idea that a 'third faith' emerges from the midst of paganism and Christianity properly defines the way in which 'rural beliefs, in their Russian version, form a whole or, more exactly, a functional system'.²⁶ Thus, Russia's interpellation with Byzantine Christianity, and the monumental historical change that would bring Byzantine culture (including bells and icons) to Russia, was the result of a complex mix of cultural influences and a series of political exchanges between Kiev and Constantinople that took place over more than a century, rather than a single dramatic event in 988, the official year of Russia's Christianisation.

The development of a truly 'Russian' bell required more than a simple borrowing of the Byzantine bell-form or fusion of two belief systems. The evolution of the *kolokol* depended also upon Russia's parallel absorption and re-interpretation of Byzantine religion, language, music, iconography and political order. Along with bells and more sophisticated methods for the distillation of *vodka*²⁷ came a cultural influx of new architecture, iconic painting and visual style, sacred music and a written form of standardised Slavic (Glagolitsa and Church Slavonic), all of which contributed to the development of a uniquely Russian form of bell.

The cultural evolution of *zvon* and large metallic 'choirs' of bells in Russia would not have been possible in the absence of Byzantine vocal style, for example. Byzantine hymnody and neumatic notation arrived in Kiev during the reign of Yaroslav (1019 – 1054) as did new forms of plainsong based on church modes and a three-voiced polyphonic form of chant called *sladkoglasovanie* ('sweet-voiced') that incorporated local melodies in their *canti firmi*.²⁸ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a characteristic form of Russian chant called *znamennyi napev* developed. Four-part polyphonic choral cantatas and psalms were sung in churches from the mid-sixteenth century, clearing the way for the use of large collections of bells (as quasi-choral instrumental music) in the rites of the church. This cross-insemination of folk melody, ecclesiastical modes and poetry gave rise to a new genre called 'spiritual verses'.²⁹ In the same way, bell music combined rhythmic church rubrics based upon the rhythms of the *semantron* with

regional inflections derived from folk song to create an improvisatory style of bell-ringing.

Russian concepts of the image and iconography, which would later be reflected in the ornamentation and 'iconification' of bells, were first mastered by the icon painter Andrei Rublev (1360 – 1430), who learned his technique in Moscow under the guidance of the Byzantine icon painter Feofan. During the seventeenth century, bell inscriptions began to imitate the stylistic tendencies of icon painting quite closely. As the style of icon painting became more 'realistic', using shading and linear perspective to depict volume and space, bell inscriptions also began to represent real rather than imaginary images, and to grow in scale. As more decoration was introduced into icon painting style during the seventeenth century, bell inscriptions became more ornate. The development of written language, aided by the work of the ninth century religious missionaries Cyril and Methodius, forged an alliance between the word, book and *kolokol* for the purpose of transmitting the Christian message to the Slavic people.

Architecture also played a role in the structural and sonic development of the *kolokol*. As more sophisticated structures were built to support them, the size and number of bells began to increase, just as the innovation of the iconostasis façade encouraged the exhibition of more numerous and grander religious icons within the church. Medieval Kievan churches combined Byzantine style with local Slavic influences. The typical form of early Russian church architecture was a domed cruciform structure housing the iconostasis, a metal façade set with icons. By the sixteenth century, according to Yves Hamant's *Evolution of Russian Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Seventeenth Century*, pillar-less churches and tower-shaped churches, a Russian architectural innovation, had elevated the bell high above a compartmentalised central space:

As in all churches without pillars, the internal space is reduced and additional structures [were added] to the central part: a vast exonarthex (*trapeznaya*), a pyramidal bell-tower (*šatër*), side chapels

[...] and a number of access galleries. It is as though the building were broken up into a series of volumes placed side by side.³⁰

Russia's openness to the influence of foreign architects would be a critical factor in the acquisition of the techniques required for large scale domestic bell production from the sixteenth century. The most important of later foreign architects in the history of bell-founding in Russia was the Italian Ridolofo Fioravanti, who introduced Italian casting techniques to Moscow in around 1475. Fioravanti established the *Pushechnyi Dvor* (the Moscow canon foundry) as Russia's preeminent bell production centre. The foundry formed the means for the development of a truly Russian bell as a hybrid production reflecting Russia's historical interactions with Slavic, Byzantine and, later, Italian and Western European culture. It also set a common course for the bell and the canon as twin instruments in the interpellation of church and state ideology and power during the imperial period of Russian history.

Bells in the Early Russian Chronicles

While the bell existed as an instrument of spiritual convocation and divine interpellation around the time of the Christian conversion of *Rus'* (both as a 'cosmic interlocutor' and a symbol of *Logos*) they are rarely mentioned in the accounts of Slavic history contained in the early Russian chronicles. There are, however, many references to cultural, mystical and religious events that are important to the future role and interpretation of the bell in religious and social observances, in particular, chronicles of cosmic spectres in the form of portents and omens. The nature of discourse contained in the Nikonian Chronicle also provides further insight into the synthesis that would occur between the pagan elements of popular faith, and the still evident magicalism of pre-Reformation Christianity.

The Nikonian Chronicle, an account of the union of Byzantium and *Rus'* written during the sixteenth century and named after the pre-Schism Patriarch Nikon who owned the first manuscript copy, contains a collection of diary entries describing Biblical events including the destruction of the tower

of Babel, establishment of the Slavic tongue and the history of Russia's conversion. An entry for the year 993 records Vladimir's construction of a church in Kiev, built in conformity with the requirements of the Greek codex of ecclesiastical law, the *Nomocanon*:

In the year 6501/ 993. With the blessing of his spiritual father, Metropolitan Leontius of Kiev and all Russia, Vladimir in Kiev built a stone church of the Immaculate Theotokos. The mason masters were Greek and the church was adorned with icons, books and church vessels.³¹

While the Nikonian Chronicle makes no mention of bells in the first Kievan church, an entry for the year 1067 (also appearing in the first Novgorod Chronicle, dated 1066) mentions that bells were taken as a war trophy from Novgorod's cathedral of Saint Sophia after being raided by the invading prince of Polotsk:

In the year 6575/ 1067, Vseslav (the Magician), Prince of Polotsk, son of Briacheslav, grandson of Iziaslav, great grandson of Great Vladimir, started a feud, occupied Novgorod up to the Narev suburb, burned the city and sacked everything in the Cathedral of Holy Sophia, including the censers and bells, and retreated.³²

This is the earliest recorded instance of an 'abduction' of bells as a form of war-trophy or symbolic power-grab.

The Nikonian Chronicle makes no mention of bells in Kiev, excluding them entirely from inventories of religious objects and church accoutrements. The sound of a 'great peal' (*zvon velik*), implying a large set of bells, is first reported in the vita of Saint Antonii Rimlianin, who arrived in Novgorod during matins bell-ringing in the year 1106. The first mention of Kievan bells is in the Hypatian Chronicle, which records the seizure of bells by a Prince of Novgorod in 1146. Bells do not feature in written accounts of early Kievan history because the Byzantine *semantron* and *sideron* (called in Russian *bilo* and *klepalo*) were still the preferred instruments of convocation at this time,

and text-bearing vocal music remained the prime vehicle for religious expression in music. The Nikonian Chronicle confirms this:

[In the year 1125, Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh of Kiev] erected a beautiful church on the Al'ta river [...] because the blood of St. Boris was shed there. [...] When he attended church he hearkened to the singing and the reading, he would keep firmly in mind (the meaning) of the chants and the readings, and he would become meek and would shed tears.³³

The Nikonian Chronicle, though primarily an account of religious, political and church events, also contains records of natural portents that are often related to cosmic events, perversions of nature and events involving animals and places. One of the portents noted in the Nikonian Chronicle reverses the popular portent of death (announced by a crow singing atop a church) and forms an analogy between the ringing of bells and birdsong:

In the year 6617/ 1109. In Kiev on top of the church of St. Archangel Michael of the Golden Cupola, an unknown bird appeared which was remarkable for its majesty, and it shone with all colors and sang unceasingly. A tremendous sweet beauty arose from it and it remained on top of this church for six days, then flew away and no one ever saw it again.³⁴

These readings of cosmic signs reflect the same mode of belief that archaic bells symbolised in pagan rites. Owing to the use of bells in pagan divination ceremonies, the *kolokol* retained a symbolic association with cosmic portents in the minds of the Russian faithful, though acceptance of the bell as an instrument of Russian Christianity coincided with a reduction in tolerance for superstition in the official view of the church. It is this obsession with the power and importance of the cosmos that was invested in the bell as it emerged in Russia as an object of spiritual/cosmic divination and ideological hailing or interpellation. The *kolokol* became, and would remain, a 'copula' or link between the visible, concrete, material world, and the unknown, unseen, 'other world' beyond.

The Mongol Yoke and the Legend of Kitezh

If the process of Christianisation in Kievan Russia was characterised by a fusion of culture and ideological systems that also began the historical metamorphosis of the bell into a form reflecting both pagan and Christian models, the invasion of Russia by Mongol horsemen cemented the status of the *kolokol* as a symbolic reflection of Russian nationhood, spirituality and collective destiny. As an ideological or state apparatus, the spectre of the *kolokol* hailed the Russians, as a people, to their religion and to the cause of their state for the first time.

Records in the Nikonian Chronicle of the Mongolian campaign against *Rus'* in 1237 describe the onslaught with a natural sense of horror, and refer to the Mongols as 'accursed aliens',³⁵ indicating that Christianity was deeply entrenched in Russian belief by the first part of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the Russo-Byzantine church, having assumed the title of 'Third Rome' after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire in 1453, was surprisingly exempt from repression while its people were still under the influence of supposedly Satanic forces. As John Fennell notes in his *History of the Russian Church*,³⁶ the church opposed the Mongols theologically, but not always in pecuniary matters.

Records of bells and bell-making are, however, rare during the period of Mongolian appanage, which lasted until 1480. The few references that do occur in the records of this time are nevertheless important, and indicate that the craft of bell-making was actually progressing. One refers to the founding of the first recorded 'named' bell, called 'Tiurik', by two princes in Rostov.³⁷ The casting of larger-scale bells is first mentioned in an account of damage caused by fire to a pair of *large* bells (*dva kolokola velikaia*), again in Rostov, in 1305. A Lithuanian manuscript records the founding of two bells, one in 1341 (foundry unknown) and another dating from 1379, which are among the oldest with Russian inscriptions.³⁸

While the development of bells in Russia may have been slowed by economic constraints during the period of Mongol power, and while they were certainly destroyed to make cannons during the campaigns that ended their rule, there was no official Mongolian prohibition against them. Cannons were not being manufactured when the Mongols entered Russia, so bells were not yet regarded as being a reserve of military metal. A balance of power was achieved with the production of canons in Moscow only from the middle of the fifteenth century at the same time as large-scale bell production began. As W Bruce Lincoln explains in *The Conquest of a Continent*,³⁹ the Russians fought against a powerful Mongolian arsenal of long-distance bows and arrows, scimitars and catapults capable of hurling stones, burning naphtha and saltpetre, with less effective weaponry, mainly short swords and lances. Even Ermak's army, funded by the wealthy Siberian Stroganov family, took only a few small canons and muskets with them as they campaigned to colonise the vast expanses of Siberia beginning in the year 1582, setting up the first outposts in Tiumen' and Tobolsk.

The metamorphosis of bells into cannons was a miraculous apparition of protective power that could only be compared with the influence of certain religious icons that are supposed to have assisted in the expulsion of the 'alien nation': Ivan the Terrible's decisive victory over the Mongols at Kazan in 1552, and at Astrakhan in 1556, was accompanied by the new technology of cannon fire as well as by the *Our Lady of Kazan* icon. The same supreme Mother of God icon of all Russia had protected Kazan from the Mongol Tamerlane in 1395, and, according to popular belief, had ensured Ivan's victory over the Mongols. The icon, like the bell, 'demonstrates the close collaboration between faith and fighting'.⁴⁰

The *kolokol* therefore assumed a double identity - on the one hand a material object associated with national power and warfare, and a potent spiritual symbol on the other. The history of the *kolokol* as a physical object became intertwined with Russia's quest for self-reliance through exploration of domestic metal deposits and the stockpiling of copper reserves in readiness for future war, while the symbolic and spiritual history of the *kolokol* became associated directly with Russia's sense of spiritual destiny.

This sense of historic spiritual 'fate' became enshrined in the legend of Kitezh.

The Kitezh story, which recounts the miraculous disappearance of a belled city beneath a lake in the face of a Mongol attack, expresses a people's will to escape from ideological domination and a totally alien world of belief, and their hope for future salvation. The narrative recounts the construction of two cities by Prince Vsevolodovich, Little Kitezh, located on the Volga River, and Great Kitezh, built alongside Little Kitezh in the Murom forest on Lake Svetloiar. In around 1236, the city of Little Kitezh is destroyed by the forces of Khan Batu, but the invading Tartars are unable to find the inner city of Great Kitezh since it is hidden away in a forest.

A fearful inhabitant of Little Kitezh (Grishka Kuterma) betrays the way to Great Kitezh, blaming Lady Fevronia, the bride of successor to the throne, Prince Vsevolodovich. When the Tartars arrive at the lake's edge and behold the city of Great Kitezh, a miracle occurs in answer to Kitezh's prayers for salvation to the Mother of God. The city and its entire population become invisible, apparently rising into the celestials or sinking below the lake. Seeing that God has saved the city, the Tartars flee in terror. Lady Fevronia is rewarded for her undeserved suffering by becoming a sovereign, while the traitor goes insane.⁴¹ The belief that the miraculous city lies beneath a lake near the Volga River draws faithful to listen through the ice of frozen lakes for the sounds of bells that are supposed to sound to this day.⁴²

In one version of the legend (used in the libretto written for Rimsky-Korsakov's 1905 opera *The Legend of the Invisible City Kitezh and Lady Fevronia*) based on traditional tales, bells represent the holiness of the heavenly city, the madness of the traitorous Grishka, the amazement of the Tartars at the disappearance of the city and, ultimately, the transcendent sound of the city of the redeemed. Bells participate in a series of portentous sonic and visual signs that articulate the legend, and effectively 'narrate' the story of Kitezh. The play begins as a blind man, Fedr Poiarok, has an ominous 'vision' that foretells of the Mongolian attack:

Mother Earth has given birth to hell. Hordes of ghosts crawled from her innards, praying mantises of human proportions. They are devouring our whole kingdom. And they are seeking an even fatter prey: Kitez, the city of man fit for angels.⁴³

King Iurii, Prince Vsevolodovich and their people pray to the Mother of Heaven to cloak their city and to send angels to protect them. As Prince Vsevolodovich and his guard leave Great Kitez to defend their city, they hear the music of angels:

Hark! A rare and miraculous sound. Our bells are singing. As though heavenly bellringers are striking the copper. Yes, we see angels guard Great Kitez. [...] Kitez is sinking into the Svetli Jarr; it is sailing heavenward. God the Lord has taken the city away from the Tartars! [...] Kitez will be the heart and head of earth. The city and the country are shrouded in a thick golden mist [while] the Tartars are slaughtering Prince Vsevolod and his guard in Kershenez.⁴⁴

The Tartars, unable to see Kitez, and suspecting Grishka of lying, are assured by the traitor that they need only follow their ears to find the city:

Can't you hear the bronze bells tolling? They are like tyrants, the sound of thunder. The earth shakes. The thudding sounds sicken my thumping heart.

Grishka's conscience gets the better of him, and he is once again haunted by the sound of bells:

Well, damn it all! I can hear those bells again. They're clanging even louder than before. The din will make me go truly mad. Satan is ringing them. I can smell the brimstone. God, I cannot even walk, everything is reeling. Heaven help me. The earth is running amok.⁴⁵

The Tartars awake at the noise and realise the truth - that the city has by some miracle disappeared:

What a miracle was wrought in the dark of night. Stand up! This has never been seen before. Is this the secret of Russia's soul? There is neither a house nor a bush on the Svetli Jarr, and yet the strange royal city of this land is reflected in the glassy surface of the water. Bells which are rung by nobody are pealing like a raging avalanche. *The Tartars are overwhelmed by a boundless terror.*

In a brief interlude, during which the bells of the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption continue to chime, the voice of a Siren is heard:

And Christ spoke to the seekers. You will soon inherit the new kingdom of life, where there is no sun, where the moon does not rise. This heavenly city lights up with its own strength; everything is light. Nothing there has weight. There is no conflict: It is a realm of peace. I am its heart, I am its blood.

Kitezh takes on the form of a celestial paradise, a city whose resurrection can be heard through the earth in the perfection of a single tone. Fevronia writes a letter of forgiveness to the traitor, hoping that the message will convince all Russians to believe in the miracle of Kitezh:

Everything here is full of light and shining, the city, the people. Everything here is timeless and spaceless. That is why the spirit is joyful. Kitezh is more intimate than a dream. The silence has deepened here to a single note. [...] Bow your head down to earth. Press your ears to the ground. You will hear the bells of Kitezh down in the depths, making the earth tremble. It will no longer disturb you.⁴⁶

Finally, the people of Kitezh sing:

Living in the city of the pure in heart, Joy will remain with us.⁴⁷

The story of Kitezh remains a symbol of the last hope of the Russian Orthodox faith for a spiritual utopia on earth towards which all humanity

would be hailed, the establishment of the kind of God/mankind unity espoused by the Russian religious philosopher Vladimir Soloviev whose ideas are distilled in Greg Gaut's exploration of his 'Social Gospel Theology':

[The] historical recovering of unity which culminates in the Kingdom of God is theandric, that is, is shared equally by humanity and by God. Humanity must act in history to regenerate itself as a social body, and when this is achieved, humanity will be deified and once again part of the *vse-edinstvo* [unity-of-all]. In the end, God will be all, but human beings will not lose their individual selves in this new unity.⁴⁸

The bells of Kitezh symbolise the universalism that characterises Russian faith, as well as the mix of superstition, cosmology, mysticism and religion that make up popular belief in Russia. As Valentin Tomberg writes in *Kitezh: The Russian Grail Legends*, the story of Kitezh represents the hope of the *narod* that, collectively, they will be rewarded for suffering with everlasting peace, not as individual heroes, but as the *karma* of a community of souls:

According to the Russian view, [suffering is not the result of an error or wandering of the Self, but] every form of suffering contains a collective power that transcends the Self. This Self-transcending power gives suffering a quality of general humanity.⁴⁹

Esoteric eschatological interpretations of Kitezh as a Holy Grail legend assert that the city will re-emerge in the penultimate period (dated 3573 – 5733 AD) of an historical movement towards the end of time, taking the name 'Philadelphia', the City of Brotherly Love.⁵⁰ This re-emergence is supposed to usher in a final atemporal phase of human history with the establishment of a social system built on the idea of the Holy Communion, a utopian holy anarchy embodied in Jesus Christ.

The bells of Kitezh reflect the spectre of Russian *messianizm*, an idea which Soloviev regarded as being 'outside the theological sphere, although

connected with religious ideas, in all peoples who have played an important role in history, on the awakening of their national consciousness [...] as the chosen bearer and perpetrator (*sovershitel'*) of the historical fate of mankind'.⁵¹ Though a Christian, Soloviev advocated erotic unity with *Sophia* (a feminine figure embracing Mother Earth, Lady Fevronia in the Kitezh legend, the divine wisdom of Orthodoxy and the Catholic Virgin) to attain 'all-unity' between God and man, and stated that: 'not only do I believe in everything supernatural, but strictly speaking I believe in nothing else.'⁵²

The uniquely Russian view of eschatology encapsulated in the Kitezh legend is revealed when considered in comparison with Gerhart Hauptmann's play *Die Versunkene Glocke*⁵³ (*The Sunken Bell*), a work that draws on Teutonic folklore and mythology. This play is an exploration of human freedom and moral endeavour involving a bell-founder whose project is to found a bell that would be cosmically eternal and immortal. In this work, the bell attains the cosmic (heavenly, solar) symbolism of a super-human project, like the Tower of Babel or Icarian flight. This form of heroic human project, characterised by excessive ambition, was described by Carl Jung as a 'passion' that 'raises a man not only above himself, but also above the bounds of his mortality and earthliness, and by the very act of raising him, it destroys him'.⁵⁴

As Heinrich, the bell-founder in *The Sunken Bell*, sets about his task, a wood sprite, fearing that the bellfounder's new bell will 'frighten good spirits of earth away',⁵⁵ interferes with the cart being used to transport it to a church. The bell falls into a valley lake, destroying Heinrich's creation. Herein lies the critical difference between the legend of Kitezh and other legends (Babel, Icarus) to which it may be compared. While all of these legends consider 'the [irremediable flaw in man that is the] tragedy of mankind as a whole [...];'⁵⁶ and end ultimately in failure, the Russian legend of Kitezh ends in the triumph of a 'messianic' vision. Both the cosmic bell of the bell-founder's imagination and the *kolokol* as a symbol of *Logos*, are icons of the unattainable in the relationship between mankind and divinity, a plan devised to achieve the never-repeatable.

Even though the bells of Kitezkh remain hidden, they are not destroyed: they represent the messianistic vision of ultimate resurrection, the hope of human transcendence. This symbolism is perfectly inverted in a much later commentary on Soviet Moscow by Leon Feuchtwanger, written in 1937, which refers to the Materialist 'vision' using a reversed (iconoclastic) metaphor of the Tower of Babel:

Here they do not hide behind mystical-sounding, hollow words: instead there is a plain, down-to-earth ethos [...] and it is this ethical rationality alone which informs the plan by which they are building up the Union. [...] It is a true Tower of Babel, but one which aims not to bring human beings closer to heaven, but heaven closer to human beings.⁵⁷

The large-scale iconoclasm implied by Kitezkh and Babel have been repeated throughout the history of the *kolokol*. From the imperial and into the revolutionary phases of Russia's ideological history, bells were abducted, stolen and, later, annihilated *en masse* to support the material 'founding' of a powerful empire and state.

Imperial Power and the Abduction of Bells

The first historical account indicating that bells had become a widespread phenomenon in Russian life is contained in the 1647 travelogue of Adam Olearius, an envoy from the court of the Duke of Holstein. In his travels, Olearius recorded:

In [the Russian] churches hang many bells, sometimes five or six, the largest of which weighs no more than 200 pounds and often a good deal less. With these they summon the people to church; they also ring them when the priest, in celebrating mass, raises the cup. In Moscow, owing to the multitude of churches and chapels, there are several thousand bells. During a service they give forth such varied chimes and tones that a person unaccustomed to it listens in wonder. One person can operate three or four bells. For this purpose they tie

a rope not to the bells but the tongues, and the rope ends one to the hand, the other to the elbow, bringing them into action by turns. In ringing them, they keep to a particular rhythm. They consider the bell indispensable to their worship, and believe that without it the service would not be well received. For this reason, [...] the Swedish ambassadors told that they wished to celebrate their holiday too. They asked how it was possible [for the Swedes] to celebrate their holiday in Moscow if they had brought no bell with them on their long journey. Over the church doors, as well as the city gates, they hang or paint ikons so that those who came before them may bow, cross themselves, and say their 'Gospodi' [Lord have Mercy]. They cross themselves and pray not only to the ikons but also to the crosses set on the churches. Consequently, one is always meeting Russians praying in the streets.⁵⁸

This proliferation of bells in Russia by the middle of the seventeenth century indicates that the status of the *kolokol* in Russian society had gone well beyond its earlier role as a symbol of cosmic communion and the power of *Logos*. During the reign of Ivan III, bells were elevated to the central heights of the state power structure by virtue of the value of their raw material and those improvements in the technology of founding which had military applications. The bell formed an alliance with the cannon as a copulated apparatus of ideology and power. As James Billington explains in *The Icon and the Axe*, the dual symbolism of state power embodied in the bell and cannon pervaded all milieus of Russian society. Though bells and cannons were generally the productions of elite urban society, an equivalent symbolism existed in rural society in the form of the icon and axe, the prime assets in the spiritual and material life of a peasant hut:

The axe had fashioned and could destroy the wooden board on which the painting was made. Likewise, the primitive foundry which forged the first cannon also made the first bells; and these were always in peril of being melted back into metal for artillery in time of war.⁵⁹ [...] The forging and ringing of bells, like the painting and veneration of icons, was a sacramental act in Muscovy: a means of bringing the

word of God into the presence of men. This 'word' was the *logos* of St. John's gospel [...]. There was no reason to write discursively about the imperfect world of here and now when one could see - however darkly - through the beauty of sights and sounds a transfigured world beyond.⁶⁰

The rate of bell production in Russia increased dramatically during the reign of Ivan the Terrible who expanded upon the power base set up before him by Ivan III, the Great. In 1478, Ivan III began the expansion of Muscovy by annexing Novgorod in a first step towards Russian Imperialism, a seizure of power that he reinforced symbolically and strategically by removing the city's bells:

Bells had been used in some of the proud, Westward-looking cities of medieval Russia to summon the popular assembly [*veche* - an institution that pre-revolutionary intelligentsia would regard as evidence of innate communist socialism in the *peasantry*]. The final silencing of the assembly bell in Novgorod in 1478 ended the tradition of relative freedom from imperial authority and partial popular rule which until then Novgorod had shared with many commercial cities of the West. The ideal of non-despotic representative government impelled the early-nineteenth-century reformer to 'take myself in imagination back to Novgorod. I hear the ringing bell of the popular assembly [...] I throw the chains off my feet' [...].⁶¹

From 1490, Ivan III had employed metallurgists from outside Russia to locate metal deposits within Russia in order to obtain independence from foreign suppliers, as Edward V Williams details in *The Bells of Russia*:

Through the initiative of Ivan III, then, the last quarter of the fifteenth century saw an unprecedented burst of founding in Moscow; and during the sixteenth century Russian bell casting there entered a new era of expansion and technological development. A full century after the Russian victory at Kulikovo Pole, Ivan III succeeded in

liberating Muscovy from Mongol domination and thus prepared Russia to assume both spiritual and industrial leadership in the Christian East.⁶²

Ivan the Terrible succeeded in taking power over all of Russia and controlling her centrally from Moscow, a monumental achievement that could only be brought about by an unbridled release of power in the form of terror and the 'iron rule' of his KGB, the *Oprichnina*. Ivan valued bells as articles of technology and material stockpile, and also as symbols of his religious and political supremacy, taking them as war trophies after his massacre of Novgorod in 1570.⁶³ To own the symbol of divine power was to be the authority of God on earth, and to hold absolute power, Ivan needed to control both heaven *and* earth.

By 1639, through successive conquests initiated by Ivan the Terrible, Russia had expanded its territories deep into the Far East. His brutal expansionism was a critical force in the development and proliferation of bells in Russia. The widening of Russia's field of political power was reflected in a broadening of the *kolokol's* range of influence as an instrument of communication: bells reflected the realities of Russia's 'earthly' world as much as its spiritual direction as the state expanded eastwards. The unique qualities of attenuation and transmissibility inherent in the bell's spectrum led to the *kolokol's* dominance over earlier instruments of convocation in Russia, as the Russian campanologist Roman Lukianov explained in his 1999 address to the American Bell Association:

The sound of wooden instruments, used by the Greeks, probably was not uncommon in the thickly wooded country of Russia, where much of the work was performed with axes. Thus, the sound of a *semantron* did not differ greatly from the commonly heard [percussive] sounds of daily living. But the sound of a bell was different: it carried for longer distances and was uniquely recognizable. It called people to something special, to the service of prayer, it was calling them to God.⁶⁴

The development of the *kolokol* as a cultural artefact was associated directly with the vastness and character of the Russian land itself: it was therefore to become a more extensive fixture of the Russian landscape than it had ever been in Kiev or Byzantium.

The *kolokol's* historical association with the expansion of Russian territory was motivated by Ivan's personal brand of kenotic spirituality (emphasising a life of sacrifice, self-depleting donation of love, and real expectation of persecution and suffering⁶⁵), which manifested itself in a form of extreme brutality based on familial power. Ivan's failure to provide a suitable heir, or to establish any meaningful system of power beyond his own personality cult before his death, created a power-vacuum that contributed to the 'Time of Troubles' from 1598 to 1613. In 1598, Boris Godunov became the first elected ruler of Russia. The period of Godunov's rule was marked by further Westernisation, but also by national disaster in the form of a famine that may have wiped out a third of his subjects in the three years before his own death in 1605.⁶⁶ The most famous anecdote in the history of Russian bells (and the strongest signal that political abduction of bells might be symptomatic of their ultimate destruction after the Revolution) emerges from the Godunov era. The well-known story of the Uglich bell raises the *kolokol* beyond the status of a power-symbol or spiritual spectre into an anthropomorphic agent of political subversion.

The story is based upon an incident that took place in 1591, when Boris Godunov had assumed political control of Russia after the death of Ivan the Terrible's son Dimitri and the ineffective rule of the mentally impaired Fedor, his half brother. After the stabbing of Dimitri, an alarm bell was sounded. The gathering people of Uglich assumed that the child had been murdered by agents of the heir apparent to Ivan the Terrible, Fedor. They then lynched one of the Tsar's envoys and his son, and killed twelve people in an act of mob justice. Boris Godunov reacted by ordering the execution and incarceration of a large number of the inhabitants of Uglich. He also ordered that around a hundred people as well as the bell, which was considered to have been an accomplice, to be exiled to Pelim in the Tiumen' region of Siberia.

Before being dispatched, the bell had one of its 'ears' (the loops on top of the bell from which it is suspended) cut off. Though forty Uglich citizens requested the return of the bell in December 1849, the Mayor of Tobolsk considered that the bell had been banished for life, and that such a sentence could not be commuted.⁶⁷ The bell was returned to Uglich only in 1888, shipped up the Volga on a steamboat. The Uglich bell appears in this photograph, taken in 1910 by the photographer Sergei Mikhailovich:



The exiled Uglich bell.⁶⁸

In an action similar to the exile of the Uglich bell, Catherine the Great ordered that the tongue of the Nabatnaia (warning/*tocsin*) bell hanging in the Spasskaia Tower of the Kremlin be removed after it was used to call people to the plague riot of 1771. It remained hidden and silenced until

1803 when it was removed from the tower and placed in the Armory of the Kremlin.⁶⁹

These trials and abductions of the *kolokol* foreshadow a still more ruthless period in its role as an 'ideological apparatus' in Russian history. Major wars using modern weaponry demanded that bells from time to time be sacrificed to the common good of freedom, defence, and self-determination, as well as to the cause of imperial expansion. The most important of these pre-twentieth century meltdowns was the Great Northern War waged by Peter the Great and his allies Denmark-Norway and Saxony against Sweden from 1700 to 1721, a war which earned Peter the title of Tsar.⁷⁰

Bells also play an important symbolic role in historical narratives recording incursions *into* the territory of imperial Russia. In Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, the Russians' battles with the French are described in terms of a game using bells, rather than cannons, as strategic weapons used to communicate 'misinformation':

The movements of the Russian and French armies during the campaign from Moscow back to the Niemen were like those in a game of Russian blindman's bluff, in which two players are blindfolded and one of them occasionally rings a little bell to inform the catcher of his whereabouts. First he rings his bell fearlessly, but when he gets into a tight place he runs away as quietly as he can, and often thinking to escape runs straight into his opponent's arms.

At first while they were still moving along the Kaluga road, Napoleon's armies made their presence known, but later when they reached the Smolensk road they ran holding the clapper of their bell tight – and often thinking they were escaping ran right into the Russians.⁷¹

Literature of this period of Russian history reveals a heightened awareness of the very idea of historical motion and continuity itself. In another chapter of *War and Peace* subtitled '1812', Tolstoy brought the bell into play as a

symbol of temporal continuity and historical motion, which he considered to be imperceptible to human consciousness. In one passage from this chapter, cited below, Tolstoy expressed a belief that historical laws of motion can only be revealed through an understanding of humanity's 'innumerable arbitrary wills'.⁷² He argued that history, rather than being defined by any relationship of cause and effect initiated by powerful individuals, is evidence of much deeper structures and processes of temporal change:

[It is not proven that] conquerors caused the wars and that it is possible to find the laws of a war in the personal activity of a single man. Whenever I look at my watch and its hands point to ten, I hear the bells of the neighboring church; but because the bells begin to ring when the hands of the clock reach ten, I have no right to assume that the movement of the bells is caused by the position of the hands of the watch. [...] I see only a coincidence of occurrences such as happens with all the phenomena of life, and I see that however much and however carefully I observe the hands of the watch [...] I shall not discover the cause of the bells ringing [...]. To [do] that I must entirely change my point of view and study of the laws of [their movement.] History must do the same.⁷³

Russia trumpeted its historical emergence into a technological and material age through a continual aggrandisement of bells and cannons during the imperial era. As Konovalov points out in his 1982 article entitled 'Sonic Symbols of the Russian State',⁷⁴ successive Russian rulers sought to reconfirm their power by founding bells of even greater scale than any predecessor. This competitive process reached its apex in the founding of the 433,356 pound bell known as the *Tsar-Kolokol*, which now stands in the Kremlin alongside its twin, a massive cannon known as the *Tsar-Pushka*. The bell was recast several times to repair it, each time with the addition of even more bronze. A version of the bell cast in 1645 was already so large that it apparently 'caused vibrations akin to a small earthquake'⁷⁵ when rung. The bell was again damaged in 1701, and recast during the reign of Empress Anna in 1730. During this final casting, however, a fire broke out, and

attempts to douse it with water caused a fatal crack in the bell's side: its Icarian flight ended in flames.

While the scale of bells reached a natural limit with the *Tsar-Kolokol*, ornamentation of very large bells cast during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became increasingly elaborate. This ornamentation reflected a dazzling growth of wealth amongst Russia's ruling elite. These magnifications of power foreshadow, like the gargantuan twins Gog and Magog, the same 'Will to power' that contributed to Russia's eventual industrialisation and, ultimately, its emergence as a nuclear superpower.



The Kremlin 'Tsar-Kolokol.'⁷⁶



Moscow Church Bell, circa 1895 – 1910.⁷⁷

The history of bells during the Russian imperial period is fundamentally motivated by the symbolic power invested in the *kolokol* and cannon as a potentised incarnation of the icon and axe. Pursuit of this power led the church and state to vie for control of the auditory messages transmitted by the bell to Russia's widespread communities. These messages were regarded as truth by the people, since they served as a binding and vernacular communications system for those who could hear and 'understand' them. The messages transmitted by the bell, and the culture within which they were created and interpreted, were inseparable.

Control over auditory messages was constantly disputed between church, state and community, but the abduction of a bell did more than simply silence a primary mode of collective communication – it amounted to a denial of truth, erasure of memory, an act of sacral and political domination and humiliation. The abductors of bells sought to harness the interpellating 'power' of the bell's voice, not just its material value, though greed must sometimes have played a part. Abduction of bells from the central meeting point of a village was an assault on the power of a community. Conversely, removal of bells from an institution of power was an act of defiance.

The phenomenon of bell abduction was not confined to Russia's borders. The 1800s, as well as being marked by challenges to the imperial power system throughout Europe, were a decisive period for bells, especially in France. Acts of bell abduction 'wreaked havoc in the French countryside from 1791 to the early 1860s'.⁷⁸ As in Russia, French bells had frequently been transformed into weapons in times of need. In *Village Bells*, Corbin recounts that 'the removal and destruction of bells [occurred] long before 1791 and continued long after the Revolution [and that] this same sacrifice was ordered by the Emperor Napoleon following the battle of Leipzig [in 1813]'.⁷⁹ Frequent abduction of bells in France, as explained by Corbin, also reflected a gradual 'revolution in the culture of senses', brought about by the French Republicans:

The leaders of the First Republic had sought to desacralise these instruments, to limit their strictly religious uses, to curb their sensory ascendancy, and to monopolize their solemnity. They also attempted to secularize and municipalize the peals, to subordinate them to the nation, and to insert them into a framework of citizenship. They therefore endeavoured in various ways to deny communities the right to noise, to contest the need to sacralize space and time, and thus to alter the prevailing pattern of the culture of senses.⁸⁰

The theft of bells from an institution of church or state is an act of subversion or 'mockery' of power in the spirit of the carnivalesque, the carnival being the only natural forum in which the common people may assume the mantle of the 'holy fool' (*iurodivyi*) and voice non-conformance with rule. The abduction of bells in association with the spirit of the carnivalesque is first described in detail by Rabelais (1483?-1553) in his *Lives, Heroic Deeds and Sayings of Gargantua and his Son Pantagruel*. In this work, the theft of bells is used to illustrate defiance of power carried out in an excess of hilarity rather than violence.⁸¹ The carnivalesque language of this work is heterogeneous and polystylistic, free from the constraints of formality: the voice of the people opposes official culture in a form of stylised revolution, yet does so through the irreverent spirit of carnival rather than any deliberate political action.

In Rabelais' story, Janotus de Bragmardo, a senior member of the Sorbonne and a representative of the establishment, asks for the return of the bells for the beneficial influence of their sound on the fertility of vines in the Paris region, and to obtain a gift of sausage and hose. Thus, throughout this episode, the bells are regarded as being objects associated with the excessive accumulation of material wealth for the benefit of the ruling elite. In a final act of defiance, Gargantua secretly turns the bells over to city officials without telling them.

In *Rabelais and His World*, Bakhtin elaborates upon the carnivalesque significance of this particular theft of the bells:

The theme of stealing of the bells was borrowed by Rabelais from the Great Chronicles, but he broadened and transposed it for the novel. Gargantua steals the historic bells in order to hang them on the harness of his giant mare, which he intends to send back to his father with a load of fish and cheese. Uncrowning the cathedral bells and hanging them on a horse is a typical gesture of debasement. It combines a destructive theme with that of renewal of another, material bodily level.⁸²

The anthropomorphic corporeality of the bell is represented here by the body of the bell itself, and by overt bodily functions such as urination, drinking and ingestion of food. Pantagruel jokes at a feast, 'would to God, every one of you had two paires of little Anthem or Sacring bells hanging at your chin [...] to see what a peal they would wring with the wagging of our chaps'.⁸³ The image of bells appended to beards places the bell into a humiliated position, removed from the belfries and lowered to the point of excess consumption. This is a feast 'for all the world [...] around an historic hearth; a feast that has consumed the old feudal culture',⁸⁴ Bakhtin wrote, as he described the dissolution and replacement of one socio-historical order by another.

According to Bakhtin, Rabelais captured the language of a particular social threshold between static medievalism and the developments of language that came with the literary formalities of absolute monarchies. The language of carnival, as Craig Brandist points out in *The Bakhtin Circle*, suspends hierarchical structure and its associated etiquettes, closes the distance between people of different position within the social hierarchy, provides an escape from the mundane through eccentricity, overturns the normal effects of power (seen in the acts of uncrowning), permits freedom of association between sacred and profane culture, and celebrates the subjectivity and relativity of all symbolic orders.⁸⁵ Presented in the spirit of carnival, the act of stealing bells does not equate, therefore, to political rebellion or terrorism, but shows, through irony and ambivalence, that the pain of social 'death and destruction' is the gateway to cultural birth and renewal.⁸⁶ Irony strengthens popular resolve to laugh at personal misfortune and to accept one's lot, and sets up a mode of language that enacts change by dismembering and regenerating society from the bottom up.

Russian society has been prone to such social traumas in its history: as Tim McDaniel explains in *The Agony of the Russian Idea*, sudden ideological 'splits' (for example, the differences in thinking between Westward-looking modernisers and Slavophile traditionalists prior to the Revolution) have contributed to a sequence of schisms and episodes of cultural schizophrenia that has caused Russia to follow a course of modernisation along purely rational lines. According to McDaniel, Russia is absurdly 'out of sync' with Western European historical development:

[Russian life is carnivalistic]. There's always something unexpected to impart surprise and wonder, and very often despair. In such an atmosphere [...], the disenchantment of the world, the sense that the world runs in a predictable course that constrains the spirit, is not felt with such pathos. Russia is like a theater of the absurd, and the theatre has its own allure.⁸⁷

Corbin points out that the desacralisation process associated with French revolutionary history resulted in a distinct change in the auditory culture in

country France as bells became the object of theft, abduction and official control. In post-1917 Russia, an even more radical change in auditory culture resulted from a far more aggressive programme aimed at dismantling the church's authority, which was accompanied by the destruction of bells in Russia's largest cities from the 1920s. The *kolokol*, understood as a symbol of speculative interpellation, whether between God (*Logos*), state and people, or between spiritual visions and materialist ideals, was caught between rival ideological factions and effectively silenced.⁸⁸

Revolutionary Bells

In the lead-up to the Russian Revolution, Alexander Herzen's journal, *Kolokol* (The Bell), a publication of the Foreign Russian Press, became the primary advocate for the formation and dissemination of revolutionary ideology amongst the Russian *Intelligentsia*. Appealing for change at a safe distance from the Russian ruling classes, the symbolic sign of the Russian bell suggested clarity in political thinking, a voice that could speak out against the current social order across long distances as an internationally recognised emblem of ideological 'truth'.

Not only Herzen's publication, but a whole spectrum of literature from the pre-Revolution period (writing that appealed to extremely mystical or socially radical propensities in Russian society at the time) brought the interpellating power of the Russian bell into play. In the final paragraph of *Dead Souls*, Nikolai Gogol compared *Rus'* in mystical terms to a wild running *troika* that leaves all who see her entranced by the wonders of God. When Gogol asked where the *troika* (a metaphor for the course of Russian history) was heading, he received no answer. Instead, the mysterious direction and messianic fate of Russian history was presented to him in the form of chiming bells:

[A] wonderful ringing pours from a little bell; it thunders then, torn up into pieces of air, it turns to wind; everything, whatever there

may be on the earth, flies past, and turning to watch, other peoples and states give way to her.⁸⁹

Gogol's *troika* reappears in the final letter from his *Diary of a Madman*, dated 'da 34 te Mnth. Yr. YraurbeF 349'.⁹⁰ Here, the madman beseeches the *troika* to take him away, to save him from the madness of the world:

Save me! Take me away! Give me a swift *troika*, horses like a whirlwind! Take a seat, my coachman, ring my little bell, take flight, horses, and carry me away from this world! Further and further, so that nothing more is visible, nothing.⁹¹

Russian society was witnessing an unprecedented spectre of terror in the lead-up to the Revolution. The terrorists of the pre-Revolution period were volunteers acting upon their inner compulsion, who could no longer 'witness the sufferings of the people and the baseness of rulers without immediate response'.⁹² Individual acts, such as the assassination of Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich that signalled the unrest of 1905, added enormous momentum to the revolutionary movement. Letters written by men condemned for their terrorist activities showed that their convictions were a natural consequence of their lives. Stepan Balmashov, a student of 21 when he murdered the Russian Minister of the Interior, wrote to his mother:

Do not force upon me all the weight of your reproach! The implacable, merciless conditions of Russian life drove me to this act, compelled me to shed human blood, and, what is more, to inflict upon you, in your old age, the sorrow of the loss of your only son'.⁹³

The extent and scale of terrorism recorded in the one year period from October, 1905 is staggering: at least 3,611 government officials of all ranks were killed and wounded throughout the country. From January, 1908 to mid-May, 1910, 19,957 terrorist acts were recorded.⁹⁴ The ease with which terrorists could arm themselves was evident in the report that 'bomb shops were opening in every city'.⁹⁵

Personal guilt, acts of conscience, criminality and oppressive social control, prevalent facets of society in pre-Revolution Russia, are interrogated in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. In this work, the murderer Rodion Romanovitch Raskolnikov (his surname incorporates the root *kol* to form a word implying social separatism) is tortured by the sound of a bell that represents his own guilty conscience.

In Edgar Allan Poe's 1843 short story 'The Telltale Heart', the murderer is haunted by the sound of his victim's beating heart: in *Crime and Punishment* it is the haunting sound of a bell that evinces the imaginary evidence of crime, the interruption of conscience that drives the criminal into a psychotic delirium symptomatic of the 'insanity' associated with revolutionary change. Raskolnikov was even compelled in his delirium to return to the crime scene, ring the doorbell, and ask the porters nonsensical questions about blood. It is this trace of the deviant act in the guilty conscience of the criminal that the investigator Porfiry Petrovitch seizes upon as he interrogates his suspect:

Why, my dear fellow, you may drive yourself into delirium if you have the impulse to work upon your nerves, to go ringing bells at night and asking about blood! I've studied all this morbid psychology in my practice. A man is sometimes tempted to jump out of a window or from a belfry. Just the same with bell-ringing It's all illness, Rodion Romanovitch! You have begun to neglect your illness.⁹⁶

While bells made other subtle appearances in the socio-historical novels of pre-Revolution Russia,⁹⁷ it was in literature of a political or ideological nature that they most strongly signify the emergence of a new socialist paradigm. As the spectres of revolution and communism loomed over Russia in the last decades of the nineteenth century, political and mystical thinking intensified and the bell became a primary symbol of heightened ideological speculation, forewarning society with a *toxin* of violent catastrophe. Some of the most esoteric and mystical examples of literature at the time were written by Helena Blavatskaya, whose followers claimed that an 'astral' or 'occult' bell, sounding like the glassy ring of a wineglass, could sometimes be heard in

her presence.⁹⁸ Members of the London Theosophical Society even claimed to have heard 'astral bells' with a sweet silvery tone lasting for ten to fifteen seconds in her presence.⁹⁹

Two of Blavatskaya's many articles, 'Persian Zoroastrianism and Russian Vandalism' and 'Karmic Visions', provide insight into the role of bells in Russian mysticism and ideological history. The first article, published in 1879, was a condemnation of the destruction by Russian merchants of a fire-worshipping shrine named Attesh-Gag, which was situated near Baku and used by Zoroastrian worshippers from Persia until 1840. The second advocates for the preservation of spiritual relics and spaces facing economic exploitation. Her discussion of the (mis)appropriation of bells by the Christian church is of particular interest in that it reflects the general tendency of authority to take control of the symbols and media of spiritual, social and material power:

This tower [Attesh-Gag] has been for centuries a shrine of the fire-worshippers and bears the symbolical representation of the trident – called *teersoot*. [...] Under the altar-tower, three huge bells were hung. A legend says they were miraculously produced by a holy traveller, in the tenth century during the Mussulman persecution, to warn the faithful of the approach of the enemy. [...] At the horizontal orifices in the four hollow pillars burned four perpetual fires, fed uninterruptedly from the inexhaustible subterranean reservoir. [...] And now [1879], [hardly a year after a Zoroastrian hermit was reported to be still resident within the shrine], we find in the papers, that Messrs. Kokoref and Co., are busy erecting on the Fiery Field enormous buildings for the refining of petroleum! [...] The bells are now, during the periodical visits of a Russian priest, taken down and suspended in the porch of the superintendent's house; heathen relics being as usual used – though *abused* – by the religion that supplants the previous worship. [...] 'It is a matter of surprise to me', writes a Baku correspondent in the *St. Petersburg Vjedomosti*, who was the first to send the unwelcome news, 'that the trident, the sacred

teersoot itself, has not as yet been put to some appropriate use in the new firm's kitchen!¹⁰⁰

Blavatskaya's 'Karmic Visions' takes the form of an esoteric and enigmatic anti-war legend, in which an old holy-woman from a 'sun-worshipping tribe' curses an evil Christian king to be reborn in the midst of his enemies and to suffer the same afflictions he himself had caused. This curse is realised many years later when the king is reborn in a new form in the midst of a futuristic war zone. The king, in his new form, has dreamed of the 'Soul-Ego', a personal daemon connected to a spirit-world where all the kings of the world live in peace with their 'voluntary subjects'. The Soul-Ego, with the stars, looks down with pity on the *Weltschmerz*, and reveals the barbarity and futility of war to the forms it occupies. The revelations of the Soul-Ego (conscience) inspire the king to spread peace in his own land. The Soul-Ego looks sadly on the miseries of the world and laments the death of forgotten multitudes in the power-struggles of kings, whose deaths are remembered. Echoing Tolstoy's belief that history is motivated not by powerful figures but by a collective of 'arbitrary wills', Blavatskaya's story contrasts the king's own glory, marked by the tolling of bells, with the death of forgotten and 'unknelled' multitudes:

[Calm] and serene in its perfidious beauty, the open sea stretches far and wide the smooth mirror of its cool waters – salt and bitter as human tears. It lies in its treacherous repose like a gorgeous, sleeping monster, watching over the unfathomed mystery of its dark abysses. Truly the monumentless cemetery of the millions sunk in its depths, without a grave, 'unknell'd, uncoffined and unknown',¹⁰¹ while the sorry relic of the once noble Form [the old King] pacing yonder, once that its hour strikes and the deep-voiced bells toll the knell for the departed soul, shall be laid out in state and pomp. Its dissolution will be announced by millions of trumpet voices. Kings, princes and the mighty ones of the earth will be present at its obsequies, or will send their representatives with sorrowful faces and condoling messages to those left behind. 'One point gained, over

those 'uncoffined and unknown', is the bitter reflection of the Soul-Ego.¹⁰²

The political analogue to Blavatskaya's narratives of mystical ideology is found in the publications of Alexander Herzen, a critical figure in the development of a radical Populist ideology that was promulgated through his journal called *Kolokol*. The agitative role of this journal was noted in an 1862 issue of *MacMillan's Magazine*:

This terrible journal is the dread of all the Russian functionaries. It is more feared by the ministers and courtiers at the present day than was ever the formidable *dubina* ('cudgel') of Peter the Great. No peccadillo – and with Russian officials these are neither few nor far between – escapes the iron tongue of the *Kolokol*.¹⁰³

The aim of the journal was not, however, revolution, though this would be its associated outcome, but to 'hail', 'interpellate' and unify two distinct social worlds in pre-Revolution Russia, that of the *Narod* (the common people or *Volk*) and the *Obshchestvo* ('society' - the gentry and virtually any member of the social spectrum *not* associated with the peasantry). *Kolokol* was popular amongst gentry readers of various political persuasions and was available internationally by 1857 as it was proliferated through libraries in reproduction.

In the late 1830s the French Marquis de Custine remarked: 'Russia is a cauldron of boiling water, tightly closed and placed on a fire which is becoming hotter and hotter; I fear an explosion.'¹⁰⁴ Herzen, though moderate, was nevertheless a socialist who had unambiguously criticised capitalism and agreed with Fourier's followers that capitalism was nothing more than a parasitic infestation of the social body. He believed fundamentally in the right of the peasants to own the land they tilled. Herzen may not have lifted the lid off the cauldron, but he was the first to write openly, in *Kolokol*, about how it might be done, providing the necessary stimulus to provoke the Marquis de Custine's predicted eruption.

Herzen established the Free Russian Press in London in 1853 and began publication of *Kolokol* in London in 1857. In his history of pre-revolutionary Russian politics, *Young Russia: The Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1860s*, Abbott Gleason explains:

The *Bell*, fundamentally, did two things: it provided the only free forum for criticism and discussion of the realities of Russian life in the reform period, in particular with respect to peasant emancipation, and it introduced young Russians to the constellation of ideas that Herzen called 'Russian socialism' and that we know as 'Populism'.¹⁰⁵

In keeping with the bell's vocal characteristics, Herzen would also publish *Golosa iz Rossii* ('Voices from Russia'), which were anthologies of writing reflecting various political viewpoints. *Kolokol* would become the major publication of its type, however, as ancillary publications gradually disappeared:

The *Bell* was an immense success. Between 1857 and 1862, its circulation rose to something over twenty-five hundred copies per issue; the upward curve of the *Bell's* circulation figures coincided precisely with the springtime of the post-Nicholaevan period, with the general intellectual ferment that carried through the Emancipation.¹⁰⁶

Imitating its namesake, the bell which had traditionally called villagers to the *veche* (communal meeting), *Kolokol* became popular at *skhodki* (student political rallies). Dissemination of the journal became easier after the liberal reforms of Alexander II, and, by 1859, the University of St. Petersburg Library even provided *Kolokol* to students at these meetings.

During 1858, Russian Populist views proliferated via *Kolokol*, and other publications emerged, some of which evoked various aspects of bell-symbolism. These included the more radical *Kolokol'chik* (*Little Bell*), the *Vestnik Svobodnogo Mneniia* (*Herald of Free Opinion*), *Zhivoi Golos* (*Living Voice*) and *Ekho* (*Echo*). The journal was not, however, written in the language of the peasantry, but rather that of young intellectual radicals who

saw it as their task to force political change, to bring freedom beyond limited official emancipation to the peasantry and to reshape Russian society according to the communal social models of the Russian folk, including the *artel* ('guild', 'workshop') and *veche* (the call to village meetings sounded by a bell).

Kolokol was, however, a relatively conservative appeal that sought emancipation of the serfs from the top down rather than to risk the bloodshed that Herzen had witnessed with horror in Paris in 1848.¹⁰⁷ After the Emancipation Act of 19 February, 1861, Herzen wrote an article lauding Tsar Alexander Romanov II, but the emancipation failed to deliver any real freedom to the serfs. One sections of *Kolokol*, entitled 'Pravda li?' ('Is It True?'), was the equivalent to a modern day scandal sheet or gossip column. Through this forum, Herzen was bold enough to address an open letter direct to Alexander II in which he praised the emperor for committing to major reform in respect of the serfs. This letter tended to align Herzen with the moderate reform movement and was to be damaging to his reputation.

Herzen had failed to capture the intense feeling of betrayal present in the peasant population and the urban *raznochintsy* (a rag-tag collection of disenchanted university students, professionals, artists and political activists¹⁰⁸), and even less so the alienated, 'voiceless' people of Russian society - the criminal element, homeless juveniles, the suicidal and psychologically marginal, who also participated actively in political resistance to tsarism.¹⁰⁹ In his *Road to Revolution*, Avrahm Yarmolinsky evokes the overwhelming sense of disillusionment that pervaded Russian society at this time:

During those three miserable months [after the emancipation]', wrote a radically minded contemporary, 'the people endured so much sorrow, so many tears were shed, and so much blood flowed, that the joy of liberation was extinguished.'¹¹⁰

Through the medium of his 'bell' journal, Herzen continued to investigate peaceful solutions, picking away at administrative abuses rather than addressing the failure of the social system as a whole.

Herzen even promoted the re-establishment of Ivan IV's *Zemsky Sobor* as a possible model for a democratic general assembly,¹¹¹ an idea entirely at odds with the call to revolution. He was no potential dictator or conspirator, but an ideologue whose opinions seemed to shift dramatically. Despite his preference for peace and for rational solutions, it is clear that Herzen lost faith in the Tsar, and may even have seen revolution as inevitable. While denouncing the radical movement *Young Russia*, he wrote:

Should the fateful day [of revolution] arrive, stand firm and lay down your lives, but do not hail it as a desired day. If the sun does not rise amid blood-stained clouds, so much the better, and whether it wears a crown or a liberty cap – it's all the same.¹¹²

Despite its often moderate position, *Kolokol* provided the sounding board and the benchmark for the more radical political appeals of many journals that followed, including the *Little Bell* and *Warning Bell*¹¹³ that would circulate unambiguously revolutionary propaganda.

In 1859, the first signs of verbal conflict amongst the major publications emerged, and this became a vehicle for the formulation of truly revolutionary thinking. In several articles published in *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*) between 1857 and 1858, Nikolai Dobroliubov laid claims that *Kolokol's* moderate stance validated the existence of a tyrannical system. On June 1, 1858, Herzen defended his moderate reformist views in an article titled 'Very Dangerous!!!'. Dobroliubov founded *Svistok* (Whistle) in the same year, a publication which contained 'the most biting and barbed criticism of gentry Russia [...] that had ever appeared in print'.¹¹⁴ In 1860, *Kolokol* included a letter from Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobroliubov warning Herzen that:

You will soon see that Alexander II will show his teeth, as Nicholas did. [...] No, our position is horrible, unbearable, and only the peasants' axes can save us. [...] You did everything possible to help a peaceful solution of the problem, but now you are changing your tune. Let your 'bell' sound not to prayer, but for the charge. Summon Russia to arms.¹¹⁵

Recalling the intercourse of bell and cannon with the icon and axe, Herzen replied:

Our indignation is as young as yours, and our love for the Russian people is as alive now as it was in the years of our youth. But we will not call for the axe, for that oppressive *ultima ratio*, so long as there remains one reasonable hope of a solution without the axe.¹¹⁶

This exchange between Chernyshevsky-Dobroliubov and Herzen contrasts the latter's conciliatory and already moderate 'vacillations and liberal illusions' with the emergence of a militant form of revolutionary activity and terrorism. This exchange in *Kolokol* is cited as the first documentary evidence of an uncompromising revolutionary faction amongst the intelligentsia and an irreversible march towards the 1917 Revolution.¹¹⁷

Kolokol's last major contribution to the development of a unified front amongst radical groups was its support in 1862 of the *Zemlia i Volia* ('Land and Free Will') organisation, whose aim it was to unite diverse oppositional groups throughout Russia. *Kolokol* helped to define the objectives of the organisation, but the organisation itself never attained its desired outcome, acting more as a model for centralised hierarchical organisation adopted by other radical groups, especially Ishutin's group called 'Hell'. On July 15, 1862, another article appeared in *Kolokol* criticising repressive measures taken at that time against left-wing radicals who were blamed for fires that had brought devastation upon St. Petersburg. The views expressed in *Kolokol* were at odds with the now violent and impatient radical groups, and the publication lost support.

A further decline occurred in mid-1863 after the Polish rebellion sparked a new right-wing nationalist feeling in Russia, and Herzen was identified as a supporter of the Polish cause. Finally, in 1866, Alexander Serno-Solovevich (a young radical living in France) wrote an open letter that deployed the metaphor of the bell to warn Herzen:

I have long since ceased to read, or at any rate to be interested in your sheet. Hackneyed, long familiar sounds; rhetorical phrases and appeals, ancient variations on an ancient theme; [...]. Yes, the young generation has understood you. Having understood you, it has turned away from you in disgust; [...]. You, Mr. Herzen, are a dead man.¹¹⁸

This reaction is not surprising, considering that Herzen had denounced Dmitry Karakozov as a fanatic for his attempt on the life of Alexander II in 1866, the same year as Dostoevsky wrote *Crime and Punishment*. Two years later, publication of *Kolokol* ceased altogether. Nechaev's attempt to revive it in 1870 failed after six issues were released. *Kolokol* ended as a very faint echo of its first ideological announcement.

The true extent of Herzen's influence and the influence of his *Kolokol* on Russia's pre-Revolution history, is not immediately apparent. In some ways, he was already the representative of a past era, connected more with German philosophy than peasants' lives. Towards the end of his life, Friedrich Nietzsche, an advocate of peasant morality despite his ideal of an *Übermensch* that would transcend the 'herd', expressed an affinity with Herzen. The basis of their improbable connection is Nietzsche's claim of a 'kinship with all the pessimists of Europe, the poets and thinkers of an enraged idealism, insofar as their discontent with all existence involved them, at least by logical necessity, in a discontent with present-day man.'¹¹⁹

The basis of Herzen's affiliation with Nietzsche's pessimistic *Weltanschauung* can best be illustrated through a comparison of their prescient appraisals of the world's historical fate at the time. In 1851, Herzen wrote:

All of Europe will leave its normal course and will be drowned in a common cataclysm; the boundaries of countries will change, peoples will combine in different groups, nationalities will be broken up and outraged. [...] Exhausted and starving people will submit to everything, and military despotism will replace all law and government.¹²⁰

In his autobiographical work of 1888, *Ecce Homo*, Nietzsche arrived at an equally pessimistic conclusion:

For when truth enters into a fight with the lies of millennia, we shall have upheavals [...] the like of which has never been dreamed of. The concept of politics will have merged entirely with a war of spirits; all power structures of the old society will have been exploded – all of them are based on lies: there will be wars the like of which have never yet been seen on this earth.¹²¹

Derrida translates these gloomy appraisals of future human history into contemporary terms of reference in his analysis of Marx's ideas surrounding the ghostly, haunting or 'spectral' aspects of ideology:

The time is out of joint. The world is going badly. It is worn but its wear no longer counts. [...] We no longer realize the wear, we no longer take account of it as of a single age in the progress of history. Neither maturation, nor crisis, nor even agony. Something else. What is happening is happening to age itself, it strikes a blow at the teleological order of history. [...] This wearing in expansion, in growth itself, which is to say in the becoming worldwide [*mondialisation*] of the world, is not the unfolding of a normal, normative, or normed process. It is not a phase of development, one more crisis, a growth crisis because growth is what is bad ('it wears as it grows'); it is no longer an end-of-ideologies, a last crisis-of-Marxism, or a new crisis-of-capitalism. The world is going badly, the picture is bleak, one could say almost black.¹²²

The importance of Russia's role in global politics prior to the Revolution was not lost on other thinkers of the time. As Marx, adding to Hegel, famously stated in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 'all great world-historic facts and personages appear, so to speak, twice, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce', adding, 'the tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living'.¹²³ The Russian Orthodoxy would face just this kind of historical repetition: the October Revolution, and the 'spectre of communism' in the form of the *Communist Manifesto*, came at a time when imperial power had long been in control of the church and the affairs of 'Holy Russia'.¹²⁴ In the Russian version of the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels maintained that the hopes of proletarian revolution throughout the world rested on the preservation of the *obshchina* in the future communist society of Russia.¹²⁵ Using metallurgical metaphors, Lenin later envisioned a united front of the proletariat that could oppose imperialism and capitalism, and ultimately achieve a *sblizhenie* ('a coming-close') and *sliianie* ('fusing', or 'alloying') of all nations.¹²⁶

Aside from the mission of publications such as *Kolokol* to act as a voice of political convocation, they also sounded a *tocsin* for the future, signalling the repressed anger of a 'mongrelised' people oppressed by imperial autocracy with the collusion of the church. This 'forewarning' role of the *kolokol* (as an emblematic ideological apparatus) has been noted by campanologists Williams and Bondarenko: Williams has drawn connections between the *kolokol* and an eschatological 'voice',¹²⁷ while Bondarenko observed that the inscriptions on bells are not only 'supposed to reproduce the actuality of the world, but to influence it'.¹²⁸ Just as the Russian bell predicts human catastrophe in its own anthropomorphic 'death and transfiguration' into the form of the cannon, *Kolokol*, *Nabat*, the *Communist Manifesto* and *Thus Spake Zarathustra* all raised the spectre of war and future upheaval that would be realised in the form of the Russian Revolution and the two World Wars that framed it.

The Russian Revolution and the Iconoclasm of the *Kolokol*

The *kolokol*, with its iconic status as a social and cultural emblem and 'political apparatus' in Russia, reached a crucial turning point with the outbreak of the Revolution in 1917. The bell's former roles, as an instrument of invocation in the cosmic rituals of pagans, as a sign of Christian convocation with *Logos* and as an apparatus of imperial power, were overturned in a radical socio-political change that would sweep away all these past ideological orders.

Well prior to the Revolution, on May 18, 1896, the last Tsar, Nicholas Romanov, had continued with celebrations following his coronation despite the horrific deaths of thousands of common people in a stampede to grab food at a public feast in his honour at Khodynskoe Field. Nicholas's apparent indifference to the death and tragedy of his subjects set the tone for the whole period of his reign, by the end of which the government was practically at war with its own people. Lionel Kochan describes the downfall of the tsardom metaphorically in these musical and sonic terms:

The swan-song of the empire was compounded of the most heterogeneous and discordant strains – the crack of a Cossack's whip and the voice of Chaliapin, the roar of the most modern machinery and the poetry of Blok, the call for a constituent assembly and the agony of the famine-stricken, the assassin's high explosive and the music of Rachmaninov and Stravinsky, socialist agitation and the prayers of an effete autocrat, patriotic manifestoes and the tramp of a workers' demonstration. Disharmony was the *leitmotif* – and as the empire entered the twentieth century, disharmony turned more and more to open dissonance.¹²⁹

The Tsar's openly hostile opposition to his people must have seemed like justification enough for the Bolsheviks to execute him, and his family, on

July 25, 1918. This was, in a final act of uncrowning, the decision of the presidium of the divisional council of deputies of workmen, peasants, and Red Guards of the Urals:

In view of the fact that Czechoslovak bands are threatening the Red capital of the Urals, Ekaterinburg; that the crowned executioner may escape from the tribunal of the people [a White Guard plot to carry off the whole Imperial Family had just been discovered], the Presidium has decided [...] that the ex-Tsar Nicholas Romanov, guilty before the people of enumerable bloody crimes, shall be shot.¹³⁰

The act of overthrowing and killing the Tsar tolled the death knell for the Christian church in Russia: the revolutionary spirit had played out Nietzsche's proclamation of the death of God. The destruction of an old social order, in which bells were a symbol of power founded on a monopoly over spirit, would eventually give way to a new order of Russian society in which bells could serve the people better as a store of vital material for the reconstruction of a Socialist Materialist nation. Some of the first meetings of revolutionaries at the end of 1917 were nevertheless brought to attention and order by the sounding of a bell. John Reed, the American reporter who captured the events of the Revolution from 7 to 17 November, 1917 in his work *Ten Days that Shook the World*, recorded this scene, in which the politically silenced, having finally regained their voice, begin planning the transformation of Russia from a semi-feudal into an industrialised state:

So we came into the great meeting-hall, pushing through the clamorous mob at the door. In the rows of seats, under the white chandeliers, packed immovably in the aisles and on the sides, perched on every window-sill [...], the representatives of the workers and soldiers of all Russia awaited in anxious silence or wild exultation [for] the ringing of the Chairman's bell. There was no heat in the hall but the stifling heat of unwashed bodies. A foul blue cloud of cigarette smoke rose from the mass and hung in the thick air.¹³¹

The destruction of bells in Russia after 1917 has normally been attributed to the effects of the country's new atheistic leadership rather than to the need to defend and rebuild the country, as had been the case historically. This claim is only partially defensible. Since the church did not pose any threat to their power immediately after the Revolution, the Bolsheviks' program of 'cruel persecution' according to the tenet of '*nihil obstat*' (borrowed from Latin, literally, 'nothing stands in the way') was not enacted as thoroughly as might be expected. Lenin's famous Marxist proclamation that, 'religion is opium for the people [...] in which the slaves of capital drown the image of man',¹³² issued on December 3, 1905 in the magazine *Novaia Zhizn'* ('New Life'), was accompanied by the relatively moderate acceptance that religion 'must be declared a private affair'.¹³³

Nevertheless, atheism was a significant factor in the logic of Marxist and Leninist thinking. Referring to Marx, Lenin had made it clear that 'materialism [is] not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and religion and theology [but equally] a struggle against all metaphysics [in the sense of 'drunken speculation'] as distinct from "sober philosophy."¹³⁴ Atheism was a new form of Promethean soteriological (world-saving) thinking completely incompatible with religious doctrine, and Marx had stated unambiguously that, as a kind of anti-Christ, he would make himself equal to the Creator by putting his word (*Logos*) into action.¹³⁵

The end to religion that this philosophical stance foreshadowed, and the consequences that this ideological change had for the status of bells in Russia, came to pass in stages. The first phase of socialist development in post-Revolution Russia, which lasted from 1917 to around 1923, involved redefinition of the existing social system by application of a policy of radical egalitarianism in relation to social class, ethnicity, and gender relations. To undermine the power of the Russian Orthodoxy, the Bolsheviks decided upon a course of action that would first bring the diverse religious orders of Russia into the open, then pit one against the other in a 'divide and rule' strategy. They began to 'harness the energies of selective religious liberalisation [by authorising] the publication of various Protestant religious books and

pamphlets. With Bolshevik encouragement, the Old Believers and other breakaway sects came into the open'.¹³⁶

It was during this first phase that a 1917 decree nationalising church lands was met with a protest from the Orthodox Church who threatened to defend themselves 'by ringing of bells, or sending out messengers, or by other such means'.¹³⁷ Despite this, a moderate approach was supported by the 1918 decree that completely separated church and state for the first time in Russian history, and guaranteed the right of the church to 'perform religious ceremonies and to ring bells as long as they do not interfere with public order and rights of citizens'.¹³⁸

A second 'system-building' stage consisted of two sub-phases: 'consolidation' from 1923 to 1928 and 'mobilisation' during the first ten years of Stalin's rule from 1928 to 1938. During the first phase, religious repression remained moderate. In what seemed like an ideologically *laissez-faire* approach, the Bolshevik Komsomol backed a schismatic Renovationist Church, established public holidays that were Bolshevik variants of Christmas and Easter and encouraged moderation of all anti-religious campaigns from 1924. But it was the subsequent 'mobilisation' phase, beginning in 1928, that was decisive in the history of the Russian bell. As Sabrina Ramet discusses in her *Nihil Obstat: religion, politics and change in East-Central Europe and Russia*, it was during this period of Russia's socialist development that truly anti-religious activity surged:

A new religious law (1929) invalidated the earlier guarantee of the freedom of 'religious propaganda' and left only the freedom of 'antireligious propaganda'. Under the new legislation, religious organisations were banned from any social, charitable, or educational activities [...]. Beginning in 1929, 'godless shock brigades' were dispatched to factories and collective farms with the assignment of lecturing against religion while taking part in work. At the same time, the League of Militant Atheists launched an antireligious campaign, closing down the vast majority of houses of worship. New industrial cities such as Magnitogorsk [a 'magnetic' iron city] were built without

churches [...] Of the 50,000 Russian Orthodox churches functioning as of early 1917, only 200 – 300 remained by 1939 [and 80,000 religious clerics lost their lives].¹³⁹

Two years later, in 1931, Stalin personally ordered the complete destruction of the Cathedral of Christ our Saviour in Moscow. All save one of its bells, used as a model to reconstruct the entire *zvon* in 1995, were destroyed in the process.

The exact number of bells destroyed for their tin and copper is as difficult to ascertain as the numbers killed during historical phases of social upheaval and annihilation in Russia, sacrifices synonymous with the 'cults' of Perun, Ivan the Terrible and Stalin. Vladimir Korzh of the Campanological Arts Association of Russia (AKIR) estimates that the number of large church bells in Moscow in the middle of the 1800s was around 2,300, with a combined weight of around 130 million imperial pounds of bronze, enough copper and tin to 'exhaust an entire mine'. He also estimates that 'the total weight of all Russian church-bells at the time comprised 250,000 metric tons, while the country yielded only 27,000 metric tons of copper a year'.¹⁴⁰

In 1913, there were at least nineteen bell foundries in Russia. At the peak of the collectivisation drive of the *Velikii Perelom* from the end of 1929 to the beginning of 1930, the weight of metal obtained from bells was estimated to be more than a million tons: a single bell, one of the largest in Russia with a weight of more than seventy tons, was reported to have been confiscated from the Troitskii-Sergeev monastery by the *Voronezhskaia Kommuna* newspaper on January 9, 1930.¹⁴¹ In records held by the Rostov museum, and published in 1995 by A E Videneeva,¹⁴² it is reported that the number of bells sent to *Rudmetalltorg* (the official raw metals trade agency) trebled during 1929. It is also recorded that from 1926 to May of 1930, over seventy-three tons of bell bronze were extracted from various churches in Rostov. In the area around Rostov, around forty-six tons of bell bronze were taken. All this occurred prior to the 1937 declaration of plans to 'liquidate' (*likvidirovat'*) churches and end the influence of God altogether.

As the following photograph from the Russian Empire, 1895-1910 series of stereoscopic negatives in the Keystone-Mast Collection shows, there was an extensive market for bells in Russia by the end of the nineteenth century: this graphic evidence gives a clear impression of the massive store of Russian metal reserves that must have been kept in the form of bells.



Great Bell Market in the fair, Nizhni-Novgorod, circa 1900.¹⁴³

By the mid-1930s, bell tiers in hundreds of Russian bell-towers were vacant. In Uglich, the same town on the Volga River whose bell was exiled to Siberia by Godunov, it was reported that 'pulleys, beams, and jute ropes were used to pull the bells down from their high perches and belfries. [...] They fell with a roar and a thud, digging holes some five feet into the ground. The whole town was full of the moaning of these ancient bells'.¹⁴⁴ It was a similar story in Poland and the Baltic states, where Catholic bells dating from the mid-seventeenth century were evacuated to save them from the German advance. Many bells were buried or thrown into rivers to avoid capture.¹⁴⁵

Bells were not necessarily *confiscated* from villages. Some sold their own, though not without nostalgia as one villager, Vasilii Peskov, remembered:

A huge crowd appeared [in the village of Orlov]. The women crossed themselves and said that the bells would be made into tractors.

Indeed, that same year a new tractor, its spurs glittering in the sun, drove down the length of the village street, making real to us boys the strange transformation from bell to machine.¹⁴⁶

The following series of images record for posterity the fate, like so many fallen Babels, of these anonymous bells:



'The bell pulled down from the church is being rolled to the hammer for destruction at the Moscow Brake Factory, Moscow, 1925.'¹⁴⁷



Broken bells in a cemetery.¹⁴⁸



Large Bell from a Cemetery bell-tower, cast down in April 1929, photographed 29 April, 1929.¹⁴⁹



Unknown Bell, circa 1930.¹⁵⁰

The 'aural metamorphosis'¹⁵¹ that occurred in Russian cities after the destruction of their bells was noted in the diaries of Walter Benjamin, who was in Moscow for two months until the end of January, 1927. First he wrote of his intention to render a 'physiognomy' of Moscow, and to write an essay 'devoid of all theory [...] allowing the creature to speak for itself [...] seizing and rendering this very new and disorienting language that echoes loudly through the resounding mask of an environment that has been totally transformed'.¹⁵² As Benjamin sought to let the resonating face of Moscow sound through, he discovered a transformation characterised by disappearance, absence and silence. His second diary entry dated January 5, 1927 reads:

Moscow is the most silent of great cities, and doubly so when there is snow. The principal instrument in the orchestra of the streets, the automobile horn, is rarely played here; there are few cars.¹⁵³

His next entry, for January 30, continues:

Moscow has been virtually rid of the sound of bells that tends to spread such an irresistible sadness over large cities. This too is something one only realizes and appreciates upon one's return.¹⁵⁴

In a short article written in 1995, this 'silencing' of the Russian bells in Moscow is remembered by A Kozarzhevskii, who lived there as a child.¹⁵⁵ His aural memory of the Moscow soundscape includes the sounds of sledges on snow, the creak of cart wheels, trams and the noise of their wheels on iron tracks, the calls of youths selling newspapers, groups of children singing, people chatting in the narrow Moscow streets, the whistles of factories in the morning, the sound of a violin. Kozarzhevskii noted that these sounds began to change as cars became more common in the capital and as groups of 'pioneers' (scouts) would sing communist songs. Especially, he remembers how the noises of the city were plentiful and diverse and 'free from the noise of televisions, radio, tape-recorders or the follies of the discotheque'.

The dominant sound in the sonic environs of early twentieth century Moscow was, as Kozarzhevskii remembers, that of pealing bells. Kozarzhevskii estimates that, of around five hundred and fifty churches in Moscow, three hundred had their own sets of bells. The din that must have overtaken Moscow during religious holidays and, conversely, the comparative muteness of the city by 1941 following wide-scale demolition of churches, can only be imagined. The noise of Moscow's bells must at least have equalled the decibels in St. Petersburg: a visitor to that city in 1832, Charles Colville Frankland, made this entry in his diary during the Easter holiday:

Fine and sunny. I was awakened at daylight by the bells of the Casan church, (this being Holy Thursday), which made such an infernal noise for several hours that I have a headache, and shall continue to have it until these Easter holidays are over. Why will the priests of all nations force people, by their importunities, to go to pray against their will?¹⁵⁶

This 'sonic metamorphosis' is also the central theme of Richard Hernandez's *Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance*,¹⁵⁷ a study of the 'auditory culture' of Russian villages during the Bolshevik *Velikii Perelom* or 'Great Turn' of 1928-1932. Bells, Hernandez writes, formed part of the aural cacophony of protest in many villages against the confiscation of property and collectivisation of land. During this period, the centralised messaging role of bells was usurped by the Bolsheviks and transferred to new technologies with their own sense of miraculous power and authority:

Even more important than this aesthetic of industrial noise was the new authoritative sound brought to the Russian ear by electric loudspeakers and radios. As with factory whistles, loudspeakers - first mass-produced and put to extensive use at the start of the Perelom - had the potential to rival the bells' own "power to deafen." While loudspeakers could summon people to public assemblies, they also afforded a more precise regulation of communication since they barraged listeners with constant, detailed propaganda. In this capacity, radio had even greater potential as an auditory source of

Bolshevik authority. This is especially evident in the uniquely Soviet development of the cable or "wired" radio with tuning fixed to one or two official broadcasts and a switch to control only the volume. While the radio certainly offered an effective technique of control, "radiofication" (*radiofikatsiia*) also served powerful symbolic ends as a technological wonder rivaling any miracle attributed to religious sources.

Stalin, whom Bukharin called 'Genghis Khan with a telephone',¹⁵⁸ thus oversaw a period of Russian history during which telephonic bells replaced church bells as the acoustical power-symbol and instrument of political convocation in Russia.

The clash of communist and fascist ideologies that drove Stalinist political ideology and created the ideological conditions for the iconoclastic destruction of bells, is the motivation for the most famous of revolutionary narratives in which bells play an important symbolic role. Set during the Spanish Civil War, a movement of great strategic importance to the aims of internationalist communism, Ernest Hemingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*¹⁵⁹ presents a powerful metaphorical treatment of the bell as an ideological instrument that, taking its authority from the divine 'word', is seen to 'write' historical fate.

For Whom the Bell Tolls takes its title and proem from John Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions XVII* (1623).¹⁶⁰ This 'devotion' attributes to God the power to 'write mankind' as if mankind were a book which could also be 'translated' from life to death by various means including sickness and even (atheistic, revolutionary) war. The bell, like the paragraphs and chapters of an individual's life story, marks out a passage towards death:

All mankind is of one author, and is one volume; when one man dies, one chapter is not torn out of the book, but translated into a better language; and every chapter must be so translated; God employs several translators; some pieces are translated by age, some by

sickness, some by war, some by justice [.. .]. The bell doth toll for him that thinks it doth; and though it intermit again, yet from that minute that this occasion wrought upon him, he is united to God. Who casts not up his eye to the sun when it rises? [...] Who bends not his ear to any bell which upon any occasion rings? But who can remove it from that bell which is passing a piece of himself out of this world? *No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friend's or of thine own were: any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.*¹⁶¹ [Italics indicate the section quoted by Hemingway].

Russia's material and ideological influences on the Spanish revolutionaries, personified in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* in the character of General Golz, did not translate into political support from the Russian communists when their revolt failed, however. The willingness of the Spanish Republicans to serve capitalist nations following their defeat added to Stalin's suspicions that their failure was due to residual nostalgia for Catholicism and to romanticised notions of French-style bourgeois revolution.

The tolling of the bell announced a terrible fate for the Spanish revolutionaries: nearly half a million humiliated republicans fleeing Spain from January to February, 1939, ended up in French concentration camps.¹⁶² Others were captured by Germany or fled to the Americas or Britain to join anti-fascist forces. Stalin gave them no refuge in Russia, admitting only a small number (the first group numbered only 2000 adults and their children) with a loyalty to his program for the reorganisation of Russia. The Spanish communists in Russia had a political delegation to the Comintern managed by the NKVD, and made clear their desire to fight the Nazi invasion of the East (launched on June 22, 1941) alongside the Russians, but their offer was declined.¹⁶³

The iconoclastic fall of bells after the Russian Revolution and during World War Two was not just a symbolic act aimed at negating the authority of religion or the 'word of God'. It was also a desperate act of survival for all nations caught up in global conflict. Within the political economy of noise, wherein noise acts as a kind of 'murder' or violence of the senses, music monopolises that violence in the form of sacrifice.¹⁶⁴ The *kolokol*, instead of being primarily a sacrificial or sacred musical instrument, became the object of a spectacular sacrifice.

As Georges Bataille wrote in his essay 'Sacrifices', this 'sacrifice of the sacred' is an oracle and *analagon* for real human catastrophe, reduction of the sensory figure to its base material, whether bronze, or blood and bones:

An avidity of sadistic ecstasy, the surge of a *blind* madness [alone] accedes to the *passion* of the pure imperative. [...] The object is finally unveiled as *catastrophe* in a chaos of light and shadow, neither as God nor as nothingness, but as the object that love, incapable of liberating itself except outside itself, demands in order to let out the scream of a lacerated existence. [...] Revolt – its face distorted by amorous ecstasy – tears from God his naïve mask, and thus oppression collapses in the crash of time. Catastrophe is that by which a nocturnal horizon is set ablaze, that for which lacerated existence goes into a trance – it is Revolution – it is time released from all bonds; it is pure change; it is a skeleton that emerges from its cadaver as from a cocoon and that sadistically lives the unreal existence of death.¹⁶⁵



***Svalka* ('Rubbish Heap') of Bells, headed for the foundry in Hamburg in the years of the Second World War.¹⁶⁶**

Considering the radical diminishment of the social role of the *kolokol* in Soviet Russia, it is ironic that Stalin's own apotheosis, and also his death, was accompanied by the sound of bells. On July 11, 1944, during celebrations of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a BBC Worldwide Broadcast introduced by BBC Moscow correspondent Paul Winterton was transmitted around the world: the British announcer introduced the scene, the bells of Moscow themselves (whose distorted tolling could be heard in the background) and explained Stalin's remarks earlier that day to the Supreme Soviet. Then, Stalin's voice, with its Georgian accent, closely followed by an English voiceover, was heard:¹⁶⁷

The Red Army has but one last concluding mission left. To complete in common with the armies of our allies, the rout of the German fascist troops, to finish off the Fascist beast in its own lair, and to hoist the banner of victory over Berlin.¹⁶⁸

At 2.55 am, on Saturday March 7, 1953, bells began to toll over the Kremlin, and at 03.00 they suddenly stopped so that the Soviet National Anthem could be played. A highly emotional radio announcer, Yuri Levitan, read the following statement:

The Central Committee of the Communist party, the Council of Ministers and the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, announce with deep grief to the party and all workers that on March 5 at 9.50 p.m., Josef Vissarionovich Stalin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, died after a serious illness. The heart of the collaborator and follower of the genius of Lenin's work, the wise leader and teacher of the Communist party and the Soviet people, stopped beating. [...] Dear friends and comrades, the great directing and leading force of the Soviet Union in the struggle for the building of Communism is our Communist Party. Steel-like unity and a monolithic cohesion of the ranks of the party are the main conditions for strength and power.¹⁶⁹

With the sound of the iron tongues and bronze bodies of the bells of Moscow's Kremlin, this 'iron' age of Russian history was brought to a close.

Bells, Utopian Visions, and the Cold War

The political history of the *kolokol* has been defined in terms of its role and status in pagan and Christian ritual and in state and religious 'power' structures. These varied roles are all associated, essentially, with the rise and fall of cultural 'orders'. The *kolokol* has articulated these processes of ideological redefinition in Russian history as one socio-political order fell to another. The global (West-East) ideological divide that emerged with the establishment of a communist state in Russia was articulated by a new and menacing apparition of the bell as a mechanism of social and political control in narratives that questioned the reason of socio-political and ideological order itself.

During the late 1940s and all of the 1950s, Russian Stalinism had become an obsession for the communism-phobic West. This was especially the case in the United States of America, where the trial and execution by electric chair of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on June 19, 1953 for the disclosure of atomic secrets to the Soviet Union was just one manifestation of pervasive 'red under the bed' paranoia. Sylvia Plath, seeing the execution of Ethel Rosenberg as a horrifying act against a mother and subservient wife and secretary, retold not only Ethel Rosenberg's story, but the story of her own life, and the story of all women subject to authoritarian control in 'free' American society, through her novel *The Bell Jar*.

The symbolic framework of Plath's novel deploys the symbol of the bell once more, this time in the altogether more psychologically threatening form of an airless, transparent, glass bell jar. Just as Herzen's journal used the *kolokol* as a symbolic vehicle for communicating the ideals of 'freedom' for the Russian *Narod* from afar, *The Bell Jar* has an iconoclastic bell-symbol represent the oppression and 'suffocation' of a supposedly free society under ideological threat from another quarter of the world. Plath's own political views, though not communist, were heavily critical of a democratic system she saw as discriminatory, conformist and limiting. In one of her journals (June 19, 1953), Plath referred to the futile rhetoric of violence, which remains entirely germane today:

They were going to kill people with those atomic secrets. It is good for them to die. So that we can have the priority of killing people with those atomic secrets which are so very jealously and specially and inhumanly ours.¹⁷⁰

In an earlier journal (1950), Plath protested the mass atomic annihilation of Nagasaki, asking:

Weren't the Russians Communists when they helped us slap down the Germans? And now. What could we do with the Russian nation if we bombed it to bits .. how could we control them under our

'democratic' system, we, who even now are losing that precious commodity, freedom of speech?¹⁷¹

In her 1991 book *The Haunting of Sylvia Plath*, Jacqueline Rose describes Plath as being a 'haunted' person, fascinated by the world of spectres and the 'the chimeras of a sick mind'.¹⁷² Social repression (in the form of electrocution) acts upon the visible outer character of human being while taking away the negative aspects of inner character, those hauntings of personality that Plath nevertheless saw not as 'possession', but as a vital component of her inner self that must necessarily include the 'emotion of remorse'.¹⁷³

Plath inverted the symbol of the bell, with its commonly associated ideals of freedom and transcendence, to express the way in which she felt personally haunted by the apparent paranoia and insanity of post-War geopolitics. *The Bell Jar*, a work analogous to the actual life of the writer, is fraught with the demons of schizophrenia and suicide, the 'fractured imago' of the personal and social self-image, and the phantomic nightmare of the 'American Dream', with its explicit condemnation of Soviet expansionism.¹⁷⁴

The glass bell jar becomes a symbol of insanity, airlessness corresponding to the psychological oppressiveness of madness and neurosis at an individual and social level. It is introduced in the last quarter of the novel as it emerges as the embodiment of an airless space, madness, paranoia, depression, suicide and, ultimately, death. It is not at the epicentre of the story, but is rhetorically enclitic, only making sense as an indicator of the state-of-mind of the 'I'. In this passage of *The Bell Jar*, Plath describes Esther Greenwood's (her alter-ego's) inescapable 'asphyxiated' consciousness:

I knew I should be grateful to Mrs Guinea, only I couldn't feel a thing. [...] [Wherever] I sat - on the deck of a ship or a street café in Paris or Bangkok - I would still be sitting under the same glass bell jar, stewing in my own sour air. [...] I sank back in the grey, plush seat

and closed my eyes. The air of the bell jar wadded around me and I couldn't stir.¹⁷⁵

After shock treatment has 'wiped [her] out like chalk on a blackboard', Esther Greenwood feels: 'All the heat and fear had purged itself. I felt surprisingly at peace. The bell jar hung suspended, a few feet above my head. I was open to the circulating air'.¹⁷⁶

Doctor Nolan tells Esther that her madness will be a stigma, that people would avoid her as if she were a leper with a warning-bell. This instance of a warning bell, if momentarily considered in the context of a Freudian approach to anxiety, equates to a toxic (*tocsin*) defence mechanism in the form of phobia arising from repression of the libido. In other words, anxiety is a response to any social repression of the libido, the real and present threat of social control in the form of electrocution, the asylum or political groundlessness.

Plath is here caught on the horns of a dilemma similar to the problem of her political and sexual being. In her psychic being, was she, in submitting to the social institutions designed to control her psyche (namely electrocution in the manner of the Russian sympathiser Ethel Rosenberg) submitting also to the threat that had caused her anxiety in the first place? The bell-jar becomes an inverse symbol of a warning bell, a representation of the emotional and psychic emptiness she feels as a woman in a socially, psychologically, sexually and politically oppressive world.

A Russian perspective of cold war anxiety is offered in *Damskii Dekameron* (*The Women's Decameron*) by novelist Julia Voznesenskaya. This is another cold war narrative concerned with the question of individual freedom and the control of social order. In the novel, ten Russian women tell their stories as they lie quarantined in a maternity hospital. United in a common state of being, the women finally feel the freedom to reveal the secrets of their lives. In the opening of the novel, Voznesenskaya suggests that the stories should be acted out on an imaginary ('spectral') stage. The stage itself should be open from the very beginning, lit only by a bluish moon. Visible on the set

are the dark outlines of a fountain and a church door, over which is inscribed *Memento Mori* – remember you must die:

And a bell, there must definitely be a bell ringing the whole time – ‘For whom the bell tolls’. It was essential that from the very beginning, even before the play started, there should be a feeling of death in the theatre. Against this background ten merry souls would tell their stories.¹⁷⁷

As a cultural artefact, the bell is a ‘socially symbolic act’.¹⁷⁸ Its symbolic resonance points to a ‘deeply recessed ideological preoccupation’.¹⁷⁹ The bell, like a subversive text, accomplishes and embodies a transcendent purpose. The ideological oppositions of the cold war period, accompanied by the symbol of a bell devoid of air and life, resulted from a dissonance of ideals: a rivalry and distrust of differing views of an ‘ideal world.’

Plath’s anti-utopian novel exposes the fallacy of ideological ‘ghosts’ that had haunted society well before being exposed in the political subterfuges of the cold war. Her novel bears profound resemblances to the much earlier ‘dystopian’ novel by the Russian writer Yevgeny Zamyatin. No copy of his 1920 novel *We* (*Мы*) is to be found in Plath’s library, and there is no concrete evidence that she knew the work at all,¹⁸⁰ but her conscious concerns regarding political issues in Russia and personal literary inquisitiveness may certainly have conspired to confirm her as a reader.

We is presented as the diary of a member of a society existing one thousand years in the future. The main character, known only by number (D-503), is writing a memoir intended for transmission into the cosmos with other ‘treatises, manifestos, and odes’ commissioned by the state in the INTEGRAL, a machine built for space travel. This machine is coupled with another that takes the form of a glass bell-jar. The bell-jar machine in *We* is used as an instrument of social order and control. Those suspected of ideological heresy in this futuristic society are placed under the bell-jar machine. Air is removed until the truth is extracted.

D-503 is a model member of OneState who believes in the mathematical perfectability of human being, psyche and structures, as well as the imperfection of nature. D-503 is seduced by the mysterious female figure I-330, who challenges his conceptions of social regularity. D-503's doctor (S-4711) is concerned that he may be in danger of developing a soul:

A soul? That quaint, ancient, long-forgotten word [...]. We would occasionally say soulmost, soulless, soul-destroying, but who ever used that naked word soul itself?¹⁸¹

Just as Sylvia Plath points out that her bell-jar descends upon all, the insane and sane, Zamyatin is not simply writing a novel about Soviet Russia, but of social orders in general. The bell-jar in *We* is an instrument of conformity. The air it contains, the vital medium which regulates life and death, is used to control the very existence of its subjects. For those who belong to the 'future world' of Zamyatin's novel, but who feel the chaos of having-a-soul, there is only enforced institutionalisation or 'corrective' therapy.

The very last diary entry describes the operation of the bell-jar with striking similarities to the electroshock treatment described by Plath. Cured of the temporary 'insanity' caused by his doubts, and incogniscent of his former love for I-330, D-503 effectively condemns her to death by revealing her subversions to the 'Great Benefactor':

In the evening of the same day - at the same table with Him, the Great Benefactor - I sat (first) in the renowned Gas Chamber. They brought in that woman. In my presence, she was expected to give her testimony. But the woman remained obstinately silent and smiled. I noticed she had sharp and very white teeth and that I found them quite beautiful. Then they took her under the Bell [Kolokol]. Her face grew white, and her eyes darker and wider - that was very beautiful too. When they began to siphon the air from under the bell - she tilted her head, half-closed her eyes, her lips became clenched - reminding me of something. She looked at me, clinging tight to the arms of the chair - watched while her eyes were not completely

closed. Then they pulled her out again, brought her quickly back to life with aid of electrodes, then put her under the Bell again. This was repeated a few times – but throughout, she said nothing. The others who were brought with the woman turned out to be more honest, many deciding to speak after their first time. [...] Now I have hope – we will win over. Actually: I am sure – we will win over. Because reason must win over.¹⁸²

Many of the themes in this novel have a common purpose: to examine the extent to which society can be regimented, architected or designed technologically so that it runs as efficiently as a machine. The *kolokol* (bell-jar) machine, as an instrument of control, is coupled with the Integral as an instrument of cosmic freedom (communication with the outside), which D-503's futurist sensibilities lead him to see as a machinic ballet accompanied by silent music:

Suddenly I perceived all the beauty of this magnificent machine ballet, bathed in the weightless pale blue sunlight. And then – to myself: Why is it beautiful? Why is the dance beautiful? Answer: because it is non-free movement, because all the profound meaning of the dance lies precisely in the absolute, aesthetic subordination, ideal non-freedom.¹⁸³

The controlling and mechanical aspects of the airless bell in *We* is a symbolic source of endless elaboration upon an entire order of order in which precision, symmetry and the unambiguous are seen as the prerequisites of perfection, while freedom is associated with the indecision of choices and a false road to happiness.¹⁸⁴

The character of D-503 is thought to be founded on the person of the Bolshevik writer Aleksei Gastevo who, in his theoretical writing *On Tendencies in Proletarian Culture*,¹⁸⁵ saw the possibilities of the 'machinic man'. This effects a new transition for the bell as a social symbol, now reduced to the order of an automaton. In his essay 'On Literature, Revolution and Entropy', Zamyatin finally offers a solution to the problem of reconciling freedom with

control, the opportunity to unite law and revolution in a law of revolutionary freedom:

Revolution is everywhere, in everything; it is infinite, there is no final revolution, there is no final number [...] the law of revolution [is a] cosmic, universal law – like the laws of the conservation of energy and the dissipation of energy.¹⁸⁶

This implies that revolution is always a latent possibility and that, at any time, like the spectre of the *kolokol* waiting within the body of the bell, the potential for ideological change may be released in a sudden and unexpected burst of energy.

After the Iconoclasm: The *Kolokol* in Russia Today

The history of iconostasis and iconoclasm in Russia from Byzantine to Revolutionary times indicates that Russian cultural and political history moves not simply in cycles, but in series of long gradual crescendi. Gradual increases in pressure (Marquis de Cuistine's 'cauldron of boiling water') are followed by lightning-fast and catastrophic rupture from beneath the surface, the periphery replacing an annihilated centre. This historical movement is analogous to the lifecycle of the *kolokol*, which, as Bondarenko noticed, reflects historical change in Russia through the evolution of its form and design. As evidenced in the many accounts and narratives that describe them, their existence begins in the interstitial emergence of founding, moves through flights, submergences, or abductions, and ends in erasure and annihilation. Through these movements, its form is transmuted in a process of continuous (historical) structural metamorphosis. The founding of bells can thus be regarded as a symbolic act of establishment that is analogous to the founding of cities (especially Moscow and St. Petersburg) and the founding of Russia as a nation.

The founding of a monument always reflects an historical moment, an 'orientation towards stability and atemporality'¹⁸⁷ incarnated and socially

structured in the manner of a city or power structure. Opposed to this historical act of founding is the iconoclastic act, not a simple act of erasure, but an expression of the deep dependence of the masses on the monument they are attacking. The transfiguration of the masses (their own transformation) often takes place symbolically around the monument.¹⁸⁸

McDaniel's analysis¹⁸⁹ of system-failure in Russian history shows, however, that Russian society has tended to undermine itself in its adherence to mutually incompatible ideals deeply embedded in traditional cultural sensibilities formed over millennia by a great multiplicity of differentiating factors. For example, Russia's tendency towards 'despotism and obscurantism [is paradoxically exemplified in] the moral-psychological tradition of serfdom and the ancient communality of the *mir* [literally 'world' or 'peace', describing the harmony of the peasant commune]'.¹⁹⁰ The Russian 'idea' is formed under the influence of the natural environment (living on the very edge of a massive uncivilised and frozen landmass), social conflict and amalgams (Mongol, Greek, German, Slavic) and serendipitous events (plague, fires, the Russian winter, the discovery of nuclear atomics). These kinds of influences are equally significant in the development of the bell as a 'monumental' object of Russian culture and history.

In his 1992 work *Cultural Explosions (Kul'tura i Vzryv)*, the Russian semiotician and cultural historian Yuri Lotman confirmed that binary opposites, though present in many societies in the balances between law and freedom, personal choice and state control, are taken to a point of absolute non-compromise in Russian thinking. McDaniel restates Lotman's ideas in the following terms:

There is no neutral ground: either one or the other must be chosen, and in this choice either one or the other must be absolutely victorious. [...] A fateful corollary of binary thinking, according to Lotman, is that the victor [...] always tries to radically annihilate the past [that belonged to their opponent]. The past is regarded not as the foundation of organic growth, but as a source of error that must

be completely destroyed. Total destruction must precede creation, and so creation takes place in a void.¹⁹¹

The historical erasure occasioned by iconoclastic acts after the Revolution was fuelled by the formation of an absolute rejection of the whole basis of iconography in Marxist materialism. As W J T Mitchell explains in his *Iconology*, Marx saw ideology as a negative inversion of human relationship with the concrete material world. An understanding of the concrete world, according to Marx, could only be reached by working backwards from its image, which is merely an 'idol' or spectre of the mind.¹⁹²

Eradication of the bell from the Russian landscape may have removed the bell from visibility, but this did not erase its spectre from the collective consciousness of the Russian people. The spectral image of the bell remained present and visible in the conscious expressions of its 'persona', that is, in the sonic memories of people, and in the creations of Russian poets, writers, composers and film-makers. Being in the impossible position of having an image while being invisible, the bell obtains a unique being that is both hidden within the mechanism of the *camera obscura*, yet still 'harmonised with concrete reality'¹⁹³ through the creative act.

The uncataclysmic fall of the Soviet state, which passed away through the *trompe l'oeil* dissolution of the Soviet Union that left Mikhail Gorbachev *in absentia* without a country to rule, was as anti-climactic as the Revolution was climactic. This reversal of Russian history, followed by disillusionment with the false hope of a more equitable capitalist Russia, fuelled a desire to regain cultural and spiritual identity through the symbols that had been destroyed in triple by fascism, communism and capitalism in turn.

The regeneration of the *kolokol* in Russia from the 1990s signifies a rebirth of Russian national identity. This is epitomised in the highly symbolic recasting of bells for the reconstructed Cathedral of Christ our Saviour in 1995, the rebuilding of which would cost around a billion U.S. dollars in a country where pensioners still received only a few dollars a week to live on.



1800-lb (840-kg) bell, copied from a bell saved from Christ the Saviour Cathedral.¹⁹⁴

Even this iconic resurrection was surpassed in the restoration, in April 2004, of a giant 72 ton, 4.5 metre diameter 'Tsar-bell' to the towers of the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Laura, near Moscow. Around 25 bells from the monastery, including a bell named after Boris Godunov, were destroyed in 1930.¹⁹⁵ Russia has also begun to reclaim its cultural heritage from abroad. The seventeenth century Danilov bells gifted to Harvard University after the Revolution have been reclaimed by Moscow's Sviato-Danilov monastery.¹⁹⁶

The bell is an *idée-fixe* in the Russian psyche that was undiminished by the physical erasure of bells during last century. The name of the *kolokol* pervades all aspects of Russian life: a volcano in the Kirile Islands is named 'Kolokol'; one of the tunnels on the trans-Siberian railway to Baikal, which resembles a bell when seen from the eastern portal, is known as the 'little bell' tunnel;¹⁹⁷ a suspected Russian spy known as 'Kolokol' Ames (codename K) was jailed on export control violation charges in the United States in 1994;¹⁹⁸ the Russian International Foundation for Civil Liberties has revived

the name of Herzen's *Bell* and distributes a cybernetic publication, *Kolokol.ru*, to anyone connected to the global electronic nexus. Web sites on the history, founding and music of Russian bells are now commonplace.¹⁹⁹

The *kolokol*, as a hyper-icon of Russianicity, is being re-established as an emblem of Russia's past in contradiction of Lotman's theory. Today, the bell continues to mediate in the greatest crises of Russia's national conscience, as when they tolled over the Kremlin for those killed in Beslan in 2004. The massacre of children and their parents and teachers on 'first bell day' (the traditional name for the first day of the school year) at School number one in North Ossetia on the first of September that year raised the worst of Russia's historical spectres, in that it constituted an 'alien' threat to Russia's control over its lands and an 'infidel' challenge to its religious and cultural ideology.

But the hope that lies in culture comes from remembering. In their documentary on the Beslan massacre, *What the Children Saw*,²⁰⁰ Debbie Whitmont and Sarah Curnow conclude with this report:

Soon School Number One will be demolished. There are plans to build a fountain here with bells to remember the voices of children. No one yet knows how history will see what happened here. This place may become just another monument to terror. Or is there hope that one day even those who plan cruelty like this will finally see its limit?

For most of the world, the events in Beslan were a televised spectacle, too soon forgotten. This 'schizophrenic' distancing from reality²⁰¹ is symptomatic of the social malaise that Erich Fromm called the 'new inhumanity [of] complete alienation, complete indifference vis-à-vis life'.²⁰² If, today in Russia, the *kolokol* reflects a state of social alienation in its reduction in status to that of an obvious cultural index, then its future restoration as a true agent of cultural convocation, interlocution and community conciliation (as with the memorial bells for the children of Beslan) might keep alive that endless patience and hope that the Russians, as a people, have earned as their epithet.

2. Cult of the Russian Bell: The *Kolokol* in Russian Image, Poetry and Music

Да будет свет
- 'Let there be light'¹

The foregoing investigation into the role of the *kolokol* as an instrument of political and ideological convocation and interpellation in Russian history supports the argument that the bell, as a cultural object and symbolic 'voice', articulates the relationship between people and societies, and the ideas, visions, ideologies and beliefs that they maintain. Bondarenko's assertion that the *kolokol* 'mirrors' Russian social and cultural history, supported by her in-depth examination of bells in seventeenth century Moscow, has been extended and confirmed through further examination of the role of the *kolokol* in synopses of various narrative and historical accounts of social transformation in Russia from pagan through to modern times. Corbin's notion that bells point symbolically towards the primordial origins of language and meaning has also been borne out by evidence that the *kolokol* has acted historically, especially in Russia, as an instrument of social convocation and divine *Logos*.

These essential ideas of spectrality (vision, ideology and speculation) are also evident in iconic representations of the *kolokol* in the sounds, images and texts of Russian art history. Just as ideological change is reflected through the spectre of the *kolokol* as a political and religious symbol, so is creative 'vision' projected through its iconic and symbolic presence in the work of Russian artists, film-makers, musicians and poets.

The *Kolokol* as an Acoustical Icon

The sonic spectrum of the Russian bell (its ghost, projection, or spectre) is the synaesthetic equivalent of the visual spectrum of colour emitted by the Russian Orthodox church-icon. Together, they form an iconographic representation of divine *Logos* and Light. This is the basis for a synaesthetic 'theology of colour' in Russia, where belief in the power of iconic image borders on a kind of image-fanaticism or fetishism. The cultural inter-relatedness of the bell and icon in Russian history establishes the perception that the *kolokol* may indeed be regarded, as it is by Williams, as an 'acoustical icon'.

Bell-founding and religious icon-painting in Russia share a nearly identical path of historical evolution, social status and role. The bell is an acoustic, as the icon is a visual, instrument of convocation. Together, they form a common focal point for the perception of faith, and make religious communion possible without the intercession of a priest. An appreciation of the role of the icon in Russian society is therefore highly informative in elaborating upon and fully understanding the spectral nature of the *kolokol* and its iconoclastic history.

Russian church icons, like bells, are associated with particular historical events. They are distinguished as *osobochtimaia* ('specially venerated') when associated with a miracle of particular importance or wonderousness. A specially venerated icon (*ikona*) is sometimes called 'miracle-working' (*chudotvornaia*), 'locally venerated' (*mestnochtimaia*), or 'epiphanic' (*iavlennaia*). All forms of icons attain their venerated status when an individual or group claim to have experienced a sacred close encounter in the form of an omen or sign that appeared in the presence of an icon. These spectral signs take the form of dreams, fragrances, the sound of mysterious voices, the sudden unexplained rejuvenation of the colours in the icon, or the self-ignition of candles or lights in proximity to the icon. The epiphanic icon, for example, is normally discovered by chance and interpreted in the context of the place it is found, especially when discovered close to one of

the natural features (wells, trees, rivers, bell-towers) associated with the amalgam of pagan and Christian spiritualism in Russia.²

While the veneration of icons associated with miracles was primarily a fixture of lay Orthodoxy, icons could not be designated as miracle-working unless they were investigated by the Holy Synod and found to be genuine. In the absence of any specific criteria or tests, the decisions of the authorities were often disputed and challenged by the faithful. Like bells, icons were fiercely protected by their community as a matter of personal or community faith, or as a means to ensure the vision and fate of Holy Russia herself. It was the 'Our Lady of Kazan' icon, after all, that was credited with saving all Russia from the Mongols.

As instruments of convocation, icons exert influence over spiritual territory, rites and practices just as bells do. As Vera Shevzov explains in *Miracle-working Icons, Laity, and Authority in the Russian Orthodox Church*, copying and repetition are common means for both bells and icons to expand their sphere of spiritual influence. While the power of bells is directly indexed to their ability to transmit sound over great physical distances, an icon's field of power can be increased by special invitation to a place:

Believers, both laity and clergy, helped to expand the geographic parameters in which an icon was known and communally revered in two ways. First, they made and purchased copies of well-known miracle-working icons which themselves frequently became specially venerated. [...] While visually associated with the prototype, copies allowed individuals or entire communities to attach their own stories to the image, thereby making a prototype located at a great distance meaningful for them. [...] Second, beyond the proliferation of copies, believers actually 'invited' specially venerated icons to their communities and into their homes. Icon visitations involved processions with icons normally kept in urban cathedrals, monasteries, or parish churches [...] brought to other rural and urban communities.³

A consequence of the contested power of both icons and bells is a consistent history of vulnerability to abduction and destruction. The official church was weary of the tendency of the Russian laity to lapse into the superstitions of *staraia vera* ('old belief') and sought to control the powers attributed to icons. Under a law of 1722, the clergy exercised their power to investigate and even confiscate icons suspected of having connections with dubious spiritual practices.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the number of icons removed from churches and private homes rapidly increased. During the period immediately preceding the Revolution, popular resistance against such abductions was also on the increase. Parishioners complained that the investigations were a crime against God and that the 'arrests' of icons were unduly authoritarian and militaristic, or simply based upon arbitrary and unjustified decisions. The anthropomorphic treatment of bells as witnesses or victims is repeated just as strongly in the biographies of icons:

One believer from Viatka diocese related in 1916 that when he and fellow parishioners were forbidden to specially venerate a particular icon, local authorities forced them to wrap the icon in linen and place it on a cart 'like a corpse or a drunkard'.⁴

The historical connection between bells, icons and cannons (worship and war) in Russia is further cemented by the use of copper alloy in the icons of the Old Believers, which were embossed onto bronze or brass surfaces rather than painted onto wood. The durability of copper icons made them suitable for outdoor use, especially as grave-markers in cemeteries. The erasure of the inscriptions and features of the copper icon parallels the submergence of bells and the political 'censorship' of bell inscriptions. Vera Beaver-Bricken Espinola elaborates upon this theme in her *Copper Icons in Daily Use in Old Russia*:

If the eyes of the metal figures were worn and could not 'see', then these objects were no longer used for veneration. Icons and crosses were not thrown away, but when smooth, they were disposed of by

burial in the ground or in a body of water, sometimes wrapped in a cloth. [...] During Peter I's reforms, a resolution passed on 29 March 1721 stated that objects originating from the *raskol'niki* [Old Believer Schismatics] should be thrown either into water or into fire.⁵

In 1854, it was estimated that the copper contained in all the icons and crosses in Nizhnii-Novgorod, where icons and bells were sold in large numbers, would be sufficient to found cannons for an entire military brigade.⁶ Only a small dissident group of Old Believers (the wandering *stranniki* – 'pilgrims') were exempt as a precaution against religious uprising. Communities of Old Believers directly involved in the development of metallurgical industry along the Volga River and Urals were also exempt from prohibition.⁷

Anthropomorphic associations with icons are more ambiguous than those encountered with bells. The icon itself is seen as being the direct physical imprint of a religious figure (rather than a mere reflection) at the same time as being traditionally considered an 'image not made with hands'. According to legend, an artist was sent from Asia Minor to capture the image of Christ, but when he found it impossible to represent him, Christ took pity and applied a veil to his own face so that the direct imprint of his image would remain.⁸

The icon is considered, therefore, to be more than just a mirror image; it is supposed to be a physical impression of the real. The physicality of the viewing subject is paradoxically placed at a distance from the image while also being drawn into it by the mechanism of inverse-perspective: the lines that invert natural perspective in icons, 'instead of crossing in the horizon, deliberately cross in the spectator himself [so that] everything in the icon, including perspective, facilitates the transfer of the spectator's mental perception from the world of phenomenon to the mystical dimension of Orthodox theology'.⁹ This inversion of perspective is similar to the physical feeling of being drawn into an enveloping dome of sound experienced when listening to bells.

The quality of anthropomorphic 'embodiment' associated with icons is reinforced by their placement within the body of the church and peasant hut. The icon was placed with its alter-ego, the axe, high on the central wall close to the hearth of the peasant hut (*izba*). The iconostasis, the most distinctive Russian innovation in the reverence of icons, represented the heavenly hierarchy, recorded lines of religious history, and provided the doorway between heaven and earth, the 'external expression of the transfigured state of man'.¹⁰

During the years following the Revolution, diverse and almost indefinable ideas relating to the 'visible' were magnified by a much more powerful current of visionary belief attached to the Revolution itself. The 'new vision' (*novoe zrenie*) of the post-Revolution avant-garde was that art could, independent of medium or material, act as an agent of enlightenment, a way to see through the falsehoods of bourgeois convention in search of a 'profane illumination' linked to the material world, rather than the world of mysticism and Christianity.¹¹ The light-spectrum and rhythm became the underlying metaphors in an explosion of avant-garde thinking about writing, music, visual arts and architecture.

The colouristic language of icon-painting, like the quest for (colouristic, spectral) sonority that motivated the evolution of the *kolokol*, participates in a 'theology of colours', the ideological conquest of un-embodied light over material darkness – 'God is Light'.¹² This fascination with the synaesthetic associations between word, sound and image, exemplified in the bell-icon couplet of cultural artefacts, is reflected and repeated in many facets of intellectual, artistic and creative activity in Russian culture: linguistics, cinema, painting, poetry and music. Searching for the 'origins of language', the Russian linguist Roman Jakobson concluded that:

[In the] quest for the ultimate constituents [of language] it should be remembered that such contrasts [in speech sounds] as light~dark, light~heavy, and small~big, [belong to the] elementary structures required by perceptual differentiation, [and that the] coherencies

emerging between color and sound patterns [are] too palpable to be denied.¹³

This essential idea, that iconic light is a spiritual and meaning-bearing 'medium', was subjected to iconoclastic treatment when Malevich, in an overtly (anti)-iconic act that was labelled blasphemous, exhibited a single black square in the corner space of a gallery in Petrograd, the space normally reserved for hanging icons. Malevich declared that he had 'abandoned the earth [to pursue an] aspiration towards space that is deep in man's consciousness'.¹⁴ The same monotone black square (a symbolic solar eclipse) then appeared in Malevich's set for Mikhail Matiushin's 1913 futurist opera *Victory over the Sun*.^{15 , 16}

Such cultural investigations of a perceived interconnectedness between sound and light, evident in the commonalities between icons and bells identified so far, were extended through the technological innovations of *kino-glaz* and *foto-glaz*, which enabled the iconic representation and conceptualisation of motion in the visual rhythms of everyday life. Dziga Vertov stated somewhat paradoxically that everyday life must be presented 'as is', without artistic contrivance, but that true representation could only be achieved by 'the use of the cinematic eye (*Kino-glaz*) which, more comprehensively than any human eye, could investigate the chaos of visual phenomena'.¹⁷

Russian poets and musicians also demonstrated interest in the 'synaesthetics' and iconoclastic treatment of light and sound. Ego-futurist and cubo-futurist poets and writers were obsessed with synaesthesia, and their written/spoken works shared the same qualities of transcendence, musicality, mysticism, abstraction, symbolism and absolutism that designate Russian iconic tradition. One of the forefathers of Russian futurism, the impressionist painter Nikolai Kulbin, was heavily influenced by iconic style¹⁸ and advocated the use of quarter-tones, 'coloured' music and the abolition of staves in music as early as 1910.¹⁹ The composer Alexander Skriabin (like Rimsky-Korsakov before him) unambiguously equated the acoustical with the visual in the design of his personal harmonic language.

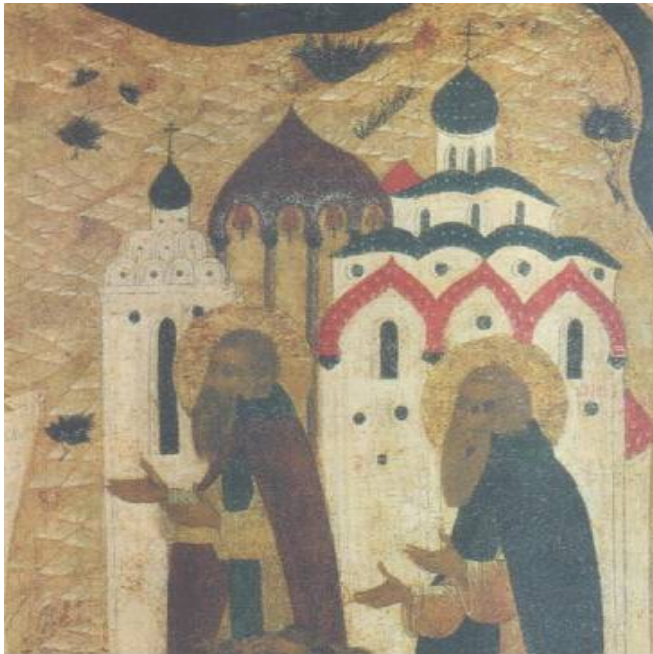
The bell and the icon are therefore emblematic of a range of extrinsic ideas of synaesthesia in various fields of thought and expression in Russian culture. There are also strong intrinsic relations within the acoustical/visual copula of the Russian bell and icon. Just as bells are ornamented with icons and emblematic images, they are depicted also as images that belong to this iconographic stream in Russian visual style. Robin Milner-Gulland, author of *The Russians* (1997), recognised iconic representation of already iconic objects as being a particularly Russian cultural phenomenon: 'Icons indeed often represent other icons – visible, verbal, aural – and icons of icons of icons are not infrequent [...]'.²⁰

Three iconic representations of bells in Russian paintings are now presented. The first, a traditional church icon ('The Virgin Bogoliubsky with Scenes from the Lives of St. Zosimus and St. Sabbatius and Parable Episodes') was painted by an unknown Muscovite icon painter in 1545. This icon belongs to the Bogoliubsky tradition of iconography, which traces its origin to a single icon commissioned by Prince Andrei Bogoliubsky in 1158 Constantinople. In this icon, St. Zosimus has a 'vision of a grand church [complete with bells] in the air above a future monastery',²¹ another instance of Kitezkh.

The second image, a painting by the realist painter Isaac Levitan (1860-1900) entitled *Those Evening Bells*, is of particular interest for the reason that the bells are not actually visible. Only their sound is synaesthetically implied by colour and tone. Levitan, a devoted *plein-air* landscapist, summarised his own experience of landscape painting with the lines: 'He lived with nature as close as could be, the babbling brook's meaning he knew, comprehended the whisper of leaves on the tree, and heard the sound of grass as it grew'.²² In this painting, the sound of bells is implied in the ambient ('resonant') colours of sunset.

The third painting, *Zvenigorod* (literally – 'Ringings-town'), was painted in 1933 by the mystical writer and painter Nikolai Roerich. Roerich's work, heavily influenced by ideas drawn from Eastern and pagan cosmology, came to international attention through his collaboration with Diaghilev and

Stravinsky as set and costume designer for the 1913 production of *The Rite of Spring* in Paris.²³ This work is Russo-iconic not only in its representation of a quintessential Russian scene, but also in its naïve style, mystical suggestions, colouristic intensity and simplicity of form. Roerich's ideal of beauty was typified by his elevation of highly decorative aspects of Russian folk art to a creative end in itself. His contribution to Neo-Russian style (the movement in Russian painting that reflected the utopian and messianistic tendencies of the 1880s) went 'beyond seeking out new sources as a means of renewing the artistic idiom [and creating] iconographical scenes. [...] He dreamed of creating a realm of harmony, spirituality and beauty, in which the ancient foundations of Russian culture would be reborn [...]'.²⁴



'The Virgin Bogoliubsky with Scenes from the Lives of St. Zosimus and St. Sabbatius and Parable Episodes', Moscow, 1545.



Isaac Levitan, 'Those Evening Bells', 1892 [Oil on Canvas, 87 X 107.6 cm, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow]²⁵



Nikolai Roerich, 'Zvenigorod', 1933 [Tempera on Canvas, 31" x 18.5"]²⁶

The *kolokol* and *ikona* thus form the 'visible-audible' copula that defines the *Logos* as the originary voice and divine 'Light'. The *kolokol*, a medium through which 'invisible' psychic states (alarm, community, melancholy, love and joy) are made audible and visible in the form of ornamentative iconic images, emblems, letters and texts, acts as 'sonic mirror' of the psyche in the form a voice. The vocal quality of the bell, referred to in Russian as *glas* ('voice'), is the basis upon which the *kolokol* establishes itself as an instrument of convocation, a medium for the reflection and interpellation of Russian history and culture.

The very mechanism through which the bell (as a 'sonic icon') is capable of the kind of historical and cultural reflection identified by Bondarenko is this spectral 'voice'. As a phenomenon, the voice is a kind of 'double mirror' in which the line drawn between the subject and the material world dissolves, as it does in the perspective of the Russian icon. Rosolato describes this effect in *La Voix: entre corps et langage*:

The voice [has the property] of being at the same time emitted and heard, sent and received [as though] an 'acoustic' mirror were always in effect. Thus the images of entry and departure *relative to the body* are narrowly articulated. They can come to be confounded, inverted, to prevail one over the other.²⁷

In *The Acoustic Mirror*, a study of the feminine voice in moving image, Kaja Silverman argues (in line with Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic theories) that psychic development is primarily cradled in the vocal mirror of the maternal voice. The vocal 'auditory aura' sets up an eternal loop between the human body and the physical world. This reciprocal 'echo' between the subject and the world belongs to the order of the real, while visual impressions (as idols or spectres) signal an entry into the 'falsehoods' of the symbolic order. The voice, and particularly the paternal voice, participates directly in the development of language and the symbolic order.²⁸

The iconic inscriptions and decorations seen on Russian bells are also 'reflective' of historical temporality and 'primordial language' in other iconic cultural artefacts not yet introduced: they closely resemble the marginal glosses, illustrations, and notations that adorn the pages of sixteenth and seventeenth century publications, for example. The diachronic structure and placement of marginal glosses on the page through the duration of these centuries reflect historical modes of organising, recording and representing history in social consciousness. For example, the structure of the text in sixteenth and seventeenth century publications (as well as Russian bell inscriptions of the same period) resembles a 'looking-glass in a frame',²⁹ with marginalia, glossaries and exergues framing the main body of the text. The hierarchical footnotes that began to predominate in publications from the eighteenth century reflect the emergence of societies dominated by imperial power structures. Thus, the highly ornamented Russian bell forms a 'framed' acoustical mirror by virtue of its vocal, linguistic, and texted qualities.

The bell's authority, power and significance as an 'acoustical image' emerging from primordial *Logos* is replicated in religious icons as well as in another iconic object of Russian culture that is used to represent the influence of imperial rather than divine law: the *zertsalo* ('mirror of law'), which takes its name from the Old Slavic word for mirror (*zerkalo*), is a three-sided glass prism that was used to frame published imperial decrees. It would stand in Russian courts of law as a reminder that the word of the emperor was never to be forgotten, being equivalent to the 'Word of God'. Much like the bell, the *zertsalo* is a medium and symbol of language, socio-cultural memory, socio-political ideology and authority:

[It is a metaphor made concrete: it is *literally* a mnemonic device [...]. A spectacular object, it invites the gaze: a symbol of surveillance, it transforms the subject of the gaze into the object of it and plays a key role in a perpetually replicated scenario of power. It is a conduit of ideology coded [inscribed] as iconography.³⁰

As inscribed sonic and visual mirrors, the *kolokol*, *ikona* and *zertsalo*, as well as marginal glosses in textual publications, imply a whole world of reflective signification encoded in scripture. Saint Augustine likened Scripture to 'a mirror [that] shows man both the perfection he can attain and the imperfection of his current state, so as to facilitate his spiritual makeover'.³¹ The *zertsalo*, like the bi-directional acoustical mirror of the bell's maternal voice, is intended 'not only to invite contemplation, but suggest surveillance – it is not only the object of the gaze, but, in a sense, the source of it'.³² Just like the transparent bell-jar, the glass of the *zertsalo* is the 'ideal material to carry allegory and ideology into enclosed, even intimate spaces'.³³ The panoptical function of the triangular prismic form of the *zertsalo* represents the imperial all-seeing-eye at the centre of the Holy Trinity that is the visual analogue of the bell's eavesdropping ear (*ukho*).

The underlying reasons for the effectiveness of the *mirror* (whether audible or visible) as a powerful psychic symbol are explained in the work of the Jungian psychologist Sándor Ferenczi who showed that the subject relies upon such autosymbolic phenomena to 'reckon' with the outside world. Self-perceptions are represented as symbols (the images of myth, dream, and fantasy) through which the functional modes of the mind, as distinct from the content of thought and imagination, are interpellated. Autosymbolic phenomena not only represent the inner world of the unconscious: they are the instruments used in conscious Being to negotiate the exterior world. In his treatise *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis*, Ferenczi refers to three 'autosymbolic prototypes' that may be applied just as well to the form of the bell as to that of human (un)consciousness - the autosymbols of the mirror, the machine, and the bridge.³⁴

The bell, since it is an acoustical mirror, a mechanism of repetition and a sonic/visual copula that symbolically 'bridges' the psychic and physical worlds (like a crampon, copula, or hook), effectively represents the architecture of (un)consciousness according to Ferenczi's model. The *kolokol* is 'given a soul' through the action of a machinic 'consciousness of repetition'. As an acoustical icon and 'mirror', it is the medium or language

through which self-knowledge is projected, bridging the psychic and physical worlds, bringing all being into continuous contact through the spectrum of consciousness emerging from the interpellating authority of the *Logos* as Gawronski defined it in *Word and Silence*: 'from the light sounds the voice that calls the individual by name'.³⁵

Kino Bells - Russian *Gesamtkunstwerk*

While the worlds of political ideology and cultural iconography meet in many forms of Russian creativity (especially the novel, but also in poetry, music and visual arts), the Russian cinema (*kino*) is the medium through which these two primary modes of spectrality – political ideology and creative vision – are synthesised into a single form. Like the *kolokol*, the *kino* is a form of mass communication: a medium for the historical self-definition and self-reflection of Russian culture that achieves a synthesis of word, image and sound, the constituents of ordinary *Logos*.

Russia's historical asynchronicity with the ideological and cultural development of other nations, as well as its people's predilection for iconic representation and belief in the unity of word, sound, and image, explain the transposition of the Wagnerian concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk* from the medium of dramatic opera to cinema. This call for the 'total art work' and a naturally unified 'medium' for sound, vision and word, was answered in the form and content of *kino*.

The depiction of bells in Russian film is intimately linked, therefore, with the revelation of political and spiritual 'ideologies.' Like bells, film can act as a record of social, political and religious change. The most haunting of Russia's recent iconoclastic destructions was, for example, captured on documentary film:

In the case of the Cathedral of Christ our Savior, the principal role in its phantom existence was played by the cinema. The destruction of the cathedral was filmed.³⁶

The iconoclastic spectacle of the destruction of a monument to Alexander III is shot repeatedly from a number of different camera angles in Sergei Eisenstein's propaganda film, *October*:

This eternally protracted moment of destruction resembles the sadistic Freudian compulsion to repeat, in which iconoclasm imperceptibly turns into a new fetishism. This is particularly evident in Eisenstein's film, with its obsessive attachment to the theme of monuments.³⁷

In a similarly iconoclastic gesture, the *kolokol*, though playing an important sonic and symbolic part in Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible*, is never actually seen in the film at all. The absence of any powerful visual apparition of the bell, even though it is heard and spoken of, cannot be accidental: the appearance of a bell would have been a significant gesture in any Russian film, like the sight of a Cathedral of Notre Dame in a French film, for example. This dramatic opportunity, avoided in *Ivan the Terrible*, is more than exploited in the iconic 'Kolokol' scene of Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublev*. These two films provide a perfect opportunity to compare (through a medium that unifies word, sound and image) how the *kolokol* operates as an iconic image and sign of the spiritual world in *Andrei Rublev*, in contrast to its iconoclastic mode of socio-political symbolism in *Ivan the Terrible*.

The peal of bells is almost constant in the first twenty-five minutes of *Ivan the Terrible* during the coronation and wedding scenes. It also continues to act as a rhythmic and thematic signpost as it sounds intermittently throughout the remainder of the film. At the end of the wedding, it is reported to Ivan that the Kremlin bells are falling from the belfries by themselves, an ill omen for him. The bell, though unseen, is part of a nexus of repeating symbols underscored by the repetitive sound of the bells, with the name and identity of Ivan himself remaining constant at the centre.

An example of this symbolic alliance between the sound of (invisible) bells and important visual symbols in the film is found in this drawing³⁸ from

Eisenstein's notes for *Ivan the Terrible*. It shows the scene of Ivan's crowning under a golden shower of coins. The visual spectacle of the belled *manches* of the two priests, and the falling metal that shines around the head of the Tsar like a solar corona, is accompanied by the tinkling sound of falling metal and the imposing tolling of bells.



The invisibility of the bell in *Ivan the Terrible*, and its replacement with related metallic, anthropomorphic and spectral symbols, is as deliberate as an intentional 'double cut' that Eisenstein made to the intended scenario. Used as the master plan during the creation of the film, the original written scenario differs significantly from transcripts of the completed film. Important scenes were shifted in order to emphasise historical repetitions³⁹ and two apparitions of the bell were cut altogether.

In the first of two scenes in the original plan that went unrealised, bells are cut down and are seen falling from burning belfries. The Boyars have incited a riot following the coronation of the Tsar of All Russia. Climbing into the belltowers, they cut the ropes, the bells appearing to sound and to fly off by themselves. The people, seeing fire and falling bells, believe that there is witchcraft afoot, but Ivan convinces them otherwise in a cruel joke. The passage contains perhaps the most obvious bell-metaphor of all in the film. The Russian bell is topped by a *koronka* or 'crown', so any cutting or falling

down of the bell is a sign of social chaos – the structures of power are collapsing and the symbolic 'head' of state is being cut off in an act of uncrowning:

Above the raging fire looms the bell tower.
The Staritsky's minions cut down the bells from the belfries.

The Staritskys' bondsman –
Demyan –
Cuts the bell ropes with a knife.

[...]

Below, into the flames plunges a bell-
The biggest-the 'Harbinger of Blessings'.
After it small bells rattle down like peas. [seed-pods]

[...]

*You would rouse the people against me,
boyars!
Not peace but a sword you have asked for ...*

[...]

*Great Sovereign,
We come to make plaint against the Glinskys!
We ask justice!
The Glinskys have been practicing sorcery.*

Foma Chokhov exclaims:
Dread omens threaten Moscow ..

Yeroma Chokhov exclaims:

The bells fall by themselves from the belfries!

And rising from their knees,
The people cry,
Yield, Tsar, to the sign from God!

Foremost of all, more than any other,
Rages the ginger lad Gregory.

Ivan:

Magic, you say? Bells have fallen?

He stretches out his hand:

Any head that believes in magic is, like a bell ..

He taps his finger on the forehead of Gregory:

... empty.

Titters in the crowd.

Ivan:

Can a head fly off by itself?

There is already laughter in the crowd.

Gregory is flummoxed.

Ivan says gently:

To fly off – it must be cut off.

He has drawn his finger along Gregory's neck.

And then his eyes have given such a look

that cold sweat has broken out on Gregory's skin.

Something of the future 'Terrible' blazed in that look

Of the young Ivan.

But Ivan continues lightly:

With bells it is likewise.

Indeed, whosoever without the Tsar's permission has cut down a bell

Shall speedily, by the Tsar's decree, have his cut also.

The Tsar's speech pleases the people.

The Brothers Chokhov like the Tsar.⁴⁰

In the corresponding scene in the completed film, the bells are never actually seen to be cut down, or to fall from the towers:

Boyar:

Moscow is in flames!

*Medium shot of the windows, the flames flickering outside.
The bells ring out frantically [...]*

Long shot of rioters bursting into the banquet hall, carrying torches [...]

Ivan: Let the people enter [...]

Alarm bells and loud music continue off. [...]

Simpleton *shouting off*: The Tsar is bewitched ! [...]

Simpleton *continuing off*: The hearts from the breasts of the people! They sprinkle our houses with human blood! The blood bursts into flame and burns the houses. [...]

Malyuta *continuing*: The bells are crashing down from the steeples! [...]

Ivan: Witchcraft you say? ... Bells falling without reason? ...

Half sneering: A head which believes in witchcraft is itself like a bell ... empty! [...] And can a head fall off ... all by itself? In

order to fall it has to be cut ... *He makes a sudden chopping motion with his hand and glares up at the crowd.* [...] It is just the same with the bells. Those who, without the Tsar's orders ... cut the ropes which support the bells ... will have their own heads cut off – this time on the Tsar's orders.

One of the Men: The Tsar is pretty sharp

Man: There's no pulling the wool over his eyes.

Ivan: We shall cut off heads ruthlessly ...⁴¹

According to the original scenario, this scene was to take place in the *Lobnoe Mesto* (literally the 'place of foreheads'), an execution place standing to this day in Moscow's Red Square. The scene in the film instead takes place in the banquet hall. The effect of *concealing* the riot scenes and the toppling of bells taking place outside the Kremlin is to distil the mystery, to emphasise a sense of the 'unexplained' (why *are* the bells falling?), and to show that Ivan is wise enough to see through the conspiracy.

It is tempting to see this cut as being politically motivated. In an uncomfortable historical repetition, the bells are destroyed in the film by Ivan's enemies while, in 1940s Russia, bells had been cut down from the belfries of churches by people who supported rather than opposed the dominant power structure. The act of cutting down the bells is described in the film, nevertheless, and this weakens any argument that the scene was politically censored. Why not censor the words as well as the image?

The absence of this scene, or any scene depicting the bell as a religious icon, is unlikely to be an act of anti-religious sentiment either. There is some evidence that historical accuracy, rather than anti-religious ideology, may have contributed to the cutting of the bell scene, the intended scene of the falling bells being an historical poetic license. Ivan was crowned in January, 1547, but the 'falling bell' theme is based on an actual historical incident

which was reported to the enraged Tsar at his estate near Moscow some time later, on June 3, 1547, by a delegation from Pskov:

Furious that they had dared to disturb him, he sprinkled their heads with burning alcohol, set fire to their long hair and beards and ordered that they should be stripped and laid out on the ground. At this moment a messenger, hot foot from Moscow, came to announce that the great bell of the Kremlin had fallen without apparent reason [...] The Tsar left at once for Moscow, forgetting the people of Pskov ... Ivan was frightened: this astonishing event appeared to him of very ill omen. It was followed by several other catastrophes in the city.⁴²

In a transcript of a late-night conversation between Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov, Cherkasov (the actor who plays Ivan) and Eisenstein, Stalin and Molotov emphasise their views on the need to portray history accurately. Stalin goes as far as to defend the historical importance of Christianity to Russia:

Molotov. It is necessary to show historical incidents in a comprehensive way. For example the incident with the drama of Demyan Bedny *Bogatyr*. Demyan Bedny mocked the baptism of Russia, but in reality acceptance of Christianity was a progressive event for its historical development.

Stalin. Of course, we are not good Christians but to deny the progressive role of Christianity at that particular stage is impossible. This incident had a very great importance because this turned the Russian state to contacts with the West, and not to an orientation towards the East.⁴³

Stalin's characterisation of Christianity as a progressive movement, especially within the context of the communist state, again raises the question of historical movement and repetition, a question pervading *Ivan the Terrible* in the form of temporal and rhythmic devices incorporating the

kolokol as a symbolic sign. Concepts of time collide in Eisenstein's films as they occupy opposite poles of a temporal dialectic pointing simultaneously to the archaic religious world and to modern Marxist society. Eisenstein (part occultist, part Marxist) symbolised time in radically different ways in his films. As Lovgren Hakan argues in *Eisenstein's Labyrinth*, his ideas of time wavered between a linear and cyclical understanding of history:

In his films of the 1920s, he used religious and cultic objects negatively in order to generate signs and symbols of the old and obsolete world which he set in opposition to the new symbols and forms of the Bolshevik political and social organisation. As the nominally Marxist, linear and secular society to which he belonged closed in on itself and grew more interested in its own historical past [...], Eisenstein was quick to apply his insights into religious forms and symbols from the new, more 'cyclical' perspectives in his works.⁴⁴

In *Ivan*, the sequential order of plot is interrupted by recollecting repetition: one example is Ivan's symbolic 'return to the womb' flashback to childhood and the murder of his mother. This play on repetition is also exemplified in the farcical repetition (mock coronation) of Vladimir, repetition of the golden coin motif and the constant repetition of bell music throughout the film. In his 1927 film *October*, religion is presented as oriental and therefore anti-progressive in a striking series of stills. The duration of each in the series of stills exactly corresponds to the *decay* time of a series of bell sounds that accompany the images. Each of the stills depicts religious statues and effigies representing various religious beliefs including Buddhist, Islamic, Christian and 'primitivist' masks and figurines.

The duality of circular and linear time that is dynamically illustrated in this sequence has particular importance when considering Russia's ambiguity as a culture of the East with a window on the West, a culture that has been shaped by a radically Orthodox religion, and radically Marxist politics, as Hakan also points out:

Iurii Lotman and Boris Uspensky have outlined [the categories of cultural opposition in Russia, which are] 'Russia versus the West', 'true faith versus false faith', and 'knowledge versus ignorance', [all subsumed under] 'the old and the new'.⁴⁵

These observations still form an incomplete explanation for why the full strength of the bell's iconic power, promised in the original screen play and sketches, goes unrealised. Stalin raised objections to other apparent inaccuracies in Eisenstein's interpretation of political history, but the offending scenes were left intact.⁴⁶

A second unrealised bell-scene in *Ivan the Terrible* that only ever existed as a rough sketch based on an illustration of the letter 'Ш' (the first letter in the Russian word *shar*, 'globe') may contain other clues as to the iconoclastic disappearance of the bell. This scene was to take place during the knighthood of Kurbsky in the Polish Court, a scene in which jesters were to ring bells and mimic the knighthood ceremony itself. This would, in effect, have been a superfluous farcical repetition of the already farcical, since the parody of Kurbsky's knighthood would mimic and unbalance the farcical repetition of Ivan's dramatic coronation in the idiotic coronation of Vladimir that had already occurred.

Instead of a double repetition of the farcical, the excision of the 'jester' scene creates a dialectical pairing of the two absent bell-scenes. This pairing is a negative incidence of Eisenstein's technique of *dédoublement*, or so-called 'kangaroo formula',⁴⁷ by which means a child springs as an exact copy from out of the parental fold. In this scene, the court faces away from the throne staring out at the viewer, indicating off-screen activity. Had it been realised, they would have been watching a carnivalesque *dédoublement* of the knighthood featuring jesters with bells:

And various groups look OFF SCREEN [...]

In the foreground

A huge white and black ball [representing the globe, the wheel of fortune, and the emblematic *regnabo, regno, regnavi, sum sine regno*]

Clustered around it – striped Jesters.
The jesters keep glancing OFF SCREEN.
And tinkle their bells.⁴⁸

Seen only in his working sketches, the jester's bells signify the social equality of the carnivalesque, rather than the social ranking implied by great church bells. This duality is perhaps borrowed from Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*, in which the church bells of the cathedral are contrasted with the jester's bells in a ritual of thieves. This is in turn reminiscent of Notre Dame's stolen bells in Rabelais' story of Gargantua and Pantagruel. The jester's bells are made equally as invisible as the great church bells of *Ivan the Terrible*. The power struggle between the two is overshadowed and totally subsumed in the presence of Ivan's absolute power. This has the effect of overturning the social equality implied in the carnival:

The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time was of particular significance. Rank was especially evident during official feasts; everyone was expected to appear in the full regalia of his calling [...] It was a consecration of inequality. On the contrary, all were considered equal during carnival.⁴⁹

In opposition to this 'dissolution' of hierarchy, as described by Bakhtin, the whole order of power-symbols in *Ivan the Terrible* is concentrated and invested in the figure of Ivan himself. In his original screenplay, Eisenstein described Ivan as if he were an icon: 'Like an icon in its frame, the Tsar is encased in golden garments'.⁵⁰ The bell, like other symbolic objects in the film such as the globe, staff, coins and crown, revolves around and points to the figure of Ivan himself, and the power of the *Logos* invested in his voice. The image of the *kolokol* is never therefore permitted to appear in its own form. This intentional negation of the visible icon of the bell frees it up to act as a symbol, permitting its significance to operate beyond the confines of an

obvious and generalised sign. The iconic power of the bell, once subverted, can finally be orientated towards the persona of Ivan.

An object that is negated (invisible), but indexed by the harmonics of perceptible objects, must resonate internally, that is, in the spectre of consciousness. This method of harmonic translation is elaborated upon by Gilles Deleuze in *Cinema 2: The Time Image*:

Eisenstein [...] distinguished the different cases of affective composition: the one where nature reflects the hero's state, two images having the same harmonics [...]; the other, more difficult, where a single image captures the harmonics of a different image which is not shown [...]. Metaphor is sometimes extrinsic, sometimes intrinsic. But in both cases, the composition does not simply express the way in which the character experiences himself, but also expresses the way in which the author and the viewer judge him, it integrates thought into image.⁵¹

Here, the use of the word 'harmonic' is descriptive of the technical and theoretical structures that underlie the film. Eisenstein described his fourfold montage technique (metric, rhythmic, tonal and *overtonal*) using terms analogous to rhythm and sound spectra. Metric montage is like the measure in music, an absolute measure of duration or length that is 'cut across' by (often) asymmetrically repeated patterns of duration, like those applied to religious effigies in *October*. According to his own formulation, rhythmic montage 'is movement within the frame that impels the montage movement from frame to frame'.⁵² Tonal montage moves beyond action, the montage being determined by the 'characteristic *emotional sound* of the piece - of its dominant'.⁵³ Overtonal or harmonic montage is 'distinguishable from tonal montage by the collective calculation of all the piece's *appeals*'⁵⁴ (emphasis mine).

Synaesthetic analogies between acoustical and visual phenomena are investigated extensively by Eisenstein, and constantly draw in the importance of the body as a somatic receptor, not just of sound and image,

but of the dissonances and difference-tones that arise intermedially. As indicated in this quote from Eisenstein's *The Film Sense*, his use of synaesthetic correspondences between sound and image are made consciously rather than arbitrarily:

There, along with the vibration of a basic dominant tone, comes a whole series of similar vibrations, which are called *overtones* and *undertones*. [...] We find the same thing in optics, as well. All sorts of aberrations, distortions, and other defects, which can [...] also be taken into account compositionally [...].⁵⁵

As we have seen, in the power of the very genetics of these methods, they must be attended by an extraordinary *physiological* quality. As in the music which builds its works on a two-fold use of overtones. Not the classicism of Beethoven, but the *physiological quality* of Debussy and Scriabin.⁵⁶

And yet we *cannot reduce aural and visual* perceptions to a common denominator. They are values of different dimensions. But the visual overtone and the sound overtone are values of a *singly measured* substance. [...] *Visual as well as aural overtones are a totally physiological sensation*. And, consequently, they are *of one and the same kind* [...]. For the musical overtone (a throb) it is not strictly fitting to say 'I hear'. Nor for the visual overtone: 'I see'. For both, a new uniform formula must enter our vocabulary: 'I feel'.⁵⁷

In an endless labyrinth of symbolic and intermedial opposites, the 'image' of the bell is present primarily in the narrative of *Ivan the Terrible*. Reflecting an especially Russian interest in synaesthesia, it is the text that really creates for us an 'image' of the bell, and this image is 'illustrated' by the sounding of bells, a sounding that turns back towards the sonic icon of *Logos*.

Denied visibility and presence, the body of the bell is translated into a series of new repetitions: the *annulus* of the bell (the circular opening) is repeated

as the iron circle of the *oprichnina* and the rings on Ivan's fingers. The *koronka* (the top or 'crown' of the bell) is repeated in the analogies between the bell and the head, including the implication of decapitation implied by the cutting off and falling of bells/heads. The 'mouth' and 'tongue' of the bell are repeated as the voice of God and the voice of the priest at the coronation.

Many of the symbols that occur to visual perception are exchanged and repeated in the sonic field. The screenplay of *Ivan the Terrible* calls for defining moments when bells will sound, for example in shot 2, Part 1, when the ringing of bells 'illustrates' the power-symbol of a crown:

The sound of the CHOIR fades out. Interior of the Dormition Cathedral. High angle medium close up of the Monomakh crown [the crown belonging to Vladimir II, known as the Monomakh (1053-1126)] as all the cathedral bells ring out. This sound continues for most of the scene.

The constant tolling of bells sets up a rhythmic counterpoint to the entire film that drives the action forward, glorifies Ivan, reiterates his speech, emphasises his power, releases the 'spirit' of his word and announces his succession as Tsar and head of Christendom:

[Shot 90] Ivan: Two Romes have fallen. Moscow is the third. There will be no fourth, for I am absolute master of this third Rome, the Muscovite State. *A bell tolls.*⁵⁸

In one of the sequences in the film (Ivan's victory over the Tartars at Kazan), the bell replaces the sound of its alter-ego the cannon, completes Ivan's victory speech and affects a transition from the battle fields back to the Kremlin in Moscow where it accompanies a diverse set of symbols, including the head of Christ:

Ivan *shouting off*: Now I am truly Tsar [...] The whole world will acknowledge the Tsar of Moscow [...] as the true ruler of all the Russias.

Shot 409. Another shot of swirling clouds of smoke. The music ends, a bell begins to toll. Fade out.

Shot 410. A bell tolls loudly. Fade in on a medium close-up of an icon in a courtyard in the Kremlin; lighted lamps hang in front of it.

Shot 411. Medium shot of the Boyars Shchenyatov and Kurletov; they stand bare-headed and silent. Over a doorway behind them is the icon – a head of Christ. The bell continues to toll.

Shot 412. [...] The bell which punctuates this series of shots tolls again.⁵⁹

Similarly, in the scene immediately preceding Vladimir's fake and unwilling coronation as Tsar by Ivan, the tolling a bell marks off a series of statements in a rhythmic montage between text and bell:

1o 4' 37" Ivan : He likes it.

1o 4' 41" Ivan: Polish hireling!

1o 4' 43" bell toll

1o 4' 47" bell toll

1o 4' 50" bell toll

1o 4' 55" Ivan: The farce is over.

1o 4' 57" bell toll

1o 04' 59" Ivan: Cease this godless revelry!

1o 5' 03" bell toll

1o 5' 06" bell toll

1o 5' 07" Ivan *grimly, gazing off left, towards Vladimir*: We think on our hour of death [*vspomnim o chase smertnom*]⁶⁰

Eisenstein uses the same antiphonal hocketing technique to punctuate the speech between Alexander and the people of Novgorod in *Alexander Nevsky*, a film in which the *kolokol* is represented (visually and sonically) in its traditional role as an instrument of convocation, calling the people of Novgorod to a *veche*, where they are informed that the Germans have taken Pskov:

Alexander:

Rise up for your people! [Bell tolls]

Prince of Novgorod:

Lead Novgorod, Prince! [Bell tolls] Take command of our host!
[Bell tolls Twice]

People of Novgorod:

Lead us into battle! [Bell tolls]⁶¹

While the *kolokol* is used in a deeply symbolic way by Eisenstein, it is notable that the rubrics traditionally used in relation to specific kinds of events are always respected. That is, the 'native' language of the *kolokol* as a medium of psychic states (fear, joy, sadness) remains inviolable. In *Alexander Nevsky*, for example, the bell announces plans for the fabrication of weapons and sounds the warning bell, the *nabat* or *trevoga*. In *Ivan the Terrible*, appropriate rubrics are applied throughout, the *tocsin* for emergencies, and single or repeated strikes on a single low-pitched bell for scenes associated with death. More than simply marking off scenes, the bell embellishes

statements and inflects changes in mood. One example is the melancholy bell that introduces the scene of Ivan's illness and death.

The naturally ethereal quality of bell harmonics suggests a kind of supernatural power linked to the power of the Tsar. Many Russian folk tales 'express ancient mythological concepts of the religious or magical nature of the monarchy'.⁶² One tale collected and published by the folklorist Aristov in 1878 tells the story of how Ivan, portrayed as a coachman, was chosen as Tsar by means of a magical sign:

[A certain holy man decided] to leave the choice of the earthly ruler to Our Lady, the queen of heaven. They bought [sic] an enormous candle and placed it before the icon of the Virgin above the Varvarskie gates, in the hope that the candle would set itself alight when there walked or rode through the gates the man whom God wanted to make the tsar of Moscow. [...] The coachman [was driving through the gates] when suddenly the horses stopped dead in the gateway and would not move forward, and the candle lit up above him, and gave forth a luminous glow.⁶³

The significance of the structural and symbolic repetitions in the film, including its repeating music of bells, is further explained in light of Eisenstein's interest in Occultism and its attendant preoccupation with magical circles and mandalas. Eisenstein's obsession with symbols of unity and encirclement is the subject of his last theoretical work, *Krug* ('circle'), in which the relations between circular symbols and the womb are made explicit. The circular symbolises a creative eternity:

And a second question: where does the attendant effectiveness of art come from? The primal roots of this effectiveness. Its meaning. And hence, the eternal tendency of art and something accompanying it which is *greater than* emotionality.⁶⁴

The anthropomorphism evident in Eisenstein's symbolic use of the *kolokol* in *Ivan the Terrible* also reflects his fascination with the ideas of Otto Rank

surrounding the somatic experience of birth, especially the mysterious effect of coming into the light from the dark, from relative silence into a world of noise:

Eisenstein told the cinematographer Andrei Moskvin to light the interior of the church in such a way that it suggests the space inside the mother's womb [... and the] sound operator Boris Volsky to record the background singing in such a manner that it *rings* [emphasis mine] like birth pangs – for he believed in somatic empathy, that is, in the capacity of our bodies to resonate in response to convulsive ('prenatal') sound.⁶⁵

As filmmaker Otto von Simson explained in his 1962 *The Gothic Cathedral*, Eisenstein regarded himself conceptually as a 'founder', and especially a kind of 'cathedral builder' (cathedrals, like bells, and the womb, being designated as a 'hallowed space') seen and heard only through his creations:

At the basis of all medieval thought is the concept of *analogy*. All things have been created according to the law of analogy, in virtue of which they are, in various degrees, manifestations of God, images, vestiges, or shadows of the Creator.⁶⁶

At the centre of this nexus of symbolic structures, however, is always the iconic persona of Ivan himself. The name of Ivan Grozny provides one of the best clues to finding the secreted bell. *Groza* in Russian means 'thunderstorm'. This has importance beyond the obvious association with the etymology of the word *kolokol*, as Yuri Tsivian explains:

Like many thinkers of his time, Eisenstein had a faith in the 'emotional imagery' buried under the surface of words, and held it to be the task of the artist to restore this imagery to its primal power. To Eisenstein's eyes, the atmospheric image encased in Ivan's name was a case in point; he found it revived in folk songs featuring 'Ivan the Thunderous'.⁶⁷

The use of bell sounds in conjunction with Prokofiev's 'Storm' score does more than furnish atmosphere. The thunder also represents Ivan's authority as the de-facto voice of God. The priest who chants a slowly ascending invocation at Ivan's coronation possesses the authority of God until the coronation is complete, after which it is Ivan who is able to command (interpellate) with his voice, to the accompaniment of bells.

The iconoclastic treatment and total invisibility of the *kolokol* in *Ivan the Terrible* finds its antithesis in the iconic apparition of a bell in the protracted bell-founding scene of Tarkovsky's film, *Andrei Rublev*. In this scene, the *kolokol* is finally reinstated as an iconic and spiritual object. The bell, like a Zarathustrian 'word-shrine'⁶⁸ inscribed with the signs and symbols of historical power and will in *Ivan the Terrible*, emerges as a sign of faith, tradition, religion and legend in *Andrei Rublev*.

The 'Kolokol' Scene in Andrei Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublev*

Andrei Tarkovsky's film-making ethos could defensibly be described as being antithetical to Eisenstein's. Tarkovsky returns to an iconic sense of the image, and away from Eisenstein's iconoclastic and symbolic use of signs and images. Far from cutting his film into rhythmic fragments as Eisenstein does, Tarkovsky chooses to film very long sequences in a single take so that temporality, rather than being constructed, is 'given', continuous and eternal.

There is a 'miracle' associated with the iconic bell scene in *Andrei Rublev* that elevates the image of the bell to the status of a 'venerated' icon or shrine. The young boy who promises to found the bell claims to have learned bell-founding techniques from his dead father. In reality, he is only able to reconstruct the bell through faith and chance discoveries, an analogy to the artistic act itself. Rublev interprets this as the miracle of creation and creativity itself, and consequently as a symbol of hope for the future of Russia:

At last the great night-time moment of the casting. Boriska has requisitioned all the silver from the Duke's coffers. Later, the cast has set, the clay coating been peeled. The Grand Duke rides out with visiting ambassadors. As the clapper is levered toward the lip, the huge bell rings out with a true and clear tone. In the excitement which follows, Andrei discovers the boy weeping in the mud. The secret slips out: Boriska had been lying about inheriting his father's skills and had never known the formula for the alloy. Yet the 'miracle' he has performed breaks the spell of Andrei's sadness. The vow of silence has run its course and it seems he may speak again.⁶⁹

Tarkovsky saw film as 'a triumph of hope over mundane and oppressive reality'.⁷⁰ This triumph over the limitations of reality is exemplified in the successful founding of a bell by the young boy, Boriska. In the very first scene of the film, a medieval villager succeeds in flying in his self-made balloon from a belfry in an act of self-determination that foreshadows Boriska's triumph. The miracle of the balloon flight, like the miraculous founding of the bell, is an example of individual self-determination leading to transcendence and revelation, a demonstration of the potential within the individual to overcome all natural impediments through faith and hope. The destinies of Boriska the young bell-founder and Rublev the icon painter (as well as Tarkovsky the film maker) are bound together in this 'miraculous discovery' that they believe will restore Russian spirituality.

The bell-founding scene in *Andrei Rublev* has been called an anti-materialist heresy for the very reason that the filmic material is shaped more through intuition than by application of rational thinking, as Thierry Cazals described in *Au-Delà du Regard*:

Au départ, tout semble se conforter à <<l'ordre>>. On nous montre le dispositif, les machines, les <<infrastructures>>, le travail des forces productives sur la matière brute, le métal en fusion, la sueur sur les torsos courbés, l'effort, les doutes [...] Mais tout bascule dans un vaste mouvement de caméra, Boris avouant à Andrei Roublev, alors que la cloche sonne à toutes volées et à la satisfaction générale, qu'il

a tout improvisé, réinventé, guidé par sa seule intuition ou un ange-gardien invisible, ignorant tout des formules adéquates.⁷¹

Tarkovsky insisted that the works of great artists like Bach and Da Vinci had their genesis in epiphany, revelation, or 'vision' that seemingly revealed the world 'for the first time, without the weight of any other experience'. This revelation of the spirit is eternal and timeless:

L'Esprit est un flux continu et spontané de pensée ressemble beaucoup au temps qui s'écoule, qui ne peut plus être <<arrêté>>.⁷²

It is difficult to speak of a specific 'technique' in Tarkovsky's cinema. He prefers to deal directly with the implicit iconic meaning of the objects and natural settings he chooses, allowing them space to 'speak' for themselves. The *kolokol* is related to some of the categories of natural object that Tarkovsky tended to present as unadulterated archetypal images: the natural elements, fire, water and earth, always figure highly in his films. The bell is most strongly linked to earth in *Andrei Rublev*. Prior to founding the bell, Boris is elated to make the discovery of a deposit of clay that he can use to create the cast for the body of the bell. The images in this scene focus directly upon the intricate details of the clay embankment of a river, the mud that covers Boris's face and body strongly suggesting the intimate communion between body and earth in the enactment of life and death.

Landscapes and their inhabitants (especially trees and animals, places and things with magical properties in Russian superstition) are also persistent images in Tarkovsky's films. The bell is linked not only to earth, but to the roots of trees: as Boriska is digging a founding pit for the bell, he pulls at a tree root which, seemingly endless, leads to a spectacular tree that reaches up into the sky.⁷³ The human body is used to give characters emblematic physical attributes or defects that are the mark of the characters' histories. Bodily movement is extended to include stumbling, flying, or making other 'iconic' or archetypal gestures. The bell's elemental relationship with water and earth (clay, rain), fire (the foundry) and finally the air, is exposed

through archetypal gestures such as digging, pouring, and finally, the monumental effort involved in raising the bell into its tower.

In *Andrei Rublev* the bell is set up as a venerated object that bridges the material and spiritual worlds. These two 'dimensions' of existence in the film are described by Vida T Johnson in *Tarkovsky: A visual fugue*:

[The] overriding theme is a conflict between 'two worlds:' one exterior, materialistic, historical, violent, destructive, 'real'; the other internal, spiritual, atemporal, peaceful, hopeful, and usually given a transcendent quality by means of a dream, hallucination, or inner vision.⁷⁴

The founding of the bell is an act that combines inner spiritual vision with outer physical struggle, binding interior and exterior worlds into one archetypal form:

The casting of the bell itself strongly emphasizes the sheer physical effort and hardship involved in creating art. Much of this is conveyed in lengthy, complex camera movements that show the men working together but at their separate tasks, culminating in the spectacular high-angle shot of workers arranging ropes that stretch for hundreds of yards from the far side of the river to the bell area, as crowds begin to gather for the raising of the bell itself. [...] The earlier scenes, too, of the workmen feeding the furnaces convey a strong sense of physical strain, discomfort, tension and danger as the camera explores the garishly lit inferno in which they are labouring.⁷⁵

In *Andrei Rublev*, the creative act itself becomes the subject-matter. As well as representing the physical effort of art, the bell-founding scene espouses a view of the artist as a devotee, a person of persistent faith.

Four of the characters in *Andrei Rublev* represent different forms of the creative personality. Kirill, who criticises Rublev's work, represents the traditional knowledge, while Daniil, by contrast, is more of a conformist who

lets tradition limit him. Theophanes is an artist intent on creating art almost as a craftsman with a vocation. He does not really seek to change the world, but to perpetuate it. Only Rublev is truly 'called' to art: after hearing the bell toll, he vows to recover hope and return to work.

Many aspects of Tarkovsky's style are ambiguous or oblique, implying restraint, care, and a cool sense of dispassionate understanding. Understatement of style corresponds to a deliberate strategy of understated narrative and colour. Colour is never too 'glossy'⁷⁶ and narrative is never lowered to the status of information. Owing to incompleteness in the datum of the narrative, the viewer must actively construct the film rather than being allowed to sit passively as the object of the film. Music and sound are also dealt with in a prosaic way that might well have been modeled on the repetitive refrain of bell music:

Tarkovsky [...] rejects what he calls a 'mechanical and arbitrary' use of music that does little more than 'intensify the impression of the visual image by providing a parallel illustration of the same idea', and suggests instead that music should be used 'like a refrain' that creates 'a *new* transfigured impression' each time it recurs, or 'to produce a necessary distortion' of the visual material in the audience's perception.⁷⁷

As the film progresses, scenes are rarely accompanied by anything more than the sounds natural to a given environment. The sound of the bell is not reduced to an effect: so essential is it to the scene that it is inseparable from it. The object becomes phenomenologically dominant as image, sound and word, surrounded by a kind of 'emotional aura'.⁷⁸

When the bell finally reappears after its long absence, the strength of its presence and its iconic power are heightened. It is taken now to be a portent replete with all the meanings with which bells are historically associated. First, it appears as an icon of 'deep' memory, which can only be recalled in a Jobian repetition of faith. It is a symbol of regeneration and the kind of return that is also a transfiguration. It is a body formed in the elements of

earth, water and fire, sounding through the air. It is the seed pod that contains the *nux* of hope. It is God's voice. As an index, it indicates place and time, the miraculous moment at the end of the slow unfolding of the long take. It forms the quintessential 'time image' as defined by Deleuze in *Cinema 2: The Time Image*:

It is only when the sign opens directly on to time, when time provides the signaletic material itself, that the type, which has become temporal, coincides with the feature of singularity separated from its motor associations. It is here that Tarkovsky's wish comes true: that the cinematographer 'succeeds in fixing time in its indices perceptible to the senses'.⁷⁹

The founding of the bell by a boy in an act of blind faith represents a colossal physical project comparable to Babel, but instead of ending in failure and a 'confusion of tongues' there is a Kitezh-like miracle and the bell's voice rings out clearly as it is raised as a monument to human endeavour. As seen in the images from the 'Kolokol' section of *Andrei Rublev* that follow, the mysterious, solitary, silent and reverent contemplation of the founding is followed in contrast by the physical, collective and pragmatic activity of raising the bell into its tower.





The 'Poe Cult' and the Metallic Ages of Russian Poetry

As well as being inseparable from the cultural world of the iconic image as a creative medium in Russian culture, the *kolokol* is intimately involved in the history of the word and letter in Russia. The iconic presence of the *kolokol* as a poetic 'image' in Russian literature is founded on both mundane and transcendent interpretations of the bell as a kind of reflective 'voice': while they were used simply to transmit messages between people, or to announce the arrival of the postal coach, they also represented Logos, the voice and 'Light' of God.

This intimate connection between bells, words and letters is further represented by the texts and images inscribed on their exterior surfaces. In Russia, bells were also sent as *belles-lettres* and, for this reason, they appear in such Romantic passages of literature as the hypnagogic 'delirium' scene (Book 8, Chapter 8) in Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*:

'What's the matter? Was I asleep? Yes... a bell... I've been asleep and dreamt I was driving over the snow with bells, and I dozed. I was with someone I loved, with you.'⁸⁰

The emotional and psychic intensity of the *Logos* becomes 'immensity in the intimate domain'⁸¹ in the poetic text, as Bachelard observed in *The Poetics of Space*. The poetry of the *kolokol*, which is presented in translation over the next sections of this dissertation,⁸² is essentially a personalisation of the *Logos*, an intensification of meaning that emerges as the immensity of the originary 'Word' is brought into direct contact with personal understanding in the personalised and intimate space of the poem. Furthering the already detailed synaesthetical implications of the *kolokol* as a 'singing icon', Bachelard also regarded the poetic *image* as the instantaneous 'spark' underlying all creative acts (whether painting, music-making or writing) that find their resonance in the human psyche:

For here the cultural past doesn't count. [...] One must be receptive, receptive to the image at the moment it appears: if there be a philosophy of poetry, it must appear and re-appear through a significant verse, in total adherence to an isolated image; to be exact, in the very ecstasy of the newness of the image. [...] Very often [it is in] reverberation [that we] find the real measure of the being of a poetic image. In this reverberation, the poetic image will have a sonority of being.⁸³

The Russian futurist writer Sergei Bobrov, whose work incorporated highly graphical elements and 'letter art', held similar ideas to Bachelard's, contending that poetic images, though mediated by words and letters, are drawn not written:

[The] center of the new lies in the fact that the analogous aspirations of both poem and drawing and the explanation of the poem by means of the drawing are realized not by literature, but by painterly means.⁸⁴

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the primacy of the *Logos* in Russia's creative outlook had been reversed. The original creative word was no longer considered to be the source and binding energy between all words, sounds and images. Instead, the avant-garde considered the sounds of words and their visual inscription to emerge from an original poetic *image*.

The unbreakable link between word, sound and image in Russian arts was forged in the emergence of 'Russian Style' through the medium of the book.⁸⁵ Though depicting real situations, illustrations were stylised, decorated and illustrated in the traditional manner of the folk *lubok*. The historical emergence of Russian arts from illustrated text makes Bakhtin's statement that 'all of culture is nothing more than a phenomenon of language'⁸⁶ more plausible.

This intimate relationship between the poetic image, word and sound is clearly articulated in many Russian works of music, including songs, opera, church music, and symphonic works. The relationship between (musical) sound and poetical texts and images is strongly exemplified in Rachmaninov's *Kolokola*, a setting of Edgar Allan Poe's 1846 poem 'The Bells' for orchestra and choir, the only major creative work in Russian culture to be entirely based upon an expression of 'psychic states' through the metaphor of bells. This work, an exemplary instance of poetic imagery forged of sound and word, belongs to a veritable poetic 'cult' that formed in Russia around Poe's work. It also forms a powerful metaphor for the history of the Golden, Silver, Bronze and Iron Ages of Russian poetry⁸⁷ more generally.

Poe wrote 'The Bells'⁸⁸ in New York, where the sounds of the bells are reported to have irritated him intensely.⁸⁹ In 'The Bells', the sonorities of various metal bells - gold, silver, bronze and, lastly, iron - symbolise various

psychic states and changes in the intensity of emotional experiences beginning with merriment and ending in agonised moaning. In a relentless tolling pulse, the bell appears to signal a gradual and fateful decline. There is a scandalous excess of metric rhyme in the poem that illustrates the 'manic' and ecstatic quality of pealing bells throughout.

'The Bells' has its ideological origins in the narration of a metallic creation myth by the Hellenic writer Hesiod, whose work was well known to Socrates and Plato. Plato borrowed Hesiod's metallic creation metaphor for the purposes of illustrating the 'royal lie':⁹⁰ Plato supposed that the power and stability of the entire state rested upon maintaining the falsehood that people, though capable of influencing their own destiny, were thrown or 'cast' into an initial social existence within which they were pre-destined to serve⁹¹ - that is, within a social hierarchy based upon birth into a caste of royal gold, aristocratic silver, or common brass or iron. Poe's bells thus speak not only of natural cycles and material decline, but also of social and psychic structure, the collective experience of humanity.

The profound poetic symbolism of Poe's work made an enormous impression on Russian symbolist poets as well as on French poets including Mallarmé, who also translated it.⁹² The poet Konstantin Balmont, who made the Russian translation of 'The Bells' used by Rachmaninov in his choral symphony *The Bells*, stated:

[Poe] is the first in significance and the first chronologically of poet-symbolists of the nineteenth century, discoursing in half-uttered, half-hinted tones of a siren or in the deep lustreless voice of a sibyl. [...] In his fairy tales he effects a new language airily rhythmic, nervously quivering, and choice. No artist is capable of conveying so forcefully and tersely the atmosphere of hallucination, premonition, super-natural fascination, the static landscape.⁹³

Valery Briusov, who also translated 'The Bells' into Russian, regarded 'the lyrics of Poe [as] one of the most marvelous phenomena of world literature'.⁹⁴ As Tamara Bogolepova discusses in her study of Russian Poe

translations entitled *A Cooperation of Souls*,⁹⁵ Briusov and Balmont approached the problem of representing the sonic intensity of Poe's work from different perspectives. A comparison of the translations by the two poets exposes the differences, particularly in the problem of 'translated' onomatopoeia, which is the form of word that most directly links the real with the symbolic and imaginary worlds.

Both Briusov and Balmont introduce new onomatopoeic phonemes related to bell sounds that 'translate' the rhyme and alliteration of the original. Balmont diverges from the literal meaning of the text to recreate the mood of the work and reinforce the sense of dramatic decline so central to the structure and form of the poem. At the same time he allows interpretative freedoms to emerge through the associations and metaphors made possible by the indirect relations of symbolic language. The licence taken is broad. Briusov shielded Poe from symbolistic re-interpretation, believing more than Balmont in the sanctity of literal meanings and the original intentions of the poet. Briusov stated that he sought to 'render not only their thoughts and feelings but also their style, all the words and expressions'.⁹⁶

Comparison of a small section of the complete poem clearly indicates the divergent approaches taken in the two respected translations of the work. In the 'silver section', Poe wrote:

While the stars, that oversprinkle
All the heavens, seem to twinkle
With a crystalline delight;
Keeping time, time, time,
In a sort of Runic rhyme,
To the tintinnabulation that so musically wells
From the bells, bells, bells, bells,
Bells, bells, bells—
From the jingling and the tinkling of the bells.

In the following literal translations (made by Bogolepova) back into English from the Russian versions of 'The Bells', it becomes clear that Balmont

changes the underlying narrative quite dramatically, but retains the meter and the all-important rhyme pattern (aabccddd). His reconstruction of the poem imparts a symbolistic and even mythical feel to the poem that is entirely in keeping with its Hesiodian origins. While both Balmont and Briusov recognise that some poetic elements would be lost in translation, Balmont tends towards a free, artistic response rather than a studied one:

O kak zvonko, zvonko, zvonko,
(Oh, how ringing, ringing, ringing)
Tochno zvuchnyi smekh rebenka
(Like the ringing of a child's laughter)
V Iasnom vozdukhe nochnom
(In the clear night air)
Govoriat oni o tom chto za dnami zabluzhden'ia
(They say that after days of delusion)
Nastupaet vozrozhden'e
(There comes a resurrection⁹⁷)
Chto vozmozhno naslazhden'e, naslazhden'e nezhnym snom.
(That enjoyment is possible, the enjoyment of a gentle dream)

For a non-Russian reader, this translation seems far too distant from the original meaning, and rather prosaic, yet the play with 'zh' and 'z' sounds (*zabluzhden'ia*, *vozrozhden'e*, *naslazhden'e*) and the clever 'mirroring' effect of the last line (*chto vozmozhno naslazhden'e, naslazhden'e nezhnym snom*) creates a highly atmospheric sonic metaphor for bells in the original Russian.

Balmont's use of phonemic illustration in the poem is intensified by a sustained regular rhyme pattern, internal alliterations of the letter 'Ж' (*zh* – like French *je*), which occurs in the onomatopoeic Russian word for 'buzz' (*zhuzhzhanie*), and repeated iterations of the phoneme 'ЗВ' (*zv*), from the Russian word for chime (*zvon*). The overall effect is to deliver the intense bell-sonority of the poem for the Russian reader while remaining faithful to the fundamental structure, mood and philosophical meanings of the original. In the process, literal meaning is subordinated to the influence of the

symbolic order, leaving a gap in the Russian reader's knowledge of the original.

This gap is partly filled in Briusov's translation, which attends more closely to Poe's literal intent. Balmont changes Poe's original stellar analogy of silver bells into an image of childlike laughter and sleep, the mood only distantly connected with the original through the childlike wonder of star-gazing. Briusov retains the image of stars by drawing an analogy between silver bells and sparks raining into the sky from a crystalline cosmic fire. Briusov's translation also shares the same quirky sense of language that words like 'oversprinkle' and 'tintinnabulation' lend to the original. The whole of Briusov's rendition is written in a folkloristic tone of Russian that preserves the dark fantastic feel of the work.

Onomatopoeia, the 'verbal sonic image' that defines the 'self-sustained' and 'primordial' language of bells, is treated in quite divergent ways by the two poets. While both introduce fricative phonemes (*zv* and *zh*), Briusov also plays with subtle intensities in the final syllable of each line: the end of each line is varied just like the variations of sonority and intensity heard in bell overtones. This shifting of weight is common in spoken Russian, where vowels are shortened depending upon their distance from the accented vowel. Playing with a gradation of rhyming intensity, Briusov contrasts the round open sound of *on* in *zvon* with the weight, hardness and softness, and sonic intensity of a spectrum of vowels – *am*, *om*, *on*, *em*, *ym*, *en*, *on*. Briusov successfully effects a vowelled transition from bright to gloomy that is a microcosm of the poem's overall tonality. Following is Bogolepova's literal translation of Briusov's version:

Vnemlesh zvonam, zvonam, zvonam

(You hear bells, bells, bells)

V l'distom vozdukhe nochnom

(In the icy air of night)

Pod zvezdistym nebosklonom

(Under the starry sky)

V svete tysiach iskr zazhzhennom

(In the light of a thousand sparks)
 Kristallicheskim ognem.
 (By a crystalline fire)
 S ritmom vernym, vernym, vernym,
 (With the rhythm right, right, right)
 Slovno strofy sag razmernym,
 (In the rhyme of sagas' strophes)
 S pereziakivaniem miagkim, s sonnym otzvukom vremen,
 (With a gentle tinkling-ringing, with a sleepy echo of times)
 Zvon, zvon, zvon, zvon, zvon, zvon, zvon,
 (Bells, bells, bells, bells, bells, bells, bells)
 Zvon, zvon, zvon.
 (Bells, bells, bells)

For an English speaker, Briusov's translation of the sound-symbolic and poetic 'image' of the bell seems truer to the literal meaning of the original. On the whole, the Russian reader is presented with a work that closely resembles the esoteric ideas of the original poem, while exoteric factors, like the rhymes and the sonority of words, are also faithfully constructed.

On the other hand, Balmont's poem is a deliberate departure from literal meaning, a work founded on the new inferences drawn from the symbolic framework of the original. Seeing the translation as a reconstruction, reflection, or sonic 'echo' of the original, Balmont nevertheless believed that this 'sonic reflection' sometimes magnifies the original iteration:

As a rule, an echo is more meagre than the sound itself. But sometimes in the mountains, in caves, or in arched castles, an echo may be seven times more beautiful and louder than the original sound. A reflection is a vague reproduction of a face. But if a mirror is of high quality and the lighting good enough, a beautiful face in a mirror may seem more beautiful than in real life. This happens sometimes, though rather rarely, with poetic translations. Still, an echo in the forest is one of the best forest charms.⁹⁸

The Russian 'Poe-cult' continued well into the Soviet period of Russian history, though the poet's popularity was diminished by Marxist critics who suspected him of representing bourgeois perspectives.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Poe's necromantic tales were highly regarded by Russia's Silver Age poets: his work of 1859 'The Devil in the Belfry' was published by Dostoevsky in his journal *Vremia (Time)* in 1861.¹⁰⁰ 'The Devil in the Belfry' influenced Russian writers well beyond the Silver Age. The work is a précis of Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita* with its temporal distortions (the clock strikes thirteen) and magical events instigated by a devil hiding in the belfries, a spectre in the form of a strange and mysterious foreigner whose foreign language is the first omen of diabolism afoot.

Poe's acute sense of sound and colour resonated with Russian synaesthetic sensibilities established in a cultural attachment to the iconic image exemplified by the visual/acoustical copula of bell and icon. Poe's writing broke taboos and, like many Russian writers, painters and musicians of the Silver Age, conjured up mystical fantasies familiar to Russians who had been steeped in the obscurantism of old beliefs. His sense of the macabre complemented Russian occultist propensities and the innate melancholia of Russian life.

The tolling of the bells is a movement of transgression akin to a descent into a Maelstrom, a pendulum swinging tortuously over a pit, a cat caught in behind a wall, or a letter gone astray. All of this rich meaning Poe carries in the sounds of his words. Jakobsen described the expressive potential of verbal sounds as the 'indispensable presence of a certain specific, ad hoc organisation of the verbal sound matter'.¹⁰¹ The sound of Poe's words forms a kind of poetic *glossolalia*, a subliminal language uttered in states of hypnotic trance, religious and occult incantations, a poetics of sound emerging from the 'primordial language' that Corbin has associated with the sign of the bell.

The Bell Motif in Russian Poetry¹⁰²

Through the Golden, Silver, Bronze and Iron ages of Russian poetry (a poetical and social history which closely follows the metaphorical 'decline' expressed in Poe's 'The Bells') all the cultural and symbolic meaning of the *kolokol* and its essentially metallic persona is reflected in a proliferation of poetic imagery. The spectre of the bell reflects the personal poetic 'visions' of Russia's poets and transports their personal 'letters' to one another.

- Golden Bells

The *kolokol* ranks along with natural phenomena such as snow, wind, lakes and rivers, and 'magical' places such as crossroads and churches, as the most oft-used of iconic images in Russian Golden Age poetry. The spectre of the bell has been used by each of the great Golden Age poets to reflect their own idiosyncratic personality and poetic vision. The Russian bell, capable of representing the most subtle of meanings, psychic states and internal reflections, attains the status of a personal poetic 'signature' for the poets of the Golden Age, including Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov and Fedor Tiutchev. As a symbol that is open to personal interpretation, the *kolokol* acts as a symbolic medium through which the personal style and creative 'vision' of each of these poets is freely articulated.

Alexander Pushkin exposes the complexity of Russian spirituality (double or triple faith) in his poetic devotions to Christianity as well as to old beliefs. He deploys a vast lexicon of words and expressions sourced from folk dialect, the language of children's fairytales and words derived from religious texts. It is a defensible claim that his style, though later influenced in form by Byron, is the first truly original voice in Russian poetry.

In 'Demons',¹⁰³ a poem written in 1830, the bell acts in its literal and traditional role as a coach bell sounding the approach of the wayfarer and protecting travellers from chimeras. The tone of the poem is folkloristic, eerie and menacing. An earlier poem in which bells play a prominent role,

'The Prophet', is a quasi-religious epiphanic poem based upon Isaiah VI verse 2 – 9, dated 8 September 1826: Pushkin actually wrote it before this date, but had taken to dating his poems according to important events in his life, in this case, a meeting with Nikolai I in which he was pardoned for declaring himself an atheist.¹⁰⁴

Pushkin saw poets as prophets¹⁰⁵ and, therefore, independent of the temporal order. Elements of *dvoeverie* are clearly evident in both poems. In contrast to the occult associations encountered in 'Demons', the sound of bells in 'The Prophet' is associated with the miraculous appearance of a Seraph representing the prophetic voice of divine *Logos*:

*Drained by a thirst-stricken spirit,
I dragged myself through baron desert,
Until a six-winged Seraphim
Appeared to me at the crossroad.
With fingers weightless as a dream,
He touched my eyes;
And like a startled eagle,
My future-seeing eyes opened.
Then he touched my ears,
And they filled with noise and chimes:
I beheld a shuddering sky,
The trumpeting flight of angels,
The amphibious creatures beneath ocean waters,
Vines vegetating in valleys.
He pressed to my mouth,
Tore out my sinful tongue;
With idle talk and craftiness,
He brought to my frozen mouth
With his bloodied right hand,
The lick of a wily snake.
With a sword he cut open my breast,
Removed my tremulous heart,
And filled my hollowed chest
With the fire of a burning coal.
A corpse in the desert I lay,*

*Until God's voice called out,
'Be upstanding, prophet, behold, attend,
Let my will be done!
Go forth o'er land and sea,
Let my Word
Ignite the hearts of all people'.*

These poems echo an earlier cycle of poems about the poet's dual role in the world as vagrant and visionary.¹⁰⁶

While Pushkin's poetry embodies the heroic and passionate aspects of the Romantic spirit, the poetry of Mikhail Lermontov dwells in the dark and more tragic side. Ivan Turgenev, a friend of Lermontov's, wrote of him in his memoirs: 'Grim and evil forces, premeditated contempt, and passion lurked in his tanned face and large dark eyes'.¹⁰⁷ Lermontov's prose style was an important influence on Nikolai Gogol, who shared Lermontov's feeling of social abandonment, disillusionment and cynicism. In a poem entitled, 'Song',¹⁰⁸ for example, the wedding bell is inverted, mourning unattainable love:

*A bell groans
A young girl weeps
The coursing tears keep time.
Unwilling,
Forced,
She is cloistered, separate from the world,
Life without hope, nights without sleep.*

In another, 'Song of a Melancholy Bell',¹⁰⁹ the bell imitates the beating of a forsaken heart as it tolls mournfully in eternal hope.

Fedor Tiutchev, the third in a triumvirate of Golden Age poets to establish a Russian 'bell-motif' tradition, did not consider himself a poet, and his work would have faded from notice in Russia (though not perhaps in Germany where he lived as a diplomat from 1822 to 1844) were it not for the symbolist Briusov's later admiration for his work. Tiutchev's important role in

establishing a veritable 'cult' of bells in Russian poetry (cemented by Poe) is evident in the fact that Blok and Pasternak saw themselves as proteges of Tiutchev, rather than Pushkin. Like the colouristic language of Poe's 'The Bells', Tiutchev's poems are often appeals to very polarised images of nature – melancholia/autumn, joy/spring - and complex ideas and images are contained within very concentrated and simple forms. The language he uses is not folkloristic or religious in tone, but philosophical, and occasionally mythological and reflective, with strong foundations in German philosophy and writing.

Tiutchev espouses a 'pantheistic sense of the identity of the human soul and world soul'.¹¹⁰ His poetry is the most European in flavour, and the most traditionally Romantic of Russian Golden Age poetry. The economy of his language is suggestive of the reserved atmosphere of *haiku*. The translation of his work poses particular problems because of its density and absolute economy of gesture. Briusov remarked that the marvelous beauty of his work in Russian seemed almost prosaic in English.¹¹¹ In his poem 'Spring Storm',¹¹² the bell articulates a conversation between earthly and heavenly forces (forests and thunder) in a cosmic interlocution recalling pagan rites. The bell is used as a sonic icon of spirit and voice in the natural world. In his poem 'Evening', the bell represents quite simply the voice of Mother Nature contained in leaves, birdcalls and the speech of wind moving through the landscape:

*Hush through the dell
Breathes a distant voice - a bell,
With the cry of flocking cranes,
Or the rustling a leaf contains.*

*Precipitous, yet taciturn,
Ocean Spring-tides ebb and turn,
Unwavering, the daytime light,
But shadows whisper in the night.*

Pushkin, Lermontov and Tiutchev established the *kolokol* firmly as a cultic icon in Russian poetry to represent the spirit of religion and belief, humanity,

and nature respectively. This created the foundation for the symbolists of the Silver Age to fully exploit the *symbolic* possibilities of the bell as a cultic sign inspired by the iconoclastic poetic vision of Poe.

- Silver Bells

While the artistic philosophies and visions of the symbolists and futurists from the late nineteenth century may to some extent be described in general terms, personal voices played a major role in the extraordinary momentum of poetic work during the few decades of the Silver Age in Russia. Though most poets of the Silver Age had no difficulty aligning themselves loosely with the symbolist or futurist agenda, the liveliness of each movement derived from the inner differences and conflicts of each faction.

Symbolists constantly sought to renew the vigour of their aesthetic argument, while futurists were openly divided and antagonistic towards one another's heresies. Within the broad streams of Silver Age poetry, there were as many styles as individual poets, and each used the bell-symbol in a highly personalised way as a medium for expressing quite different psychic states and poetic visions. What they do have in common is a predilection for the symbolic order, the metaphorical and the indirect: the style of language in Poe's work.

Alexander Blok's own ideas of the role of the poet are as 'prophetic' as Pushkin's. Emphasising the importance of internal harmony in poetry and its ability to harmonise the world, Blok wrote: 'world life consists of the never-ending creation of new species, new races. They are lulled by anarchic chaos; culture nurtures and selects among them; harmony imparts to them images and forms that dissolve again into the anarchic mist'.¹¹⁴ This statement indicates that Blok saw culture as a living force, not as a set of dogmatic or aesthetical rules to be formulated and followed. Seeing poetic life as an integrated musical composition of impressions, his poems often 'convey the flow of immediate impression, rarely structured by paradigmatic editing or deepened by reflection'.¹¹⁵ He also pioneered free 'stream of

consciousness' verse in a cool matter-of-fact style, and experimented with non-traditional meters.

The untitled poem by Blok below¹¹⁶ is an example of this impressionistic immediacy. The symbolist tendency towards the vague or indirect reference of symbolic relations is encountered in the ambiguity of 'half-seen' events, or inconclusive expressions, rather than in projection of obscure or uncanny images. In this poem, the bell again implies a voice, not this time the voice of nature, but the echo of an emotional state. Not unlike Poe's bells, the emotional state of the subject is reflected in his interpretation of the bell's reply, which also promises a return.

'Your face seems so familiar to me.'..

*Your face seems so familiar to me
Almost as though we'd lived together.
At home, on the street, out visiting,
I see your slight profile.
Your steps ring out after me,
Any place I could enter, you would be there.
Isn't it your quiet step that follows me at night?
Isn't it also you who slips past
Just as I glance through a doorway,
Airily, hidden from sight,
A dreamy apparition?
I wonder, is it you
In the middle of the burial ground,
Beside the thresher,
Sitting silent on the gravesite
In your light cotton scarf?
I approach – you sit,
I come towards you – you set off,
Down to the stream, and sing ...
To your voice
Bells responded in an evening peal..
And I cried. Timidly, I waited.
Then, your sweet voice grew quiet*

*Beneath the evening chime...
Another moment – but no answer,
A scarf shimmers by the river ...
In my grief, I know
We'll see each other again somewhere.*

The spiritual mentor of the Clarist Acmeists, Nikolai Gumilev, was attracted towards abstraction and the mystical imagery from which Blok had turned towards a more realist style. The style of Gumilev's work is difficult to categorise, since it evolved continually throughout his life, until his execution in August, 1921. Gumilev's never-fulfilled longing for exotic culture is reflected in many verses relating to African, Chinese, American and Scandinavian themes.¹¹⁷ Though not openly exotic, the following extract from his poem 'The Bell' ('Kolokol')¹¹⁸ is primitivistic - tribal and ritualised:

*The copper bell in its tower,
Roared a heavy roar,
Taming the caustic fire,
So a frantic people
Might conduct their celebrations
On the breast of a malformed body.*

*The chime speeds through smoky fields,
'Death' its chanted word,
Foxes hide down holes
Away from painful atrocities,
And the flight of terrified birds
Cuts through solidity.*

Here, the poetic style allows free reign to imagination, escapes the gravity of the rational concrete world, and conjures up otherworldly scenes and uncanny juxtapositions of ideas in a decadent attitude towards literal meaning. In this case, the bell is a haunting spectre with the power to safeguard or annihilate, like a natural deity that oversees a people living in ritual chaos.

Balmont, who participated directly in the Poe 'cult' through his translation of 'The Bells', was a prolific poet and a natural improviser whose refusal to 'work' his poems confirmed his reliance upon a naturally virtuosic sense of sound and image.¹¹⁹ His poetic themes often referred to nature and natural elements, religious themes centring on escape from earthly confines and revolutionary politics. His poem 'Banished Angels',¹²⁰ like Poe's 'The Bells', defies translation without significant alteration of meaning. This translation retains most of the literal meaning and the prevailing mood of the poem, but loses much of the sonority of the original Russian words:

*Banished Angels,
Beaming sorrowful,
Funereal flickers
Of melting candles -
Sadness healing,
Church bells pealing
Unwilling echoes
Reflective rays -
Awaking gazes
Soft, in love,
Smokily shrouded
Fine featured -
This my not brave
Airy white
Sweet anaesthesia
Weightless flowers.*

*Vague sensations
Virgin elations -
In passion dispassionate
Secrets and words -
The rustling of an approach
Joy in reflections
The slight sin of suggestion
Scarcely breathing -
Chilling and foreign,
Deceptive, foggy
Unexpected in bravery*

*Glow of the fire -
These dreams meet,
Those who notice them,
And again light up
As an echo for me.*

In Russian, this is a poem of half-tones, dreams and smoky outlines. The vague and dreamlike quality of the poem is simply and manifoldly reflected in the irrational and semi-translucent images of dreams. As in his alliterative treatment of 'The Bells', Balmont's rhyme scheme in this poem is structured as alternating repetitions of the bright/dark vowel sounds *i* and *a*, interrupted by a 'guttural' vowel ('*bl*'). The poem is all about light and dark, unified not so much by the meanings and implications of the words, but by an interval of a phonemic semitone. The highly refracted quality of conscious perception in the poem is apparently sourced in the sign of the bell as a kind of 'sonic prism'.

The poet Fedor Kuzmich Teternikov, who adopted the pseudonym Fedor Sologub, wrote the most ardent of pre-1905 revolutionary symbolist political poetry, even though he opposed the Bolshevik movement after 1917. Political themes were abandoned in his later work in favour of pantheistic themes reminiscent of Tjutchev. His poetry tended, like Lermontov's, towards darker sentiments, 'moods in a minor key, moods of futility and lassitude, of vague yearning'. Some of his poems hint at Blavatskian sympathies, a 'pessimistic Satanism' offered in 'silent and grateful contemplation'¹²¹ to the placid side of Mother Nature. Sologub's morbid interest in the occult culminates in his 1906 symbolist play *Triumph of Death*, based upon the legend of the birth of Charlemagne, in which a false Queen is put to death and a rightful Queen reinstated.

For Sologub, death is the only gateway to truth, and life a mere illusion. The play ends with the somewhat pessimistic statement, 'love and death are one'. In this excerpt, accompanied by a peal of church bells, the false queen Algista is exposed and killed by the King:

Algista: Here I stand alone, all life and death within me. Yours is the choice, Clodoveg, dearest lord and husband. The final moment draws near. Destiny will not wait. For the last time I say to you: follow me, go forward with me into life – for only with me is there life; and there, where you grow rigid, King, beneath the madness of your crown, beneath your robes of blood, is death. Take off your crown, follow me.

King: I shall not follow you. I am the King. Begone, madwoman.

The ringing of churchbells is heard outside.

Malgista: He stands before you, a cold stone among stones. Algista. Algista, my serpent-eyed daughter, with terrible words cast a spell upon him, condemn him to eternal stillness.¹²²

Sologub's poem 'Sobornyi Blagovest'¹²³ ('Cathedral Peal') is filled with the revolutionary sentiment of the 1905 rebellion, a clash between idealism and scepticism communicated through the symbolism of a pealing bell. The poem was written in November 1904, and published in a collection of poetry called *Motherland* in 1906. It was republished in a new collection named after the poem in 1922.¹²⁴ In verse three of the poem,¹²⁵ the bell becomes an instrument sensitive to change in the socio-political wind:

*Good news spreads through the crowd -
The great temple bell.
Their fearless tasks
Lift its solemn tongue.*

*The bell slept long in its tower,
Hanging like a malign apparition,
While, in an unwilling daze,
The world around lay dormant.*

*Though unfettered winds from distant storms
Had sometimes rushed in from far way,*

*They could never disturb its sad ruminations,
Its copper side just swayed.*

*Only sometimes, a feeble groan
Would issue from the melancholy copper,
But in apathetic vagueness,
It fell weak and dumb again.*

*But now the time has come, the prohibitions shattered,
The weight of ancient sleep is broken,
The free, triumphant chime accords
With the proudest of gusting winds.*

For Sologub, the bell addresses the people's conscience, not their faith. The style of this poem is not typically symbolist: it is a neo-Scythian and Populist social commentary that evokes the freedom and solidarity of Siberian community. The fatal bell calls the *narod* to a common purpose, the *veche* (village meeting) on a national scale.

The poetic vision of Boris Pasternak is the most enigmatic and idiosyncratic of all Silver Age poets, defying assignment to any particular school. He published two little-noticed collections of poetry under the futurist banner in 1914 and 1917. Though the poetry he wrote at the time had some characteristics in common with symbolist writing, and he is supposed to have admired Blok more than any other contemporary Russian poet, Pasternak wrote in a personal idiomatic style throughout his life.

Pasternak's language is simple, non-academic and unstylised. He often combines colloquial language with rare and eccentrically 'unpoetic' words.¹²⁶ He tends to allow the world to speak to him rather than speaking to the world, seeing poetic art as a record of the displacement of reality brought about by emotion or the unconscious mind. Many of Pasternak's own proclamations¹²⁷ indicate his separatism as an artist. Exhibiting ideas that departed from commonly held views on poetry at the time, he entered into perceptive yet eccentric realms of thinking.

In the poem 'Dream',¹²⁸ written in 1913 and revised in 1928, Pasternak draws surreal images from a spectral dreamscape. The atmosphere and the events of the dream, though threatening and nightmarish, are recounted in a matter-of-fact, almost blasé fashion, as though the speaker were still in semi-conscious confusion. The final image defies natural law, suggesting that the subject has lapsed back into unconsciousness:

*I dreamed of autumn in a half-lit window,
You, and friends, in a gang of clowns,
Then, like a falcon down from the sky, obtaining blood,
A heart descended into your hand.*

*Time went by. Time aged. Time deafened.
A light film silvers the frames,
From the garden, dawn bespattering the glass
In bloody September tears.*

*Time goes by. Time ages.
Like crushed ice, the armchair silk crackled and melted,
Suddenly, loud, you stumble, then go silent.
And the dream, like the repercussion of a bell, went silent.*

*I awoke - it was like autumn - to the darkness of the sunrise -
Retreating wind carried
A rain of straw behind the cart,
A row of birch trees rushing through the sky.*

In this poem, the decaying chime of a bell signals a deceptive transition from a dream state into the delirium of waking consciousness.

While the symbolist poets influenced the later Acmeist or Clarist movement, whose resonant and straightforward language can be called a 'Bronze Age' of Russian poetry, it was the futurists, with their invention of entirely new systems of language (*Zaum*), who influenced the style of the later socialist or 'Iron Age' poets, such as Mayakovsky. The futurist Velimir (Vladimir) Khlebnikov was a little-published poet during his lifetime, producing a mass of raw material that was sometimes edited by other futurist poets, mainly

David Burliuk. He was, however, an important figure in the core group of early Russian futurists centred around Nikolai Kulbin's Studio of Impressionists. His work includes surreal, cosmic and abstract sound poetry, as well as more conventional verse.¹²⁹ His poem 'Kolokol Uma'¹³⁰ (literally, 'Bell of the Mind') weaves natural language with *Zaum*, the trans-rational language he formulated with Aleksei Kruchenykh.

Khlebnikov saw *Zaum* as a kind of psychic Esperanto capable of transmitting universal ideas, regardless of language or dialect, through the molecular structure of language - phonemic sound. The verbal sound-images of bells deployed by Khlebnikov in his poem 'Bell of the Mind' represent a spectrum of consciousness, a veritable taxonomy of psychic states typical of Khlebnikov's obsession with glottogonic speculations about the cosmic connections of phonemic sound.^{131, 132} Khlebnikov was fascinated by the way in which phonemes could form prefixes or word particles which, in Russian, imply qualities of movement, position, psychic state, spatio-temporal or psychic relation, negation and shades of intensity. In the poem, a collection of prefixes is appended to the sound 'oom', which designates the Russian word *um* (meaning mind, psyche, reason, or intelligence) as well as the onomatopoeic booming of a bell.

The following schema contains the phonemes used as prefixes by Khlebnikov to imply certain psychic states in 'Bell of the Mind'. Rather than attempt to find equivalent sounds in English (a strategy which would not only destroy the pre-eminent texture and sound of the work but also fail to translate the subtle implications the phonemes contain), the Russian sounds have been transliterated, and a key to their meanings provided separately:

| <i>Russian Phoneme</i> | <i>Significance</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Vy</i> | <i>Creative mind</i> |
| <i>No</i> | <i>Psychic hostility</i> |
| <i>Go</i> | <i>High mindedness</i> |
| <i>La</i> | <i>Lateral thinking</i> |

| | |
|------------|--|
| <i>Ko</i> | <i>Peaceful contemplation</i> |
| <i>Gla</i> | <i>Overseeing wisdom</i> |
| <i>Che</i> | <i>Rumination on the unknown future</i> |
| <i>Mog</i> | <i>Destructive thoughts</i> |
| <i>Vz</i> | <i>Studious analysis</i> |
| <i>O</i> | <i>Abstract thinking</i> |
| <i>Iz</i> | <i>Extraordinary thinking</i> |
| <i>Da</i> | <i>Thought that confirms fact</i> |
| <i>No</i> | <i>Thought that questions fact</i> |
| <i>Su</i> | <i>Semi-rational / artistic thought</i> |
| <i>So</i> | <i>Collaborative thinking</i> |
| <i>Nu</i> | <i>Authoritative thinking</i> |
| <i>Kho</i> | <i>Secret thoughts</i> |
| <i>By</i> | <i>Will</i> |
| <i>Li</i> | <i>Contradiction</i> |
| <i>Pro</i> | <i>Prescience</i> |
| <i>Pra</i> | <i>Ancient memory</i> |
| <i>Bo</i> | <i>Experience</i> |
| <i>Vo</i> | <i>'The nail of the idea that is driven into the plank of stupidity'</i> |
| <i>Vy</i> | <i>'The wedding garland of stupidity'</i> |
| <i>Ra</i> | <i>Unknown limits</i> |
| <i>Zo</i> | <i>Reflection</i> |

This is not the only futurist poem to exploit the 'self-sustained' onomatopoeic (phonemic) language of bells. Though little known, the poet Konstantin Olimpov (né Konstantin Fofanov, 1880 – 1940) wrote a poem called 'Troika v troike' (literally, 'Three in a Three') quite similar to 'Kolokol Uma', but using the stems of the word *kolokol* and *troika* to create a similar sonic play.¹³³

Rather than delving into the intrinsic psychic quality of words as Khlebnikov did, the ego-futurist poet Igor-Severyanin (né Igor Vasilevich Lotarev, 1887 – 1942) explored the poetic meaning inherent in the self-image of his own psychic being. The opening lines to his autobiography in verse entitled *Kolokola Sobora Chustv*^{134 , 135} (literally, 'Bells in the Cathedral of Feelings') are a beautiful metaphor for the psyche as a cathedral. Memories are portrayed as the sounding of bells and iconic images that shine through the inner haziness and chill of the cathedral. A synaesthesia of sound and image comes to life as the poet pays ritual homage to his past loves:

*In a private cathedral, my senses reside,
Though passion has cooled, goodness and peace abide.
The colossal weight of godless profanity
Hangs over the head of all humanity.
Beneath the soft hum of bells,
Through a haze of fragrant smells,
By soft lamplight, in gentle illumination,
Shine the icons, of my deep veneration.*

This poem is written in a more conventional style than many of his other works, which are often artistic manifestos or declarations, poems expressing the supremacy of the individual ego, or experiments in neologistic and abstract poetry.¹³⁶ Although he had abandoned ego-futurism when he wrote this work in 1923, the existential ego-centricity of the autobiography remains.

- Bronze Bells

Out of the explosive creativity of the Silver Age emerged new poetic voices whose work adopted the clarity of Blok and the philosophical independence of Gumilev. It is usual to include only Nikolai Gumilev, Anna Akhmatova and Osip Mandel'shtam in the group of poets who became known as 'Acmeists'. While Marina Tsvetaeva is not normally associated with the Acemist movement, the simple beauty, resonant lyricism, barely constrained emotion, honesty and directness of her writing has much in common with

the Acmeist style. Even the life stories of the four poets, tragic without exception, form a psychological bond and personal history between them. With their poetry of simplicity and clarity, sonorous musicality and resonance, stripped of the creative and intellectual excesses of symbolism and futurism, the Silver Age led into a 'Bronze Age' of Russian poetry.

Like his fellow Acmeists, Osip Emilevich Mandel'shtam stood upon the power of the creative *Logos*, the 'hypostatisation of the word as a living organism'.¹³⁷ Though there is a somewhat pessimistic tone to many of his poems, a melancholia arising directly from his tragic life-history, an undercurrent common to his work and that of the other Acmeists is a subtle expression of Prometheanism: Acmeist poems celebrate the individual human, and humanity as a whole, as 'the maker of beautiful things, the builder of cathedrals, composer of musical harmonies, and creator of magical words, proudly [competing] with nature'.¹³⁸ Mandel'shtam's poetry weaves the threads of his own life history through the grand historic perspective of catastrophe and change in philosophical consciousness that he encountered during his lifetime:

[After 1917], Mandel'shtam was deeply aware of cultural discontinuities, but they did not limit his poetic vision. Rather he accepted and assimilated them as one aspect of what, in modern times, had been called the human condition. Catastrophes in nature now held the key to understanding catastrophes in history; the mineral [metallic] record of natural history became metaphorically identical with the poet's memory, anamnesis, but while the mineral record was merely shaped by time, a poet could give his human shape to the stream of history.¹³⁹

Though strongly affected by historical events, Mandel'shtam never wrote crudely of history, and regarded evolutionary ideas of historical and cultural progress as 'the crudest, most repugnant of schoolboy ignorance'.¹⁴⁰ Instead, he saw truth in the Bergsonian emphasis on historical connection and continuity over causality and progress. Mandel'shtam recognised that

what guaranteed cultural unity and continuity in Russian poetry was the inner unity and internal workings of the Russian language itself.¹⁴¹

In the spirit of their shared life-experience, poetic vision and friendship, the Acmeists did address poems to one another, almost as though they were their only mutual allies in the world. In their work, the letter becomes a binding force between people, though the poet is placed in the insane position of addressing others while feeling and acting like a social refugee. Though the poet may seem like a 'mad man whose speech is addressed to inanimate objects',¹⁴² Mandel'shtam's poems are addressed to his friends, even though they may be absent. Recalling the 'messaging' role of bells, Mandel'shtam's variation on the theme of Poe's 'The Purloined Letter' forms an unofficial Acmeist literary manifesto that is also incidentally descriptive of the literary functions of bell inscriptions:

Every man has his friends. Why shouldn't the poet turn to his friends, turn to those who are naturally close to him? At the critical moment, the seafarer tosses into the ocean waves a bottle containing a message: his name and the details of his fate. Wandering along the dunes many years later, I happen upon it in the sand. I read the message, recognize the date of the event, the last will and testament of someone who has passed on. I have the right to do so. I haven't opened someone else's mail. The message in the bottle was addressed to its finder. I found it. Hence, I have become its secret addressee.¹⁴³

In his poem, 'The Shell'¹⁴⁴ ('Rakovina'), Mandel'shtam repeats many of these ideas in prosaic metaphor. As a shell cast onto the banks of (night) time, he portrays himself as a brittle vessel that nevertheless contains all the sound, movement and vitality of nature:

*Perhaps, night-time, you have no need
For me; a shell without a pearl,
Flying out of the world's abyss
Thrown onto your shores.*

*Ambivalent, you froth the waves,
Sing your contradictions,
But one day, you will love, cherish,
My superfluous shell-like lies.*

*You lie with her, side by side on the sand,
You slip into robes,
You will forever associate her,
With the ripples of a giant bell,*

*Her brittle shell walls,
Like the home of an uninhabited heart,
Is filled with whispering foam,
Wind, rain, and brume...*

The poem is marked by a tone of melancholy optimism, a fundamental return to the veneration of the iconic in nature, and a deliberate sense of the underlying simplicity of complex ideas and experiences. The 'letter' appears as an unremitting conversation between the human 'shell' and night-time (historical time), which is compared to the creaking of a giant bell. In another poem, 'Freedom',¹⁴⁵ human spirit is characterised as raw womanhood rather than refined femininity. The free spirited woman is alerted by the sound of the *tocsin* to her calling, her vital role in raising a strong humanity.

While Mandel'shtam related the cosmic and natural environment to human nature, Anna Akhmatova was an urban poet whose poems often refer to the city, the interaction of civilisation and nature, architectural structures and domestic environments. Her earliest poems are purely lyrical expressions of 'mood, synchronized with a concrete setting',¹⁴⁶ exhibiting a taste for the urbane objects of *art nouveau* - Pierrots, masks, Chinoiserie, chrysanthemums.

Her poems, at first prosaic and ironic, later became distinctly tragic, desolate and despairing. While every major Russian poet wrote at least one poem

featuring bells, Akhmatova, like Tsvetaeva, wrote large-scale poems in which bells play a very specific role as 'sonic copulas' set in the structures of civilisation, and as symbols of spirit and the 'divine feminine'. The thematic repetition of bells and cupolas in both women's poetry is not simply representative of architectural aspects of Moscow's and St. Petersburg's urban environment: these enclosures signify the femininity of the womb brought to the centre of church patriarchy and the devotional text.¹⁴⁷

A 'metallic' legend encircles Akhmatova's entire biography. The central tale of her life surrounds a 'mourning ring' given to her by her grandmother, to which she attributed magical powers. For Akhmatova, the ring made of gold, covered in a central ring of black enamel and studded with a small diamond, symbolised hidden light shining through psychic darkness, the figurative hope in a cloud's silver lining. Akhmatova saw the ring as an allegory of her life as she waited for the return of the secret betrothed she refers to in her 1917 poem 'The Legend of the Black Ring'.^{148 , 149}

In addition to many early poems in which she introduces bells metaphorically as a fateful annunciation,¹⁵⁰ Akhmatova wrote two longer poems during the 1940s that refer explicitly to the bells of Kitezh. In these poems, the bells signify hope that Russia will be freed from suffering. Rather than writing a straight-forward panegyric to Kitezh, she admits her serious disillusionment with the promise of resurrection in the poem 'The Way of All the Earth'.^{151 , 152}

*In the direct path of a bullet,
Casting aside cares,
By Januarys and Julys
I shall make my way through years...
None shall see my wound,
None shall hear my cry,
I, villager of Kitezh,
Am called back home.*

For her, this promise has come at the cost of all worldly happiness, including the loss of her only son, which comes at the end of the poem 'My curly-haired boy, safe asleep' with the cataclysmic burning down of her house.¹⁵³ The simplicity and succinct beauty of her earlier Acmeist poems gives way to a much more narrative, almost neo-Classical style in these later works. Her late poems reflect a degree of abject despair and disillusionment not yet reached in the earlier works.

In a poetic eulogy written in 1940,¹⁵⁴ Akhmatova contemplated her own death. Rather than return to haunt the world through the voices of bells and the natural world that occupied her life and poetry, she promises to let go of life completely:

*Listen, for I am warning you,
This is the last time I will live.
I will not return as a swallow or maple tree,
A reed or star
As spring water -
Nor as the tolling of bells,
Will I trouble the people
Or disturb the dreams of strangers
With inconsolable mourning.*

The Russian Poe 'cult' and the thematic use of the *kolokol* as an icon and symbol in Russian poetic expression reaches its apex in the work of Marina Tsvetaeva. Tsvetaeva has been described as an 'expressionist who works with the extremes of the human condition'.¹⁵⁵ The greatness of her poetry lies in the spontaneous ease with which her expressiveness ranges across a vast territory of human experience, including some of the most beautiful love poetry ever written in the Russian language.

Tsvetaeva's poetry is the journal of a tragic life; her mother died of tuberculosis when she was young, her youngest daughter died of malnutrition, she lived in constant destitution as an émigré, and she suffered several agonised amorous involvements. After her return to Russia, her son

became a political prisoner, her husband was executed, and she hanged herself after being evacuated to the Tartar republic in 1941.

As though she were subject to a constant sense of intense urgency, Tsvetaeva wrote spontaneously. Her work emerged through a kind of transcendental immediacy. Her poetry is not so much a stream as a torrent of consciousness: 'Her central demand of poetry: To let the ear hear, the hand race (and when it doesn't race – to stop)'.¹⁵⁶ Her writing is fluid, yet the intensity of the current suggests a bursting dam. In her own article 'Art in the Light of Conscience', Tsvetaeva seemed to be looking for a personal response to the question, 'what is poetry?' Her response was categorical: 'What is the difference then between a product of art and a product of nature, between a poem and a tree? There is none'.¹⁵⁷

For Tsvetaeva, poetry is a 'visitation of the elemental',¹⁵⁸ a way of learning made possible by finding a question opposing any answer, an expression, rather than a means of, personal transcendence. Tsvetaeva saw the poem as a form of prayer, but an incantation of spirit and nature rather than a purely religious manifestation: 'In relation to the spiritual world, art is a sort of physical world of the spiritual. In relation to the physical world, art is a sort of spiritual world of the physical'.¹⁵⁹ The poet, says Tsvetaeva, is 'the reverse of a chess-player. Not only does he not see the pieces and the board, he doesn't even see his own hand – which perhaps is not there'.¹⁶⁰ The poetic strategy is always worked out before anything has actually happened; the answers are found before the question is asked.

Tsvetaeva's 'Poems About Moscow', dedicated to Mandel'shtam, is one of a significant collection of bell-themed poems she composed. It is constructed like a cathedral in which bells symbolise feminine creativity, evoking the 'divine feminine' central to Russian poetics and philosophy since the pagan adoration of Mokosh. Like Poe's 'The Bells', the poem is a virtuosic work of allegory. It is simultaneously a love letter, a diary, an iconic Moscow land/soundscape and a political statement against imperialism amalgamated in the poetic harmony of a quite simple and beautiful poem.

Since this is the most bell-laden of all Russian poems, the especially iconic references to the belled city of Moscow in verses one, two, five, six and seven are presented here in their complete form. These translations balance literal meanings with Pasternak's advice to translators: to work only in language which is 'his own in ordinary life', and to avoid any literary pretences of stylisation.¹⁶¹

Poems about Moscow¹⁶² [1916]

1

*Clouds – around us,
Cupolas – surround us.
Over all of Moscow
How many hands!
I will raise you up,
My favoured burden,
As effortlessly as a sapling!*

*City of peace,
City of spectacles
I will be happy here,
Even in death,
Whether reigning above or grieving over you,
You, my first-born,
Inherit the crown!*

*When you fast at Lent,
Don't blacken your brow,
But honour all forty of forty cathedrals
Go out on foot, with youthful steps!
Rove the seven hills.*

*One day, your turn will come,
And your daughter's
To hand over Moscow,
With just a faint hint of sadness.
For me there's freedom in dreams and the peal of bells,*

*And early dawns
At Vagankov cemetery.*

2

*This is no hand-built city,
So take it from my hands,
My strange, magnificent brother.*

*All forty of forty churches,
And the pigeons soaring above;*

*And the Spasskie - flowered - gates
Where Old Believers doff their hats;*

*Take refuge from evil in a stellar chapel,
Where the floors are worn with kisses.*

*Take my ring of five incomparable cathedrals,
My ancient-spirited friend.*

*And I will lead my exotic guest,
Into the garden of indeliberate joy.*

*Rose cupolas burst into light,
Sleepless bells thunder,*

*To you, the Virgin lets fall her veil,
From purpled clouds above.*

*And you will rise, filled with divine powers,
And regret not that you loved me.*

5

*Above Peter's rejected city,
The rolling thunder of bells.*

*Crashing waves topple,
The woman you spurned.*

*Praise be to Great Peter, and you, my King!
But higher even than you, oh Tsar, are bells.*

*While they rattle in her blue skies,
Moscow will lead unopposed.*

*And all the churches, all forty of forty laugh
At the haughtiness of the Tsar!*

6

*The drizzle of bells moistens groves
Around the blue outskirts of Moscow.
Blind men shuffle along the track to Kaluga -*

*Kaluga – songful – wonderous,
Cleanses and washes away the names
Of humble wanderers, singing of God through the dark.*

*And I wonder: some time even I will tire,
Of you, my enemies, and you, my friends,
And the deference of our Russian speech.*

*With a silver cross will I adorn my breast,
Cross myself and set out on my way
By road, the old road, the Kaluga way.*

7

*There are seven hills – like seven bells!
And bell-towers for all seven bells.
All counted – all forty of forty,
All belled seven hills.*

*On the crimson bell-ringing day
Of John the Evangelist, I was born,*

*In a gingerbread house and all around
A hedge, and the golden heads of cathedrals.*

*And I loved, I loved the very first peal,
As the nuns went off to matins,
Hot summer dreams and the howling stove,
And the sorceress next door.*

*Now take me all of you, you Moscow mob,
Holy fools, thieves, flagellants!
Priest, fill up my mouth,
With Moscow's ringing earth!*

'The Red Spray',¹⁶³ a poem written by Tsvetaeva in the same year, 1916, is like a *haiku* version of the seventh verse of 'Poems about Moscow'.

Tsvetaeva's 'Poems for Akhmatova'¹⁶⁴ are declarations of love that share in Mandel'shtam's Acmeist conception of the poem as a letter or testament. In these poems, she offers her heart to Akhmatova in the form of all the bells in Moscow. Moscow, through Tsvetaeva, responds to Akhmatova's St. Petersburg in a dialogue of bells:

Poems for Akhmatova

1

*Lamentatious muse, most wonderful muse of all,
Lunatic offspring of white night,
You have sent a squall of black snow over Rus',
Your wailing pierces, like arrows in flight.*

*The rest of us are recoiling, and deaf – Ach! –
Akhmatova - allegiances to you are legion!
Akhmatova – that name is a vast sigh,
That falls into a nameless abyss.*

That we share the same ground, under the same sky,

*That is our coronation,
And whoever is wounded by your deathly fate,
Will go already immortal to his death-bed.*

*In my singing city, the cupolas burn,
Blind wanderers celebrate the Saviour,
Now I present it to you, my bell-laden town,
A gift from my heart, Anna Akhmatova.*

Tsvetaeva was capable of investigating all shades of an emotional state, especially on the theme of love. Another of her love poems, 'Wintertime',¹⁶⁵ is a lugubrious and melancholy portrait of haunted love, in which the distant sound of bells signifies the emotional distance between two people, and the internal distancing of self from the trials and failures in one's own life history. Tsvetaeva's poetry is a diary of her own life, a medium for communication between herself and her fellow Russian poets of the 'Bronze Age', a personalised sonic dialogue between the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and a poetic expression of the cultural history of Russia embodied in the 'Word' and the iconic *kolokol*.

The aesthetic world of Tsvetaeva, Mandel'shtam and Akhmatova, poetry written in resonant, lyrical, clear and emotional language, was countered by the poetic visions of the 'Iron Age' poets, whose work reflected a different reality: the rational, machinic modernity of socialist realism, and a turn away from the mysticism, spiritualism and vagueness of symbolism towards an entirely materialist mode of expression consonant with the political ideology of the state in early twentieth century Russia.

- Iron Bells

A new industrialised 'Iron Age' transformed Western European nations during the middle of the eighteenth century from agricultural societies into industrial powers, gaining momentum in Russia only after the fall of the imperial system and the reorganisation of Russia according to the Soviet Socialist agenda.

It is a commonplace of [Western] cultural mythology to view the second half of the nineteenth century as an 'iron age'. Urbanisation, railroads, the rise of banking and commerce, positivism in science and philosophy, and naturalism in art are the main features of this image [...].¹⁶⁶

The relative importance of gold, bronze, or iron to the development of the Russian nation depended upon the prevailing social stratagem and economic system of the era. The symbiosis of metal and human defined an interactive history. Bronze was the most strategically important metal during the pre-Romanov era when canons were at the cutting edge of the arms race. During the Romanov dynasty, gold, silver and precious gems reflected a dazzling accumulation of wealth concentrated in the ruling class. The material analogue to the Bolshevik maximisation of industry was iron.

Both Mandel'shtam and Blok foreshadowed in somewhat sinister tones a ferrous age, a steeled, tempered and even magnetic twentieth century repetition of the nineteenth century industrial age. In a poem named 'Retribution' (1920- 21),¹⁶⁷ Alexander Blok wrote:

*The nineteenth century, an iron age,
Veritably a cruel century!
Helpless man, thrown by you
Into the darkness, starless!
Into a night of speculative matters,
Of weak complaints and curses,
Of bloodless souls and weak bodies!
Plague was replaced
By neurasthenia, boredom, and spleen,
An age of hitting heads against the wall,
Of economic doctrines,
Congresses, banks, federations,
After-dinner speeches, fine words,
An Age of shares, rents, and obligations
And too few practical minds.*

*The twentieth century is even more homeless,
Even more frightful, than life's darkness
(Still blacker and more massive
Is the shadow of Lucifer's wing).*

Mandel'shtam made this idea even more explicit in 'Kontsert na Vokzale' ('Concert at the Station'),¹⁶⁸ a poem written in 1921:

*I can't breathe, the firmament swarms with worms,
And not a single star speaks out.
And it seems to me: in all its music and froth,
The iron world trembles like a beggar.
I am held back by a glass canopy...
Where are you going? At the funeral feast of the dear shadow
The music plays for us one last time.*

Soviet industrial society reached its epitome in the construction of the purpose-built industrial city and model society of Stalinist civilisation. The most famous of these cities is Magnitogorsk, a city built on a magnetic mountain of iron. Aside from the obvious bonus of full employment, the citizens of Magnitogorsk were assured education, social services and entertainment, including a circus. Magnitogorsk, a monument to the iron personality cult of Stalin that both attracted and repelled foreign thinkers, was compared by the Soviet scholar Volgin to Tommaso Campanella's (1568-1639) utopian 'City of the Sun'.¹⁶⁹

A flood of poetry and literature on iron themes poured from writers after the Revolution – 'We Grow out of Iron' (Alekssei Gastev, 1918), 'Iron Messiah' (Vladimir Krilov, 1918), 'How the Steel was Tempered' (Nikolai Ostrovsky, 1934).¹⁷⁰ An example of these 'iron poems' is the 1924 requiem for Lenin, 'Vladimir Ilyich Lenin', by the leading socialist realist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930).

With the exception of Marina Tsvetaeva who wrote poems in his honour, Mayakovsky was hated and denounced by émigré poets for his support of the Soviet cause despite his never having joined the Communist Party.

During the years between the Revolution and his suicide in 1930, he was considered by many Russians to be a people's poet, a poet who represented the spirit of the Revolution, the workers and peasants rather than bureaucrats and party officials. In every respect, from his personal image to his writing and recitation style, he spoke directly to the people. His themes almost always carry a social message. They include utilitarian poetry for the education of people on matters ranging from personal hygiene to alcoholism, antireligious propaganda and social observations drawn from everyday life.¹⁷¹

Mayakovsky's poetry feels like it is itself constructed of iron. In his eulogy to Lenin, 'Vladimir Ilyich Lenin' (1924),¹⁷² subtlety and implication give way to direct statement. The words seem as though they are welded together. They never float around in free relation to one another. Poetic devices are used with a precision, decisiveness and an effective clarity rarely encountered in propaganda poetry, even though the surreal feeling of his futurist years is never entirely absent from his work. In poetic technique, Mayakovsky sets himself clearly apart from obscurantism and mysticism in his preference for colloquialism, argot and dialect. In his article 'How to Make Verse',¹⁷³ , ¹⁷⁴ he reveals an iconoclastic temperament and, without suggesting any kind of formulaic approach, a desire to do away with overindulgent mystification in Russian poetry.

The treatment of bells in Mayakovsky's poetry is iconoclastic rather than sentimental. Bells appear as destroyed symbols of religion in his poem 'Jubilee', a (revolutionary) celebration 'called not by bells'. In another of his poems, *Praying to God*,¹⁷⁵ Mayakovsky pokes fun at religion through the story of a pious woman's sexual infidelity. The bells, tongueless and dumb (*Kolokola bez iazykov – nemye slovno*), represent the silencing of religion and the tongue-tied arguments over religion held amongst Bolshevik ideologues at the time.

Mayakovsky is Russia's foremost 'war poet'. His poem 'Mother and the Evening Killed by the Germans'¹⁷⁶ is a panicked, maniacal scene of wartime

death and destruction witnessed, recorded and reported by letters,
newspapers and bells:

*On black streets the figures of white mothers
spread out like tombstones.*

*They cried their tears into those who roared of the defeated enemy:
"Ah, cover, cover the eyes of newspapers!"*

The letter.

Mother, louder!

Smoke.

Smoke

Smoke still!

Why, mother, are you mumbling so quietly?

You see -

the air all paved

with the stone roaring with bombs

Mo-o-o-ther!

They have just dragged the wounded evening here.

[...]

And the evening cries,

legless

armless:

"It's not true,

I can still dance!

Beat mazurka with my feet,

jingle it with my spurs -

twirl up my flaxen moustache!"

The bell.

Mother,

what is it?

White, white, like a tombstone.

"It's about him,

*telegram with news,
he's dead.
Ah, cover,
cover the eyes of newspapers!"*

In the end, as Poe's poem of bells foretells, the voice of the Iron Age of Russian poetry started to corrode, leaving a stone in the heart of the Russian people:

*And who tolling, tolling, tolling,
In that muffled monotone,
Feel a glory in so rolling
On the human heart a stone—*

Russian poetry struggled with a suicidal tendency initiated by Pushkin and Lermontov, who both died in reckless duels. In 1930, five years after the suicide of the young poet Sergei Esenin, Mayakovsky shocked the Soviet literary world (and Stalin himself) by committing suicide. Roman Jakobson described Mayakovsky's suicide merely as the 'physical consummation of a motif that runs like a golden thread throughout his poetic texts'.¹⁷⁷ The suicides of Mayakovsky and Esenin were even transacted through a series of written accounts. Esenin wrote in his suicide note, 'There's nothing new in dying now, though living is no newer'.¹⁷⁸ Mayakovsky replied in his 1926 poem *To Sergei Esenin*: 'In this life, it's not difficult to die – to live life is considerably harder'.¹⁷⁹

Mayakovsky wrote in his own suicide note, 'Don't think I'm a coward. Seriously, it could not be helped'.¹⁸⁰ Surprisingly for a poet who had distanced himself from any Romantic notion of suicidal death up until 1931, when he wrote this poem acknowledging the fatal engagement of poets with the power of words, Pasternak also attempted suicide in 1932:

'Oh, had I known the way of things.'¹⁸¹

Oh, had I known the way of things

*When I embarked on my début,
Those blood-spurting lines of verse can kill,
Choke to death and flood the throat.*

*All jokes with such an undertone
Would have been renounced outright.
My beginnings were so long ago,
My first commitment was so slight.*

*Yet growing age, like ancient Rome,
In place of childish tricks and jests
Requires no read-through of the role
But wants the player done to death.*

*When passion high dictates the lines,
It sends a slave out on the stage.
And then, as art comes to an end,
We feel the breath of soil and fate.*

Tsvetaeva also ended her life, in 1941. Despite the depraved deaths of a generation of poets that Jakobsen said had been 'squandered'¹⁸² in Russia, the bell motif continued to resonate through the poetry of the late Soviet era, including that of the émigré writer Vladimir Nabokov. One of Nabokov's early untitled poems¹⁸³ is imbued with spectral themes (of rainbows and bells) that are reflective of his creative personality: he was a synaesthete who reported that he could hear 'rich colours in letters and sounds'¹⁸⁴ and who, in his poem 'Upon the Death of A. Blok', published in 1921, called Pushkin 'a rainbow over the entire earth' (*raduga po vsei zemle*):¹⁸⁵

*With bell-peals and rainbow dew,
The little cupola is bordered...
Drip timely, drip purely,
Silvery chime-tones...*

*Forgetting no-one,
Wash out the living pearl...
Waxen candles weep*

Smoky pigeon-blue...

Bright iconic eyes

Fortunate as I

Since the baby church

Sings on the hill...

And above her, irreproachable,

One small cloud, bent in on itself,

Sails east, just like

A moist white petal...

This poem, reminiscent of Balmont's 'Banished Angels', intensifies the poetic sensation of light and dark that is a feature of Russian poetry employing the *kolokol*-motif to define a language of primordial psychic states: terror, melancholy, mystery, alarm, freedom and joy. The symbol of the *kolokol* (deployed by every major Russian poet as a medium for the communication of personal poetic vision) is associated here with the ultimate 'spectral' icon, the rainbow (*raduga*).

The spectral rainbow is variously interpreted in human culture as the bow of the God of thunder and lightning (Hindu), the path into heaven (Greek and Norse mythology), a covenant between humanity and God (Hebrew) and as an international sign of peace and understanding.¹⁸⁶ In Nabokov's poem, the *kolokol* and *Logos* finally point to divine promise – the augmentation of faith with a sign of hope for the future of humanity – and to the spiritual 'unity-of-all' implied in the spectral refraction of light.

Bells in Russian Art and Folk Music

In Russian poetry, the bell is a verbal motif, an icon and symbol framed in the poetic text. In Russian art and folk music, the bell is far more than a motif. It is one of the primary sources of sonic material that Russian composers have claimed as a native aspect of their musical language. The influence of folk music and Orthodox sacred music in the formation of a

peculiarly Russian melodic and rhythmic musical idiom is well known. Bell music, church music and folk music developed along interdependent lines of mutual definition. Nevertheless, the powerful influence of the *kolokol* is sometimes overlooked in analyses of Russian art music.

The music of bells is represented in Russian music so frequently and with such variety that instances of bell-motifs in the form of bell-like ornamental gestures, metallic timbres, sonorities and harmonic languages that imitate the spectrality and spatiality (the 'sonic image') of bells may be found in every genre of Russian music including piano music, symphonic music, chamber music and opera.

"Bells yet again", Rimsky-Korsakov remarked after hearing *Boris Godunov* (1869), in which bells play as significant a role in the dramatisation of Russian life and history as they would do in his own opera *The Maid of Pskov* (*Pskovitianka*, also called *Ivan the Terrible*), composed in 1872.¹⁸⁷ While the bell is a ubiquitous force in Russian musical art, it is possible to contain the scope of this study to a definition of the primary modes of representation used to transpose the bell's own musical language into the language of Russian art and folk music.

The influences of the *kolokol* on Russian folk and art music may be categorised into those influences which are literal or iconic, and those that are abstract, figurative, mimetic, or symbolic. The most literal representations of bells come in the form of dramatic scenes, poems and narratives which refer literally to the bell as an object of culture. The most important of these works include bell scenes in Russian opera and folk songs on the theme of bells. The supreme work in this category of compositions is Rachmaninov's 1913 tone poem, *Kolokola*, a setting of Balmont's translation of Poe's 'The Bells'.

The second category of bell-representations in Russian art and folk music, which is based upon imitation of the abstract sound qualities of bells and bell music, requires more granular definition. This 'subliminal' influence of bells on musical composition encompasses:

- (i) Ornamental figures that imitate the ornamental figures of *zvon*;
- (ii) Musical textures that imitate the complex texture of *zvon*;
- (iii) Scalar rhythmic figures and tolling pedals that imitate those of *zvon*;
- (iv) Timbres and sonorities that imitate the sound of the *kolokol*; and
- (v) Chromatic and ambiguous harmonic language that imitates the harmonic ambiguity of bell tonality, especially chromatic 'clusters' and the sonority of the tritone.

The most literal of all appearances of the bell in Russian music is naturally Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*, nowadays heard at many a rapidly triumphal moment, which goes as far as to demand a peal of real church-bells and real cannons to render the finale one of the most hair-raisingly bombastic in history. Starting from this *actual* presence of the bell in a musical score, it is possible to describe a gradation of works that present the bell in a more or less literal sense. Rachmaninov transposes the literal presence of the bell into the poetic text. The final bars of Igor Stravinsky's *Les Noces* (1923) and in the postlude to his *Requiem Canticles* (1966) are instances where bell sounds refer to the literal role of the *kolokol* in religious ritual and ceremony. This treatment of bells belongs to a tradition of bell-scenes in Russian opera, such as those in *Boris Godunov* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitianka*, in which bell sounds are used to recreate a scene in which the *kolokol* would traditionally play a part.

This use of bell-like timbre, textures and sonority may sometimes form the musical basis for an entire work, as is the case in the magical second movement of Scriabin's Piano Concerto in F# Minor, Op. 20. In this movement, scalar patterns and trills in the bright higher register and chordal tolling figures in the bass, transform the piano into a carillon playing above a church chorale on strings ornamented by woodwind. Bell-like sonorities, textures and ornamental gestures are a constant feature of Russian piano music, particularly in the piano works of Rachmaninov and Scriabin. Obvious and obtuse relations between bell music and folk music are also evident in

songs about bells and in the use of folk melody as musical material in improvised *zvon*.

A further inventory of the many instances of sound sources and references in Russian music derived from bells would be voluminous, and would do little more than illustrate a superficial relocation of bells from church music to art music. Deeper, more oblique resonances may be found when considering the development of Russian art and folk music as a whole. The influence of the *kolokol* is more than just an imprint on musical surfaces: it is a kernel influence on the development of Russian music generally.

For a musician to enter Russian musical life is to encounter a new orientation towards music. The most consistent traits of all Russian musical genres are: (i) a strong sense of relationship between the musical work and its social, cultural and historical context arising from the relatively self-conscious and short history of Russian art music, (ii) an emphasis on Romantic *espressivo* melody arising from the central importance of chant and heterophonous folk music in Russian culture and (iii) an obsession with musical sonority and colour, another ramification of a 'theology of colours'.

This last factor is evident in the trademark technique of the Russian school of pianism. The greatest exponents (including Maria Yudina, Sviatoslav Richter, Vladimir Horowitz, Alexander Goldenweiser, Samuil Feinberg, Vladimir Sofronitsky, Lazar Berman, Heinrich Gustavovich Neuhaus, and recently Yevgeny Kissin) are capable of producing a great range of sonorities from the keyboard using various modes of attack and force articulated using fingers, hands, wrists, forearms and the full weight of the upper body delivered from the shoulders. Russian pianists articulate the resonance *within* each note, especially in the melody line, through a direct somatic contact with the instrument, in the manner described by Barthes in 'The Grain of the Voice':

What is more, leaving aside the voice, the 'grain' – or the lack of it – persists in instrumental music; if the latter no longer has language to lay open *signifiante* in all its volume, at least

there is the performer's body which again forces me to evaluation. I shall not judge a performance according to the rules of interpretation, the constraints of style [...], but according to the image of the body (the figure) given me. [...] As for piano music, I know at once which part of the body is playing – if it is the arm, [...] or if on the contrary it is the only erotic part of a pianist's body, the pad of the fingers whose 'grain' is so rarely heard [...].¹⁸⁸

In *Defining Russian Musically*,¹⁸⁹ the musicologist Richard Taruskin delves deeper into the hermeneutics of Russian music than has been customary. Many other musicological studies of Russian music offer endlessly barren analyses of abstract musical notation, naive generalisations about the 'otherness' (*vnenakhodimost'*¹⁹⁰) of Russian music, or worse, presumptuous criticism of composers whose work is still poorly understood in the West.

As he savages the banalities often applied to investigations of Russian music by Western commentators (most grievous of all, marginalisation of the extra-musical in Scriabin's music, and over-determination of the dissident protest and political programmatic element in Shostakovich's music), Taruskin presents a compelling account of the development of art music in Russia, which rings true with anyone who has encountered Russian musical life first hand. Though Taruskin makes an in-depth analysis of the melodic characteristic of Russian art music in relation to folk song models, the influence of bells is not investigated. The bell will now be 'written into' his account of a musical definition of Russian culture.

Russian folk music is certainly the foremost source of natively Russian musical ideas in the earliest works of Russian national art music. The melodic character of Nikolai Alexandrovich Lvov's (1751 – 1803) work is derived from a variety of folk music forms. The almost symbiotic relationship between bell music and folk song should be reiterated; accompanied by the pealing or tolling bells, 'Russian people were born, married, and buried with songs'.¹⁹¹

In bell music, repeated melodic cells found in heterophonic vocal folk music are used to extend the musical framework of the ringing rubrics. Reciprocally, some of the best-known folk songs are about bells. The musical material of the earliest vocal folk music in Russia is almost indistinguishable from the simple forms of bell music. Both folk song and bell music may be regarded as a form of 'articulated text' (*Logos*, words, letters, inscriptions) used for various common purposes, such as invocation and ritual, as Vadim Pokhorov discusses in *Russian Folk Songs: Musical Genres and History*:

From their origins, the musical elements of Russian folk songs have been closely related to the inflections and rhythms of speech. Accordingly, the musical and poetic structures of the oldest songs are inseparably intertwined with the modulations and rhythm of the poetic text forming the basis of musical melodic and rhythmic structures. The evolution of musical aspects of Russian folk song can be divided into three periods. The first period comprises Russian musical folklore from archaic times to the fourteenth century. The most ancient songs of this period – the invocation songs of the agrarian ritual cycle and other similar ritual songs – are characterized by simplicity of musical and poetic devices. Their melodies tend to be primitive, single-voice formulas, multirepeated and limited to two to four tones with diapason ranging between a second and a fourth. These formulas are melodic building blocks, a kind of melodic 'root language', laconic and concentrated. Through the process of rhythmic and melodic modifications, the formulas developed into motives, which consisted of, and formed the basis for, a melodic phrase.¹⁹²

Folk music and bell music thus mimic the development of phrasal sentences from the kind of original utterances chanted by shamans which, sometimes accompanied by simple repeating rhythmic patterns played on hand-held bells, rarely exceeded the range of a minor third.¹⁹³

During later phases in the development of folk music, more complex asymmetrical rhythmic patterns occur, such as in the wedding song, *Hey! Ring the Bell of Evlashev village! (E! Zvon Kolokol vo Evlasheve sele!)*, with

time signatures changing according to the needs of the text – 3/8, 5/8, 4/8, 3/8, 4/8, 5/8, 8/ 8, 4/8, 5/8: this kind of unpredictable additive rhythmic accent is encountered in Stravinsky's 'Scythian' works. By the eighteenth century, lyrical and epic folk song styles were appropriated to the city, and many urban folk songs, popular amongst all classes of Russian society from peasant to aristocrat, were written upon the motif of the bell. Popular urban songs about bells were written in a form that was known as a *kant* (from the French, *chant*), traditionally sung *a cappella* in a chordal harmonic language.

Songs such as Alexander Gurilev's *In Monotone Rings the Little Bell* underwent structural and melodic change as they circulated through oral tradition, so that a particular song might be heard in various 'dialects'. A more extreme form of this 'cultural translation' is the urban folk song, *Evening Bells*, which is based on an English poem by Thomas Moore (1779 – 1852) translated by the poet Ivan Kozlov (1779 – 1840) and set to music by the composer Alexander Alyabyev (1787 – 1851). The song is like a prototype for Rachmaninov's *Kolokola*, similarly derived from cross-cultural translation of poetry, and drawing similar emotional analogies between bells and mortal life experience:

*Those evening bells! Those evening bells!
How many a tale their music foretells,
Of youth, and home, and that sweet time
When last I heard their soothing chime!*

*Those joyous hours are passed away;
And many a heart that then was gay
Within the tomb now darkly dwells,
And hears no more those evening bells.*

*And so't will be when I am gone –
That tuneful peal will still ring on;
While other bards shall walk these dells,
And sing your praise, sweet evening bells.¹⁹⁴*

Versions of coachmen's songs also became popular by the beginning of the nineteenth century and many of them feature the sonic imagery of the *troika*. Tchaikovsky's over-sweetened Mozartianas, like the tinkling celeste bells in 'Dance of the Sugar-plum Fairy' in *The Nutcracker*, reflect the pop-musical influences of social dance music and urban folk songs with their appeal to the pre-Romantic ideals of beauty and enjoyment, rather than the *Sturm und Drang* of Romanticism.

Beyond these aesthetical considerations, it is through the characteristic modulations of harmonic language that Taruskin essentially listens for the spectrality of Russian musical expression. This is where the haunting sonority of the bell makes its most subtle contribution. The Russian bell was assigned its own characteristic 'acoustical signature' in Russian music in the form of the intervallic colour of the tritone. The tritone is an essential characteristic of the harmonic language of the Rimsky-Korsakov school, in particular their invention of, and predilection for, the octatonic scale (eight-note alternating tone/semitone scale). This harmonic scale was used by many Russian composers including Musorgsky, Scriabin and Stravinsky. The octatonic scale, known in Russian as *gamma ton-poluton*, contains four invertible tritone intervals, as opposed to only three tritones in whole-tone scales, and only one in the diatonic scale. The tritone, an interval that forms a perfect *reflection of itself* by bisecting the octave, is exactly the interval used by both Rimsky-Korsakov (and many composers after him) to represent the ambiguous tonality of the bell.

Russian compositions that represent the sound of the bell symbolically in the interval of a tritone can be traced back to Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitianka*.¹⁹⁵ At the beginning of the opera, Rimsky-Korsakov sets up a tolling movement between a couplet of chords which first emerge from a tonality of A minor, and that are sustained through numerous transpositions right through the intermezzo from scene one into the beginning of scene two. The chords are built with pitches that bear a highly chromatic relation in diatonic harmony to the prevailing key of A minor. Immediately after the 'white note' tonality of A minor, heard as Tokmakov sings, 'Perchance a crow

just stirring in its sleep', the pitches - G#, A#, C#, D# and even an A^x are introduced.

These chromatic pitches are sonically analogous to the partials that emerge from the initial 'strike note' of the bell. Subsequent chords are formed using the interval of a tritone as a transpositional pivot. The first chord of each couplet is built using a diminished triad containing a minor third and a tritone. The second chord of each couplet includes notes that bear the most chromatic possible relationship to the original tonal centre. The best example, A# - A^x - C# - D#, pits an (implied) D# tonality against A minor, at the distance of a tritone. Despite this, the chromatic notes form an intense, almost physical strain against the implied tonality of A. The chord might resolve naturally in contrary motion to the root position of the implied tonic (A - C - E), but it is never allowed to.

The interval of the tritone, the prevalent sonority within this harmonic structure, is reinforced even in the vocal line. The tritone is used to convey the alarm felt as Matuta sings 'Ah! What is this I hear', and Tokmakov replies 'The *tocsin* - it rings to call the folk together', at the end of scene one.

The perfect symmetry (divine ambivalence) of the tritone, an interval equally symbolic of the heavenly trinity as it is the *diabolus in musica*, becomes the sonorous signature of the Russian bell. Musorgsky uses the tritone, as well as chromatic 'clusters', though in a much wilder and more primitive way to Rimsky-Korsakov, when he introduces the bell in the prologue and recapitulation of act 4, scene 2 of the most monumental Russian bell opera of all - *Boris Godunov*. The brutally exposed tritone in the bass of the first bars of the prologue scene 2 (see the score below¹⁹⁶), implies the rough sonority of the non-tempered Russian bell, and its roaring quality.

The sonority of the diminished triad (with its two tritones) closely imitates the actual harmonic spectrum of bells which, owing to their curvilinear shape, usually includes a naturally flattened fifth and third in the overtone

series. This is essentially what lends such a lugubrious sonority to untuned bells. As in *Pskovitianka*, the chromatic harmony in the prologue to *Boris Godunov* is extremely protracted, but rather than *emerging* from the tonality of A minor, the music eventually resolves to C major, with an echo of the relative minor (A minor, as in *Pskovitianka*) in the upper lines. This is followed by a blatant change of gear before the choral entry into the tonality of Gb major, another very exposed tonal relation at the interval of a tritone from C.

Zweites Bild.

Scene II.

Platz im Moskauer Kreml. Den Zuschauern gegenüber, im Hintergrunde der Bühne — die rote Freitreppe der Zarenzimmer. Rechts, näher zum Vordergrunde, zwischen der Us-penski- und Archangelskikathedrale — das Volk auf den Knien liegend. Die Treppenstufen der Kathedralen sind sichtbar.

The courtyard in the Kremlin at Moscow. Facing the spec-tators, in the background, the Red Staircase leading to the Terem, or apartments of the Tsar. On the right and near the front the people, on their knees, occupy the space between the two Cathedrals of the Assumption and the Archangels. The porches of both churches are in view.

25
Moderato. $\text{♩} = 92$.

The musical score is written for piano and consists of five systems. The first system is marked 'Moderato. ♩ = 92'. The second system begins with a 'Cresc.' marking. The third system begins with an 'Allegro' marking. The fourth system begins with an 'Oppla.' marking. The fifth system ends with a 'Forte' marking. The score is written for piano with treble and bass staves.

26

26 Vorhang.
Curtain.

(Glockengeläute auf der Bühne.)
(A great peal of bells on the stage.)

(Die Boyaren ziehen in feierlicher Procession zur Kathedrale.)
(Procession of the Boyars in the Cathedral.)

The musical score consists of five systems of piano accompaniment. Each system has a treble and bass clef staff. The first system (measures 26-27) features a series of chords in the bass and a melodic line in the treble. The second system (measures 28-29) continues the melodic line with a more active treble part. The third system (measures 30-31) shows a more complex texture with both hands playing active parts. The fourth system (measures 32-33) features a similar texture. The fifth system (measures 34-35) includes a vocal line in the treble staff, starting with the word 'Osanna' and ending with a fermata. The piano accompaniment continues in the bass staff.

27 Fürst Schuisikij. (Auf den Treppenstufen der Uspeńskikathedrale)
 Prince Skouisky (from the porch of the Cathedral of the Assumption) Allegro. $\text{♩} = 120$.

Es le - be der Zar Bo - ris Fe - o - do - rowitsch.
 Long life to thee, Tsar Bo - ris Fe - o - do - ro - vich!

F. Schuisikij.
 Fr. Skouisky.

Proi. set!
 Glo - ry!

Sopr. *mf*
 Lang' le - be und re - gie - re Zar Bo - ris!
 Long life and health, O Tsar, lit - tle Fa - ther!

Alti. *mf*

Ten. *mf*
 Lang' le - be und re - gie - re Zar Bo - ris!
 Long life and health, O Tsar, lit - tle Fa - ther!

Bassi. *mf*

Boris Godunov - Opera in four acts and a prologue. ¹⁹⁷

The harmonic and sonorous trademarks of the *kolokol* are again heard in Musorgsky's 'Great Gate of Kiev'. The opening of the work clearly establishes an Eb tonality with booming chords low in the register of the piano. The first harmonic surprise is a sudden shift to the tonality of Ab minor following a G-minor chord III in bar 30. This semitone shift initiates the same chromatic clustering effect identified in *Pskovitianka* and *Boris Godunov*. This shift of a semitone prepares other more subtle semitone relations, such as the Fb-major chord at bar 33, which is a flattened chord II in relation to the original tonality.

Musorgsky sustains and alternates the sonorities of the intervals of the perfect fourth and fifth until the entry of the work's 'signature chord' in bar 81, a chord II7 (F, Ab, Cb, Eb) that is strongly coloured by the tritone. This chord is followed by the flattened (Neopolitan) IIb-7 forming a series of chords with Eb, F, and Fb tonal centres. This 'cluster' of tonal centres initiates a tolling section that is suspended over a constant pedal of Eb and Bb from bars 93 - 106. Articulating this harmonic language, the piano texture imitates bells in the carillon figure in the high register in bars 85 - 110, the tolling figure in the left hand of the same passage, and the scalar and chorale passages that punctuate the work. Ravel's orchestration of this work introduces orchestral bells, chimes and cymbals to suggest the metallic spectrum of sonority and noise of the Russian *kolokol*, and heavy percussion to suggest their physical weightiness.

There is remarkable consistency in the way similar harmonies are also used by Rachmaninov in his choral symphony *Kolokola (The Bells, 1913)*.¹⁹⁸ In the first movement, Rachmaninov represents *silver* bells in the colour of his orchestration, with Ab-major chords in relatively regular divisions in 4/4 meter played by an ensemble of the brightest of all orchestral instruments, including piano, harp and celeste. Tubular bells are introduced in the second movement and a glockenspiel in the fourth. In line with the declining brightness of the poem, the harmonic language begins to reflect a kind of harmonic 'de-tuning' effected through the gradual concentration and exposure of the tritone sonority.

The first instance is found in bar 2 of the second movement, a chord played by cellos and double basses doubled by harp that bears the same highly concentrated chromatic relation to the tonic key (D major) found in Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitianka*. Above a sustained Eb on the french horns (a semitone above the implied tonic) cellos, double basses, and clarinets sound a chord containing two tritones (D – Ab – F# – C) from an octatonic scale.

The tonal relationship between the first and second movements (Ab – D major) is also a tritone shift. The third movement, now in a minor key (F minor) begins with shimmering *tremolo sul ponticello* violins playing exposed diminished triads, starkly rendered by the piano for twelve measures beginning in bar 21. The lugubrious fourth movement introduces tonal conflict right from the outset when, in bar 12, by means of an F minor chord on the piano, the tonality of the previous (third) movement is uncannily echoed.

Heavy perfect fifths are heard throughout the fourth movement. Root position minor chords with heavily inflected perfect fifths are interrupted, violently at times, by harmonic events that re-emphasise the tritone. The most dramatic example of this is heard as the choir sings: 'Till each muffled monotone seems a groan waxing sorrowful and deep'. In the accompanying bass stings, chromatic chords made up of tritones and perfect fifths (e.g. C# – A# – E – G#) moving in parallel motion above a chromatic scale are heard. Even in solo vocal lines, such as when the baritone soloist sings 'In the shadow of the bells', the bell is signified by the interval of a tritone, in this case an upward leap from D to G#.

The harmonic and sonorous language of the bell is taken to the greatest extremes in the music of Scriabin. Scriabin recognised in the harmonies of the tritone-rich *ton-poluton* scale a kind of 'suprapersonal and superreal'¹⁹⁹ quality of stasis, the perfective image of the iconostasis underlying the iconic chords of his tone poems *Prometheus* (1910) and *Poem of Ecstasy* (1908). The quest for a kind of 'eternal harmony' through the exploration of

chromatic harmonies built around the tritone (rather than the perfect fifth that formed that basis of diatonic harmony for centuries) was an attempt to transcend the boundaries of the ego, to achieve a communality of human consciousness, and to break through into a new plane of universally transcendent being.²⁰⁰ This conception of universality, the achievement of unitary perception and synaesthesia, is described as follows in Honoré de Balzac's novel *Séraphîta*:

Light gave birth to melody, and melody to light; colours were both light and melody; motion was number endowed by the Word; in short everything was at once sonorous, diaphonous, and mobile; so that, everything existing in everything else, extension knew no limits, and the angels could traverse it everywhere to the utmost depths of the infinite.²⁰¹

Skriabin saw this synaesthetic unity of the human senses as the gateway to the *pleroma*, a mystical accord believed by the Gnostics to be the 'all-encompassing hierarchy of the divine realm, located entirely outside the physical universe, at immeasurable distance from man's terrestrial abode, totally alien and essentially 'other' to the phenomenal world and whatever belongs to it'.²⁰² A theosophist for whom Christianity was only one aspect of spirituality, he saw musical harmony (the least 'physical' of musical elements to affect the senses) as being essentially nothing but a 'psychic reflection', the closest phenomenon to the *pleroma* itself.

The confluence of non-functional colouristic harmony and sonority evident in bell music is also a feature in Skriabin's later works. The quest for perfect sonority that defined the historical metamorphosis of the form of the *kolokol* also drives Skriabin's harmonic language into an abandonment of utilitarian function in favour of an exploration of, or quest for, *pure colour* – the same unity of sound and light exhibited by the *kolokol* as a form of 'singing icon'. The extent to which he was successful in this quest is only limited by the fact that Skriabin's music is the artefact of his own *personal* experience of synaesthesia, and reflects a singular psychological experience in the projection of his ego, and not a universal experience.

While the bell had acted since pagan times as a cosmic resonator and channel to the 'beyond', harmonic mysticism in Russian art music moved towards an even more avant-garde conceptualisation of art emerging from a peculiarly Russian idealisation of Wagnerian Omni-art. Scriabin's planned work *Mysterium*, heavily influenced by the ideas of the symbolist poets, was to be based mainly upon text. Colours were to be associated with sounds, and sounds with the rhythm and rhyme of the verse, all in a language that was, like Khlebnikov's *Zaum*, intended to be a universally comprehensible form of primordial language. The most unusual aspects of the intended work were, however, to be found in the staging of the composition over seven days in a custom-built temple made in India, in which there would be no audience. All present at the performance were to be participants who would take part in a rubric of sights, sounds, sensations, and even tastes, leading to cosmic ecstasy on the last day.²⁰³

In his search for a new sonority, the composer Nikolai Obukhov, whose 1928 work *La Livre de Vie* had much in common with the aims of Scriabin's *Mysterium*, co-invented a new electronic instrument. The *Croix Sonore* (Sonic Cross), constructed of brass and based upon the model of the Theremin and Ondes Martenot, took over the role of the metallic instrument of religious fervour, electronifying and synthesising the vocalisation of the *Logos*. The harmonic idiom of Obukhov's *La Livre de Vie* is dodecaphonic. Allowing for no repetition of notes within a chromatic chord or in lines, his harmonies achieve a total equilibrium or absolute stasis. As a consequence of this, pure instrumental timbre ('*Klangfarbenmelodie*') becomes a new logic in the organisation of tones. As Simon Shaw-Miller observes in his comparative study of Scriabin's and Obukhov's work, harmonic language becomes the language of the spectrum within each tone, not the harmonic relationship between individual pitches:

Synthesis and unification are at the heart of Obukhov's aesthetic of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and the image of the cross is central to *La Livre de Vie*. [This is seen] even in its notation, and especially in [...] the climactic chapter, which is made from scores in the shape of a

cross [...]. The design of the *Croix Sonore* stands as a symbol of equilibrium, with the orchestra allied to the four elements: air = woodwind and brass, earth = percussion, fire = strings, and water = keyboards. He also required the participants to make the sign of the cross as a part of the visual performance. [...]

Technically the work is dodecaphonic, with little repetition within a cycle of twelve notes: 'I forbid myself any repetition: my harmony is based on twelve notes of which none must be repeated. Repetition produces an impression of force without clarity; it disturbs the harmony, dirties it'.²⁰⁴ [...] The voice is rarely [doubled] in unison (for this would be a type of repetition) and there is much use of vocal glissandi, producing a non-tempered, micro-tonal contrast to the twelve note organisation. Singers are also requested to change from normal voice to falsetto (often within a single phrase) and to sing with closed mouths, to mummer, whistle, wail and sigh. The feature of glissandos is made more pronounced by the use of the Sounding Cross, which provides an ideal means of executing them.²⁰⁵

The variety of vocal production and sonic colour prescribed by Obukhov to achieve this concentrated (cruciform) sound-symbolism, even introducing sounds beyond the range of human auditory perception, brings to mind the extraordinary virtuosity of the human body activated in Schoenberg's *Moses and Aaron* (1932) and Gyorgy Ligeti's *Aventures* (1962).

Were it not for the music of Edison Denisov (1929 – 1996), there would be little significant Russian music written under the conscious influence of later serial dodecaphonic practice. Denisov's large body of music is highly dependent upon repetition despite its technical basis in the 'Second Viennese School'. Characteristically, Denisov breaks chromatic lines down into small cells which are repeated imitatively and in varying irrational divisions of meter to form multi-layered micro-polyphonies of long chromatic melismas that, in vertical relation, form chromatic clusters. The sonority of chromatic clusters, which pervades Denisov's work, is reinforced by an almost French Impressionistic sense of instrumental colour.²⁰⁶

In his 1988 orchestral work *Kolokola v Tumane (Bells in Mist)* this same personal style that consistently marked his mature work is sustained. The instrumentation is literally descriptive of bells and contains a veritable gamelan of ringing instruments including celeste, tubular bells, crotales, glockenspiel, vibraphone, four triangles and three suspended cymbals. The very bright sonority of the orchestra is not atypical of Denisov's language of sonority, but nowhere else is it so intensely concentrated as in this work.

Other elements of Denisov's musical style are taken to the extreme in *Kolokola v Tumane*. Almost the entire composition is written within the pianissimo dynamic range, interrupted only once by fortissimo interjections in bars 139 – 142. Denisov's love for very rapid *fluchtig* scales written as *acciaccatura* embellishments also pervades the work. Bars 73 – 76 of the work feature this fleeting movement played like tinkling bells on celeste, harp, glockenspiel, crotales and vibraphone over a softly sustained cluster of *divisi* strings. The string chord, which imitates the resonant overtones of the chiming bells above, is made up of tritones, one stacked upon the other, with a perfect fifth at the very top (from the bass, C# - G - C - F# - B/D - F - A - Eb - Bb).

The music of Alfred Schnittke could not be more different in its aesthetical vision to that of Denisov, though both were established in the unique cauldron of the socio-politics of art music in Soviet Russia. While ideas about musical art in the West were radically changed under the influence of the Second Viennese School, Russian music developed along lines that were less reverent to the hegemonistic aspects of serial music. Though mostly unimpressed by serial theory, Schnittke wrote music that seemed more disturbing to Soviet sensibilities than any overture to Western formalism.

His First Symphony (1969-1972) opens with a shattering paean of bells (metal percussion) sounding as freely timed rising and descending chromatic scales that dissolve into the sound of applause. Quotations from iconic works of Western art music and improvised or aleatoric elements form a whole range of musical materials and musical devices that are accessed in an

utterly schizoid manner, ushering in an unheard-of musical freedom pointing to a strong jazz influence. Often labelled 'postmodern' or 'poly-stylistic', Schnittke's music is also intensely passionate, direct and energetic. It nevertheless belongs inextricably to the unique world of Russian musical expression. At the centre of this expression is a subtext, the rhetoric of *iurodstvo* (holy foolishness) which speaks the unspeakable.

The extensive First Symphony in four sections (1. *Senza tempo/ Moderato* 2. *Allegretto* 3. *Lento* 4. *Lento/ Allegro*), over an hour in duration, was premiered in Gorky on February 9, 1974. In his preface to the work, Schnittke referred to yet another artistic synthesis of text, image and sound, this time originating in a kind of panoptical vision of humanity encountered in film:

While composing the symphony, for four years, I simultaneously worked at music to M. Romm's film 'I Believe.'. Together with the shooting crew I looked through thousands of meters of documentary film. Gradually they formed in my mind a seemingly chaotic but inwardly ordered chronicle of the 20th century. The symphony has no programme. However, if the tragic and wonderful chronicle of our time had not been imprinted on my consciousness, I would never have written this music.²⁰⁷

While Schnittke's compositions sometimes bear a strong resemblance to the emotional world of Shostakovich and often make a strong socio-historical statement, his work takes on a totally new attitude to musicality. It explores a kind of intertextuality of musical writing. A collage of references to different worlds of musical suggestion is woven together by means of pure emotion and intensities of perception. There is also a strong echo of Charles Ives in Schnittke's overt penchant for cacophony, quotation, burlesque and the carnivalesque.

Schnittke does not limit himself to abstract sound, but enriches his language with metaphor, mimesis, and the recognisable sonic symbols and indices of human and natural life. This is immediately apparent in the opening of the

symphony, during which bells slowly dissolve into the sound of applause offered in a reversal of normal roles between orchestra and audience reminiscent of Scriabin's planned *Mysterium*. Schnittke's style admits all styles and excludes nothing from the gamut of sonic material. As described in a passage from Henri Bergson's *Time and Free Will*, the mad rush of intensities in Schnittke's First Symphony, and in many other of his works, overturns normal expectation within the history of musical form; the psyche of the listener is caught up in the current of its locomotive energy:

[The] aesthetic emotion seems to us to admit of degrees of intensity, and also of degrees of elevation. Sometimes the feeling which is suggested scarcely makes a break in the compact texture of psychic phenomena of which our history consists; sometimes it draws our attention from them, but not so that they become lost to sight; sometimes, finally, it puts itself in their place, engrosses us and completely monopolizes our soul.²⁰⁸

Of this symphony, which grows from the clangour of an immense carillon of bells, Taruskin writes:

Like Mahler, and of course like Ives, Schnittke envisioned the symphony as a musical universe, enfolding all that is or could be within its octopus embrace. But it is not a loving embrace. The Schnittkean Tower of Babel proclaims not universal acceptance but more nearly the opposite, an attitude of cultural alienation in which nothing can claim allegiance. Postmodernism here reduces simply to postism, after-everythingism, it's-all-overism. The symphony comes to rest on a note of desperate irony. A childishly banal violin solo, reminiscent of the crooning *yurodiviy* at the end of *Boris Godunov*, is followed by a reprise of the opening unstructured freakout [on bells], finally giving way to a sudden unison C – simplicity itself.²⁰⁹

Schnittke's large-scale Fourth Symphony, written in 1983, is a virtual compendium of bell timbres rendered in an instrumental spectrum ranging from heavy and emphatically repeated clusters of notes in the bass register

of the pianoforte through to repeated bright and silvery motifs on the celeste. The sonority of the first section of the one-movement work is predominantly structured around fourths, fifths and tritones with added chromatic notes, the typical harmonic signature of the *kolokol*. Indeed, Schnittke described this symphony as a unity of 'various cultural layers [based upon a stylisation of] the ritual music of three religions: Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant'.²¹⁰

Not surprisingly, Schnittke chose the timbre and 'intonation system' of bells to represent Russian Orthodoxy, while choral and solo voices represent the other sects of Christianity. Though limited to the Christian religion, the vocal sounds that emerge from the bells of the first section of this symphony were intended by Schnittke to express a certain commonality in human spirituality regardless of the institutionalised practices and ideological divides with which religion becomes associated.

The feeling of alienation Taruskin senses in Schnittke's work is intensified by its psychological rootlessness. His music is a haunting reflection of humanity's fractured self-image in an age when the individual is increasingly alienated from any sense of cultural belonging, in which connection to the collectivity of the social mass is a mediated experience, and differences between cultural milieus are subsumed beneath the commonality of the medium. Even during his lifetime, Schnittke, Russia's only avant-garde composer in the true sense of the word, was loved and hated beyond Russia's borders, for his music cracks open the 'compact texture of psychic phenomena', and in this split we understand for a moment the schizophrenia of our contemporary world.

Everything that is now understood about the *kolokol* in this cultural history of the Russian bell (of an ideological apparatus that, in its spectral projectedness, symbolises an ontological copulation of cosmos and consciousness) could be re-read from the point of view of a 'deep musicology'. Each time a single bell-toll is heard, it conjures up an entire world of images, feeling and thoughts. It throws the subject into a kind of ecstatic, timeless state of Being. Each time its metallic voice is heard in

music or poetry, the bell's cultural milieu is reflected, through its 'acoustical image' in perception, back into the consciousness of the listening subject. The unconscious world is mirrored in the non-rational amateriality of music and poetic image. The spontaneous (*v udare*) music of the *kolokol* is primordial to verbal language (*Logos*), a questioning of the order of sound and silence rather than the definitive response to an enigma; it is an attempt to come to terms with, though it can never quite quell, the spectral violence of noise.

3. The Body and Spectre of the *Kolokol*

Copula sealed in silence and non-appearance, at the depth of language. Keeping language from coming undone through and through, should to be and to think differ, should this secret instrument of the symbolic order be revealed as a technologically fabricated entity, and one that does not stand up to questioning.

[Luce Irigaray, *The Forgetting of Air*¹]

The proposition that the *kolokol* has functioned as an ideological symbol or political apparatus throughout Russia's socio-political evolution, and as sonic or acoustical icon pervading highly diverse creative movements and artistic 'visions' in Russian art, has been confirmed through further investigation of key claims made by ethnographers and campanologists who have interpreted the cultural meaning of Russian bells. Chief among these assertions are that the *kolokol* reflects social change in Russian society like a 'mirror' (Bondarenko) and that the *kolokol* and its music are a form of sonic icon pointing to the *Logos*, the voice of God (Agapkina and Williams) and the primordial origins of language itself (Corbin).

Further investigation and interpretation of historical and cultural evidence (including historical accounts, narratives, images, music and poetry) has substantiated and elaborated upon these ideas: as a cultural artefact, the *kolokol* has consistently been found to act as a witness, recording and reflecting Russia's cultural and political history through the literal, symbolic and iconic significations with which it has been associated. Nevertheless, it is still unclear how or why the *kolokol*, in itself, through its own attributes as an object, achieves the status of 'cultural icon' and 'ideological apparatus',

and how, for so long, it has articulated (copulated, or interpellated) human relations with the material, cosmic and spiritual universe. If the spectrality of the *kolokol* (its 'becoming-immaterial') is interpreted as being a metaphor for transcendence, psyche or soul, it has to be asked, how did the bell become body? What aspects of its projectedness (as spectrum) lend meaning to the Russian bell as an ideological apparatus of hailing, calling and interpellation, as a medium of creative 'vision' - as an articulation of creative *Logos*? How does this transcendent projectedness, interpellation or 'spectrality' come about?

The fundamental aspects of the *kolokol* that contribute to its operation as an 'ideological apparatus' and 'sonic icon' are its physical body, the movement of repetition that brings the body of the bell into motion, as well as the sonic 'spectrum' that arises from this movement. All the meaning associated with the founding and architecture of the *kolokol*, its anthropomorphic and cosmic associations, its spectrum and interpretations of the meaning of these spectra, and the significance of repetition in its music, must therefore be re-examined and interpreted for remaining questions to be answered.

The Name of the Bell

The essential notion that the *kolokol*, both as an object and as a visual and sonic sign, is somehow redolent with ideas of transcendence, interpellation, reflection, image, ideology, or spectrality, and the fundamental premise for approaching a cultural history of Russian bells through of an intercourse of letters, words, texts, narratives, poetry, historical records and language, is based on their symbolic association with the originary word: the *Logos*.

So as not to limit the idea of *Logos* to the Christian theological sense of God's divine and primordial 'Word', and so that this term is understood to encompass both visual and the sonic perception, the following definition, obtained from Raymond Gawronski's study of the works of Hans Urs von Balthasar entitled *Word and Silence*, is offered. This definition not only fuses light and sound into a unified synaesthetical perception of the originary

'Word', but also firmly establishes how the *Logos* interpellates the subject, and presents objects to subjective consciousness, through the medium of the voice:

[Balthasar] describes the Word as 'audible-visible' (*hörbarsichtbares Wort*). Balthasar speaks of a 'light-word' (*Lichtwort*): from the light sounds the voice that calls the individual by name.²

Evidence in support of this proposition, that the *kolokol* as a symbol of *Logos* is an instrument of transcendent calling, 'hailing', interpellation or convocation, can be found first of all within the word *kolokol* itself. As a word, the Russian name for the bell encapsulates the earliest indication that they are assigned more than ordinary significance and status in Russian culture. Intoned with an emphasis on the first syllable (*kólokol*), the word is imitative of a deep repetitive tolling, more so than Western European names, like bell, *cloche* or *glocke*.

Onomatopoeia is heard in the form of a repetition of the letters *K* and *L* with the intervening circularity of an *O*. The sounds of *K* and *L* are heard in the words *glocke* and *cloche* in German and French, but there is no repetition in these words, and no explicit etymological connection to the Russian word either. *Glocke* and *cloche*, as well as the English word clock, are all derived from the Medieval Latin word *clocca* ('bell'). Other than the English word 'bell', which is noted in etymological dictionaries as stemming from the Old English *bellan* 'to roar', the sounds of most European language words for 'bell' do contain the voiced or unvoiced stop plosive consonants, *G* and *K*.³

Russian words trace their origins to an array or spectrum of archetypical word-particles that are the roots of the living language.⁴ *Kolokol* originates from the particle *kol*, which has two opposing significations. Words that are derived from this root tend, in their word formations, conjugations and declensions, either to close down the openness of the *O* (by supplanting it with other letters, especially *A* or *I*) or to remain open (by retaining the *O* and/or adding soft letters). When the root tends towards the softness and openness of the *O*, the consequent words signify circularity or roundness, for

example, *kol'tso* ('ring'). As it contracts or supplants the *O*, the words it produces signify something distended, sharp, or invasive, for example, *klin* ('wedge') or *klast'* (to 'lay down', 'deposit', 'erect'). These dichotomous significations, circularity/softness and extensivity/hardness, define the essential form of the bell (its annulus and tongue, and its body and spectrum) and its fundamental relationship with ideas of ontogenesis.

Biblical languages provide the earliest clue to the origin of this family of *K*-words designating bells. In Hebrew, the word *kol* designates thunder, or a voice. *Kol* is the word used to describe the thunderous voice of God:

On the third day, as morning dawned, there was thunder [*kolot* – plural of *kol*] and lightning, and a dense cloud on the mountain, and a very loud blast [*kol*] of the shofar [ram's horn] and all the people witnessed [literally *saw*] the thunder [*kolot*] and lightning.⁵

Thunder is a commonly used metaphor in poetry (including in Poe's poem 'The Bells') for the sounding of bells, a metaphor pointing back towards the originary signification of the *Logos*: thunder was heard, for example, when Moses received the Laws on Sinai (Exodus 19: 16), and God's voice is compared to thunder in Psalms 18, verse 13, which reads, 'The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice'.

Ancient Greek writers also referred to an archaic form of bell as *kodon*.⁶ Aristophanes mentioned this form of ancient bell in his comically dystopian play about the mythical city of birds, *Nephelococcygia* (Cloud-cuckoo-town):

Birds again, and clever carpenters too, the pelicans, for they squared up the gates with their beaks in such a fashion that one would have thought they were using axes; the noise was just like a dockyard. Now the whole wall is tight everywhere, securely bolted and well guarded; it is patrolled, bell [*kodon*] in hand; the sentinels stand everywhere and beacons burn on the towers.⁷

The *kodon* was also used to convey moral or social messages in two of Aesop's fables, 'The Mischievous Dog' and 'The Mice in Council'.⁸

There is a phonosemantic and semantic consistency within a family of words initiated by the 'KL' sound (and its voiced equivalent, 'GL') that has not gone unnoticed in theoretical discourses. Margaret Magnus, whose dissertation on phonosemantics entitled *What's in a Word?* (2001)⁹ supports the Cratylitic thesis against arbitrary assignation of names to things or persons, finds that the particular phoneme associated with the Russian bell (*KL/GL*) forms 'tonal clusters' of related significances that are quite consistent between languages, and which are most often connected to spectral phenomena including light, reflection, reflective surfaces and thinking. For example, in English, words like glare, gleam, glance, glaze, gloss and glean, correspond conceptually with Russian words like *glaz* ('eye'), *gladkii* ('smooth surface'), *glava* ('head', 'main') and *glubok* ('deep', 'depth'). Magnus concludes that this family of words, to which *kolokol*, *Logos* and *glagol* (ecclesiastical Russian, 'the Word') belong, could be expressed as the thematic metaphor 'Light IS understanding'.

This 'onomatopoeic consistency' was also observed by Gerard Manly Hopkins in a brief reflection upon the word *granum* recorded in his diary on September 24, 1863.¹⁰ The word *granum* means both *grain* and *horn*, in the sense of a belled, usually metal, instrument. Through the phonosemantic lineage of the phoneme *gr*, a re-voiced version of *kl*, the bell (horn) is traceable back to an original model, the shaker or seed-pod.

For Jacques Derrida, 'GL' is more than just a meaning-bearing phoneme, grapheme, or signifier, as Manly Hopkins perceived it to be. Derrida advances the possibility that 'GL' is a kind of transcendental mark, universal key (*kleimo*), or copula/hook.¹¹ The *kleimo* is the key to the code of identity, place, and time that interpellates the object as well as the subject, that is, the bridge between the psychic and the objective physical world.

In his own etymological elaboration of the word *glas* through many languages, Derrida finds two prime meanings. On the one hand, *glas* may

indicate a ringing noise, birdcall, unanimous voice, a belled instrument. On the other, it indicates an annunciation of death.¹² Referring to the 'structural scandal' of rhyme in Poe's 'The Bells', Derrida finds that there 'is indeed the appearance of a simple kernel, around which everything seems to be agglomerated: *gl, cl, kl, tl, fl* [...]',¹³ which sets up a rhythm in the poem. Derrida equates this kind of rhythm with a fundamental somatic movement between the guttural and the labial (K + L) that, in a word like *moloko* ('milk'), articulates a precise relationship between the child's appetite to suck (M), and the liquid (L) of satisfied desire.¹⁴

Interpretations of the bell as an originary and universal symbol of life and death may be traced back to these phonosemantic and sonic origins. The fundamental rhythms of psychic lack and satisfaction are contained not only in the rhythmic motility of the bell's tongue and the sound of its voice, but even the spectre of an onomatic genesis that resonates through its name, and equally, as Derrida's text suggests, through the *sound* of the bell, its 'clangour':

Klang [is] that singular repercussion of interiority in exteriority. Sonority in general (*Der Ton*), in the continuity of heavenly bodies, has two and only two forms: noise (*Geräusch*) and resonance (*Klang*). Noise expresses merely the immediate, *exterior*, constrained continuity of friction (*Reibung*). [...] Through this couple, the sensibility of the individual retakes itself within itself, reassembles itself, gathers itself together, comes to, contracts itself, enters into a contract with itself (*sich in sich zurücknimmt*) and constitutes itself as universal.¹⁵

The inferences drawn from this phonosemantic consideration of the word *kolokol* correlate with other etymological evidence pointing to the primordial origination of the *kolokol* and, equally, to the 'primordial language' of the *Logos*. Take for example the phonosemantic relation between the *kolokol* and the word *granum* that caught the attention of Gerard Manley Hopkins. This relation can be demonstrated to be more than a linguistic coincidence in two ways – first by considering that the bell, more than being a simple

percussion instrument, is indeed a kind of shaker, the original natural model of the *kolokol* being a seed-pod (Latin, *granum*). Additionally, the development of the Russian bell is closely related to that of a number of other instruments which also imply this 'grain', namely, the *semantron* (seme) and the aforementioned *granum* ('horn').

The significance of the 'grain', which, like the concept of *Logos*, implies a seminal beginning, is encapsulated within the physical form of the bell itself. Bells are simply an embodied resonant space activated by a sounding agent. The sounding agent is normally a distended stick or post culminating in a kind of rounded ball, the opposition of roundness and pointed-ness especially implicit in the name *kolokol*. In nature, a resonating space with an internal sounding agent is first encountered as the grain or seed-pod.

This has a particular significance in the meta-narrative that informs the conception of the *kolokol* that is being advanced here, for the poetic symbolism of this seed-pod model (like the timbral musical language of Russian bells) far exceeds that of a primitive percussive attack. In an untitled poem of 1908 from his first publication *Kamen'* (*Stone*), the Russian Silver Age poet Osip Mandel'shtam grows this ordinary phoneme into a poetic image of the sound of a fruit or pod as it falls away from a tree, punctuating the endless (atemporal) and almost imperceptible music pervading nature:

Звук осторожный и глухой
Плода, сорвавшегося с древа,
Среди немолчного напева
Глубокой тишины лесной ..

[*The cautious, muffled sound
Of a pod snapping from a tree
Amid the never silent melody
Of the wood's deep quiet ..*]¹⁶

A wealth of linguistic, objective and phonosemantic evidence indicates that the *kolokol* is indeed associated consistently with ideas of transcendence and spectrality through its symbolic association with *Logos* and 'Light' in the most transcendental understanding of that word (as Magnus uses it) and even, as Derrida suggests, with some form of universal 'mark' or 'key' that indicates or opens up the creative force of the *Logos* itself. Further evidence of the conceptual relationship between the *kolokol* and *Logos* is graphically represented in the inscriptions, or 'devotional graffiti', inscribed on the walls of Russian bells. These inscribed writings also point to the interdependent history bells and letters in Russia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Inscription – Writing the *Kolokol*

Iconic and symbolic bell decorations and inscriptions, as well as turning the bell into an illustration or 'singing icon', reveal the interior meanings of the *kolokol* as an exterior evidential mark. Like graffiti or the tattoos used amongst Russian criminals to secretly record personal experiences and status within a marginalised hierarchy,¹⁷ they have the effect of forming a 'being for the Other, of situating the subject in it, [and] marking its place in the field of the group's relations, between each individual and all the others'.¹⁸ The exterior inscription of Russian bells designates the bell as an object that both writes, and is written by, a specific cultural evolution.

Seen in the image of a large nineteenth century Russian bell that follows,¹⁹ the inscriptions and ornamentations that adorn the *kolokol* are an emblematic, encoded, and indexical reference to its maker, the place and time of its creation, and its purpose. They are the iconic image and outward expression of the interior language of the bell's music, its strongest link to the *Logos* and the exterior world of natural human language, as well as a medium for the conscious articulation of the archetypal signs of unconscious 'primordial language'.

These inscriptions have both sacred and secular implications: they act not only as a form of 'devotional graffiti' linking humanity and divinity, but also as an expression of devotional, interpersonal and social communication in the form of letters, texts and gifts. These texts form a completely 'self-sustained language of Russian culture', as Agapkina remarked.²⁰



The clearest indication of a 'quest' (as Corbin called it) for the primordial or archetypal origins of language is found in the most typical forms of bell inscription, including a kind of 'birth certificate' that records the details of the founding and baptism of the *kolokol*. The common data of bell inscriptions, including the date of its founding, the name of the church it will be given to, the weight of the bell in puds (units of 36 pounds) and funts (units of 409.5 grams) and the name of the bell-founder and foundry, all point to its origin. This is partly why the history of Russia records the genealogies of bell-making masters and their disciples, while the names and histories of bell-ringers are mainly anecdotal.

Inscriptions often contain a complete diary of the bell's own life story, as in this example, introduced in Bondarenko's *Moskovskie Kolokola XVII Veka*:

[One] engraved inscription [*nadpis*] tells us that, because it was not raised into its tower for several years, the bell was stolen. The person who returned the bell to its rightful place [was] D M Pozharskii, who did not allow the bell to find a substitute refuge: YEAR 7121 [Orthodox calendar year dated from the creation of the world, not the birth of Christ]

OCTOBER 19 DAY AFTER LITHUANIAN DESTRUCTION [BY] GOD'S COMMISSION [FOUNDED AT] CHINA TOWN [MOSCOW] FOR THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE [OF THE] CHURCH [OF THE] NATIVITY [OF THE] HOLY VIRGIN RUSSIAN THIEVES RUINED AND STOLE THIS BELL AND THIS BELL WAS BOUGHT BY BOYAR DIMITRI MIKHAILOVICH AND GAVE IT RIGHTFUL HOME AT THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN [IN THE NAME OF HIS] PARENTS AND FOR THE PRIEST TO PRAY TO GOD FOR HIS HEALTH AND HIS CHILDREN AND TO DAILY COMMEMORATE HIS PARENTS.²¹

The semantics of the *grapheme* on the exterior walls of Russian bells are determined not only by such details of their origination. At the same time as inscription traces the *physis* of the bell to an exact origin, it also describes the functional use of the bell, its originary 'purpose'. Literally and metaphorically, the bell is subject to gradual erasure and even violent destruction because it is associated with specific social and ideological uses. Usury is itself a facet of writing that exposes original speech to distortion and falsification,²² to dissemination, but also to being open to the attacks of censorship, control, and defacement. The bell's vulnerability lies, therefore, in the inscriptions on their surface that are an *exposé* of its life's purpose, the key to its own ideological and political status and role in society.

Russian bell inscriptions also 'illustrate' the fundamental structures of language – the way in which signs operate in a normally closed system of signification. Bell texts appear in the form of a continuous ring or 'annulus' of ornamentative letters that form an unbroken graphic chain. The inscription of the bell-founder's signature opens up this otherwise closed 'system' of repetition, equivalence or similitude between the bell and the

images, objects, signs and meanings of the natural world. As Michel Foucault explained in *The Order of Things*, the signature brings buried similitude to the surface in the form of an affinity between the artisan and artefact, the creator and creation.²³

The form of a signature, the mark and name of the original creator, is not confined to written letters. Heraldry, like the *kleimo* ('hallmark'), is an encrypted or symbolic means by which it is possible to represent the identity of the creator or owner of a particular bell. The key, or *kleimo*, is a copula (a category of similitude recognised in sixteenth century epistemology²⁴) that reveals the link between apparent and hidden meaning, interconnects systems of signs and sets up the relations necessary to decipher a code. This copula acts as a 'hook' or '*crampon*' that, though not resembling them, links related objects and ideas together. The copula is the symbolic means by which the *kolokol* is able to act as a conduit between the material and 'spectral' dimensions.

The primordial 'mystery' of *Logos* is sometimes expressed in secretive or encoded bell inscriptions. A unique example of encrypted inscription was found on a bell founded for a monastery near the town of Zvenigorod (literally 'Ringingtown') in 1667. The uppermost inscriptions are the standard language of bells – dedications to the Tsar's family and a birth certificate. The lower inscriptions are encoded using a diplomatic code. This bell is described by Edward V Williams in his *The Bells of Russia*:

Of the numerous letters in this secret alphabet, several were repeated while others closely resembled each other. One of the puzzling features was that the number of characters in the last three columns had their own special forms and bore no resemblance to the first signs in the inscription.²⁵

A nineteenth century numismatist who succeeded in reading the text in its entirety found that the encryption was governed by several alternating encoding systems that translated and substituted up to six symbols for one letter of the Cyrillic alphabet. The inscription was a dedication to the Virgin

Mary and Savva the miracle-working priest, from the Tsar himself. The purpose of encryption was also revealed. As a precaution against exposure, usury and erasure of the bell's message, 'the Tsar evidently wished to express but also to conceal his piety through this unusual means'.²⁶

Russian bell inscriptions also gave a 'voice' to common folk, attesting to their faith in the Word of God. Church bells were occasionally commissioned by the rank and file who, no doubt as a result of an ascetic existence, saved enough kopeks to commission the founding of a relatively simple church bell, as described in this rather pitiable but endearing inscription:

FOUNDED 7202 [1694 A.D.] THIS BELL WAS BOUGHT FOR THE
CHURCH OF PRIOR PARASKEVIN AT PORECH'E WITH EARTHLY HALF-
KOPEKS 3 PUD 6 FUNT²⁷

The material value of the bell as a store of metal is only one of the reasons that bells represent power, and that their theft and abduction is a repeated offence in Russian, as well as French, German and other European campanological histories. Abducted bells were the victims of arguments about rights of ownership over semaphores and signals, land, boundaries and cultural identity. Pride and cultural identity were at stake when a village bell was stolen. This was especially the case when conflict occurred within a village or community where bells were both a symbol of communal, temporal and spatial coherence, and a highly personalised (and personified) means for individuals to inscribe their name upon the memory and consciousness of their co-habitants. In *Village Bells*, Corbin describes this phenomenon in the context of the villages of the French countryside:

The bell was one of the 'semaphores' so coveted by the new nineteenth-century elites. For a factory owner who wished to found a lineage [...], campanarian inscriptions promised to render their names eternal. This was all the more so given that, as we know, the history of bells is closely linked to the procedures of 'long memory' through which social representation, in villages at any rate, were ordered.²⁸

As Bondarenko observed, the development of exergual inscription of church bells, becoming more elaborate during the sixteenth century, reflected a whole spectrum of technological, social and ideological changes in Russian society. Changes in ideological perspective and social order were reflected in the various forms of inscription made on the *kolokol* over time.

The earliest decorative inscriptions included heraldic animal or floral motifs within garlands of vines and tendrils, a style borrowed from Byzantine models that did not at first admit representation of the human form. Inscriptions and images were normally enclosed in pearled bands or rings encircling the bell, and fenestrated or divided into cartouches by beaded lines or friezes that begin to resemble the great iconostases of Orthodox cathedrals. The style of Cyrillic letterism found on Russian bells is called *viaz'*, a variant of a mid-eleventh century Greek name for the type of script seen in Byzantine manuscripts.²⁹ Writing on Russian bells was invested with powers derived from the *Logos* inherited, as Bondarenko explains, from the Byzantine faith:

From the very beginning, bells had a cultic signification and were used in the context of the church. The ornamentation of bells was not supposed to reproduce the actuality of the world, but to influence it.³⁰

The phenomenon of inscribed social and ideological 'diarisation' is not the exclusive domain of Russian bells. The art of bell inscription in Russia was brought from Italy and France where bell epigraphy documented a 'fluctuating balance between secular authority and ecclesiastical power [that] underwent an incessant and sometimes furtive process of rearrangement', according to Corbin.³¹ Evidence of the intercourse between Western European and Russian bell histories is clear on at least one bell cast in France in 1547 with French inscriptions that, after making its way to Russia along trade routes, was engraved again in Russian at the turn of the seventeenth century.³²

Russian bell artisans did, nevertheless, take the adopted Italian craft of relief sculpture to unprecedented extremes in terms of the quality, scale, and extent of decoration. Commissioning of bells was at this time the domain of the wealthy, and reflected changing dynamics of economic and social power in seventeenth century Russia.³³ The texts on these bells most often reflected power in dedications to Tsars or aristocrats, the greater depth of detail contained in the inscriptions of the larger more ornate bells reinforcing the importance of the message. Other bells were inscribed with accounts of the occasion for their commission, including coronations, or commemorations of deaths, disasters or miracles.

From the seventeenth century, as larger bells were cast on the order of Tsars, princes and wealthy land owners, relief inscriptions were favoured over engraved or carved bells, the technology required to create inscriptions in relief being the reserve of bell-casting masters and those wealthy enough to engage them. In the mid-seventeenth century, as figures of saints and angels and even the aristocrats of state and church patriarchs began to adorn bells, scripts and familial emblems were also included, sometimes extending to cover the entire surface of the bell.³⁴ An explosion of decorative inscriptions, often representing scenes resembling a 'heavenly garden' (including griffins, unicorns, eagles, leopards, and even dragons) or 'fantasy world', reflected the absolutist streak in Russian thinking in the field of representation that Bondarenko identified: these signs were meant to exert spiritual influence on the world.

The more literal of inscribed bell texts convey quite empirical information, rarely venturing into purely poetic language. Far exceeding the significance of discrete data relating to origin however, inscriptions on the great bells of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did begin to include encomia to saints and people, passages from Biblical scripture, or prose verses describing the occasion for which the bell was founded, ranging from weddings to commemoration of the Nativity of the Virgin.

The historical intermarriage of bells and lines of postal communication in Russia provide further evidence of the way Russian bells reflect social

phenomena as Bondarenko found, and yet another logical link between the *kolokol*, primordial language, the 'Word of God' (*Logos*) and the 'self-sustained language' of Russian bells observed by Agapkina. Postal carriage bells were one of the articles of Russian social development that accompanied the opening up of the country's communications system from the end of the seventeenth century and into the beginning of the eighteenth century. The bell was like a metallic post-card. Bell foundries sprang up in the small villages and towns along the postal routes, servicing the bell requirements of coaches and passengers travelling on the four main postal highways from Moscow to St Petersburg, to Tiumen', Tobolsk and the far North, to Belgorod, and to Archangelsk.

Villages on postal routes became famous for their bells, particularly the entrepôt of Valdai on the road to St Petersburg. The manufacture and sale of bells made as amorous gifts, for funerals and births, as signals for ships, lighthouses and doors, as good-luck charms, timepieces, and in honour of local events and people, continued along the postal routes until the middle of the nineteenth century.³⁵ As postal coaches were replaced by railway (*zheleznaia doroga*, literally 'Iron Road') during the second half of the nineteenth century, the sale of bells to travellers and coachmen gradually declined, though they remained a fixture at railway stations.³⁶

Ganulich's 1985 article on the history of coach bells in Russia³⁷ further explores this close relationship between bells and the early postal system, and their common purpose for delivering 'inscribed' messages. It details the way in which bells and the postal coach were intimately bound up together, the sound of coach bells complementing the unique style of movement of the Russian *troika*, the predominant means of postal delivery and passenger transport in eighteenth and nineteenth century Russia.

During the seventeenth century, prior to the widespread use of bells on coaches, coachmen used bull horns and whistles as signalling devices to speed up or slow the horses, to clear the way to pass over bridges and narrow ways, and to warn villagers and way-stations of their approach so that letters could be deposited and collected. Widespread use of a variety of

sounding devices such as bulls' horns, whistles and bells on all forms of transport, including private and freight coaches, caused a Babelesque 'confusion of tongues'. The signal of the postal coach's became indistinguishable from that of other forms of transport until a law passed in 1836 required the use of bells for postal coaches and forbade their use by private coaches used for personal transport.

The bells that hung beneath the yokes of the horses that drew the postal coaches could be heard through the Russian landscape for a considerable distance, foretelling the delivery of a message. Hence the inscription *s dalecha vestochku soboiu podavai*, implying that the *kolokol* would deliver the message itself, that, upon hearing the bells, their message had in essence already been received. The sound of postal bells was so penetrative that their tongues were normally tied after they had entered a city.

Inscriptions on bells made for the common people (*narod*) relate to the bell as a devotion, warning, as a gift (especially between lovers) and as a symbol of the 'letter' - or 'scripture' - emerging from *Logos*. The very smallest bells, known as *bubentsy*, though not inscribed, were perforated with sound-holes cut in symmetrical and archetypal designs such as crosses, lines, circles and stars.

The status of the bell as a devotional love-letter or gift is marked by inscriptions written in vernacular rhyme, many examples of which are found on the bells of Valdai, the foundry located on the main road (and later railway) between Moscow and St. Petersburg. Literal/textual sending and receiving along geographical lines of communication were common to both letters and bells. These examples are given by N P Yakovleva in her article 'Bell-founding Production in Valdai':

The little bells [of Valdai] fulfilled a larger range of functions [than church bells] and the meanings of their inscriptions [*nadpisi*] spoke of this. Thus, coachmen preferred bells decorated with highway writings: 'Zvonu mnogo – veselei doroga' [The more the ring, the happier the road], 'Zveni uteshai – ekhat' pospeshai' [Ring, do not

worry – ride in a hurry], 'S dalecha vestochku soboiu podavai' [Bring your news from afar], 'Kupi ne skupis' – ezdi veselis'' [Buy me, don't be tight – travel with delight]. [...]

On bells given as gifts, amorous messages are encountered: 'Podai golosok tomu predmetu, kotorogo milee netu' [Give this little voice to the dearest thing of all], 'Ottogo amur letaet, chto miluii uvidat' zhelaet' [Love takes flight - He wants to see his darling], 'Kogo liubliu, togo dariu' [To whom I love, this I give]. The little bells decorated with the last of these inscriptions are intended as wedding gifts. [...] In Valdai, door bells were also founded, usually with the inscription 'Zveni veselei u dverei - Valdai' [Ring at my door more happily – Valdai].³⁸



A nineteenth century bell from Valdai bearing the inscription 'To whom I love'. This bell would have been given as a gift, or sent as a *billet-doux*.

Other inscriptions recorded in Ganulich's study of Russian popular, non-religious bells³⁹ bear poetic extracts of folk music or poetry. Examples are *Speshu na Rodinu* ('I race to the Motherland') and the special inscription for *troika* bells *Zveni, zvonok, zveni zvonchee, likhaia troika, vikhrem mchis'*

(‘Ring the ringer, ring more ringingly, the dashing *troika* rushes like a whirlwind’), which alliterates the bell with repetitions of the buzzing cluster *zv, zv, zv, zv*.

The style of language found in the inscriptions of smaller popular bells is curious, grammatically vernacular, unconstrained by the formalities of Church Slavonic. It is the common language of the craftspeople who made them, not the high language of the church. While bells cast for specific purposes bear business-like statements of purpose such as ‘Valdai Emergency Fire Services’, many of the sayings or poetic quotations are written in a dialect that is idiosyncratic to bell inscriptions, and which are ‘difficult to look at without smiling’.⁴⁰ The language of bell inscriptions on popular bells carries the indelible linguistic fingerprint of the bell-maker (metaphorically, the ‘Creator’ and ‘writer’ of the bell’s ‘life’), using the down-to-earth tone of Russian sayings like ‘an axe will not sever what is written with a feather’.⁴¹

This folkloric form of bell inscription influences, and is influenced by, folk poetry and song. The tone of the well-known folk song about a woman who loves a coachman, ‘*Odnozvuchno gremit kolokol’chik*’ (‘Monotonous intones the little bell’) shares the intensely dolorous tone of the common coach-bell inscription *zvenit unylo pod dugo*⁴² (‘Rings dejected beneath the yoke’):

*Monotonous intones the little bell,
And the way is long and dusty,
As out over the even fields
Flows the coachman’s song.*

*So much longing in his dejected song,
So much feeling in his familiar tune
That deep in my icy cold heart
A heart lights up like fire.*

*And the thought of other nights come to me,
The fields and forests of home,*

*And into my eyes, already dry s long a time,
Jumps a little spark.*

*Monotonous the little bell intones,
Echoing softly afar,
But my coachman has fallen silent,
And before me lies the long lonely road...⁴³*

Particular bell inscriptions were so repeatedly used that only an abbreviation was required for the complete phrase to be recognised and accepted. The names of bell-founders were also abbreviated to form a signature mark much like a silversmith's stamp (*kleimo*). Abbreviation, a common trait in vernacular language, reduces significance to an indexical string of letters:

| | |
|---------|--|
| К.Л.Т.И | - <i>kogo liubliu togo i dariu</i> |
| Т.И | - <i>togo i dariu</i> |
| КОЛ. | - <i>kolokol</i> |
| А.М.Т. | - Aleksei Makarovich Troshin ⁴⁴ |

The relationship of the 'little' or common bells to personal letters is magnified in the symbolic copula between church bells and *Logos*: the *kolokol*, like the Russian church icon, is intended as an illustration and illumination of holy texts.⁴⁵ A kind of hieroglyphic notation (*znamennoe penie*, 'signed chant') used in fourteenth and fifteenth century Russian vocal music, in which 'melody not only flowed out of words, but served as the mold on which words were set in bold relief',⁴⁶ is likewise analogous to the mold of a bell and the relief inscriptions upon it.

The motivation for inscribing bells thus reaches far beyond the simple intention of defining the origins and functions of the bell. Relief 'excriptions' could be regarded as the seminal dictation of reported speech, just as prophetic or oracular speech, as Slobodanka Millicent Vladiv-Glover remarks in 'Revelation and Suffering as Modes of Discourse', is purported to bear the revelations of deities:

'Founding' and 'instituting' events [...] confer upon revelation a 'transcendent character' which elevates them above ordinary history and teleology. These 'kernel events' are such, we infer, that they may be likened to seeds from which meaning is disseminated through the whole body of sagas, traditions and stories which make up the theological tradition.⁴⁷

The inscription of bells is motivated not just by prophetics but by the diarisation of pivotal or 'kernel' events, the founding of bells for specific occasions. Even the pithy inscriptions of smaller bells can be regarded as records of pivotal events at the personal level, recording, as they do, soap operatic intrigues – love, travel, good fortune, sadness. The motivation for inscription of smaller bells is not as lofty as for church bells, fulfilling a simple requirement to express everyday emotions and needs through a *de facto* voice, or to send a letter combined with a gift. Fanatical inscription of everyday bells arises from a primordial instinct towards the graphic, the same instinct that drives the 'writer' in urban graffiti culture today. All the modes of inscription that have been discussed are devotional or votive in some spiritual or social sense and, as such, may be regarded collectively as being a form of 'devotional graffiti'.

Graffiti, of the kind found in a state of excellent preservation in Pompeii, are rare in Kievan Russia's history from the Christian tenth century. Most edifices of the Kievan period of Russian history disintegrated. Extant examples point nevertheless to the origin of Russian bell inscriptions in early domestic and devotional graffiti. According to John Bushnell's *Moscow Graffiti*, the earliest known personalised inscriptions on common household objects were made on weights for spinning wheels, which bore inscriptions of phrases like 'Lord, aid thy slave' or 'Ivanko made this for you, his only daughter', and were ornamented with images of animals.⁴⁸ Tenth century devotional graffiti have been uncovered in cave hermitages and in a catacombic cave monastery near Kiev, many examples of which are similar in character to bell inscriptions. Kievan graffiti recorded important events including battles, treaties, sales of land, reports of the weather, or personal messages:

A graffito in [Kiev's St Sophia Cathedral] records that lightning struck at 9 a.m. on March 3, 1052, while in Novgorod's St. Sophia, a graffito reports that on the fifth Sunday after Easter snow fell so heavily that it reached the knees. One visitor to Kiev's St. Sophia lamented that 'I drank away my clothes while I was here'. Church walls in the thoroughly commercial city of Novgorod provided space to record business deals, while drawings appeared in churches everywhere. Parishioners drew not just crosses, but also pictures of horses, birds, leopards, monks, warriors, fingers raised in blessing, and entire battle scenes.⁴⁹

Etching of vernacular graffiti on public walls, often using bronze or bone *stili* (pen knives) normally used for writing on bark, was a folk custom during the Kievan period though it was actively opposed by the churchdom. Purely devotional graffiti were tolerated by the church since they were usually prayers, memorial notices or epitaphs, or crosses, sometimes accompanied sometimes by Christ's initials or the Greek letters NIKA, which signified triumph over death. Nevertheless, by the twelfth century, written edicts listed carving on church walls as one of the offenses punishable by the church as a desecration. This was the next most serious infraction after cutting down crosses, presumably a crime equivalent to cutting down or stealing bells. Censorship of this type of graffito is also evident, particularly where the graffito exhibited an element of folk or pagan culture:

One censored item [in St. Sophia, Novgorod] is a proverb, 'the young warriors sit in the boat like pancakes on a griddle'. [...] Whoever defaced [it] left his own: 'May your hands wither'.⁵⁰

Since the first examples of graffiti writing in *Rus'* coincided with the introduction of Christianity, it might be concluded that belief in the power of signs and texts came from Byzantium along with religious icons. In the tenth century, the agricultural encyclopedia *Geoponika* advised that 'wine will not sour if you write on the vessel or jar the divine words, 'Taste and you will see the Lord is good'.⁵¹ It is more likely, however, that the power invested in

Christian inscriptions reinforced earlier paganistic ideas and beliefs in the power of letters, including magical use of puns and foul language, which existed well before Russia's marriage with Byzantium. For example, expletives formed using the word 'mother' were used in magical rites tracing back to an ancient pagan earth cult. W F Ryan suggests that the word for 'spell' in Russian may also be connected to a pagan deity or phallic cultism:

[Native] Slavonic magic words are few; the commonest is Russian is *chur*, once thought to be the name of a Slavonic deity, but etymologically more probably a line or boundary, or 'penis'. The word is used in a variety of children's games and magical rituals to stake a claim.⁵²

An inscription, like that of a personal name on a church ('Ivan was here'), or a bell, is a means of attaching the identity of the writer to the power that the edifice represents, and to stake a claim there. It is also a memorial to being at a specific time and place, a place that can be revisited in the future to nostalgically view the gradual wasting of the signatory emblem by the elements or, in graffiti parlance, being 'slashed' by another person's mark. The same act of territorialisation is perpetuated by the urban 'writer' who represents a subculture exercising the power of the word over institutions representing the primary social paradigm. Devotional graffiti are still written in Moscow today, but they are now accompanied by a raft of secular graffiti belonging to gangs, adolescents, political agitators, cultural critics, and musical and social subcultures.

The literary and historical value of graffiti must not be underestimated: inscriptions on bells and walls have sometimes remained as the only extant evidence of important social events in early Russian history.⁵³ Graffiti also wield political power: for example, a graffiti written in the stairwell of the Moscow apartment where Bulgakov lived in the 1920s became the public medium for a political debate over attempts to close down performances of *The Master and Margarita* during the 1980s:

BEHEMOTH MOVED INTO A SHAFT OF MOONLIGHT
FALLING FROM THE WINDOW
DO I REALLY RESEMBLE A HALLUCINATION?
SILENCE BEHEMOTH!
ALRIGHT, I'LL BE A SILENT HALLUCINATION ⁵⁴

This instance of inscription is evidence that letters (in the form of inscribed love letters on postal bells and literal inscriptions on the 'skin' of the bell) are the means by which the *kolokol* is capable of acting as an 'ideological apparatus' and entering into human affairs. Inscription is another stratum in the self-sustained language of bells linking them to the primordial through a 'reflected' quest for language and belief.⁵⁵ The name of the *kolokol* and its inscribed body both imply this ecstasy, a transcendent voice calling out the *Logos*, through word, letter and image. The music of bells is yet another 'language' arising from a physical act of articulation unattached to any particular meaning, the production of an *ecstasy* of pure encounter with language and sound.⁵⁶

The indexical, iconic and symbolic texts inscribed upon bells (corresponding with literal, metaphorical/mimetic and abstract modes of expression in music, image and text) correspond to Lacan's model of the Real, Imaginary and Symbolic orders of the psyche.⁵⁷ These psychic realms are evidence of psychic development occurring in the gradual separation and alienation of the subject from the primal order of the Real. Underlying this structure is the acoustical image of the phoneme that is the primordial memory of the maternal voice. This, finally, is the reason why bells are associated with acts of remembrance (not simply as an aspect conscious memory, but in deep unconscious memory founded at the earliest moments of self-awareness) and why Corbin identified a symbolic connection between bells and a quest for the primordial origins of language itself.

The Founding and Architecture of the *Kolokol*

The *kolokol* is architected to raise (metallic) material to a state of perfect resonance. Its form emerges from a 'void' or interstice – the space between an inner core and an exterior covering. The process of bell-founding resembles a magical rite involving the power of the alchemic 'elements' of fire, water, earth and air which together represent the various states of matter. The *kolokol* is invested with spiritual (spectral) powers during the rites of the founding process: the 'heightened state' of its *materia prima*, in conjunction with its apparent emergence from an interstitial nothingness, contributes to further interpretation of the Russian bell as a symbol of transcendence or spectrality.

Russian bells, like all large European bells, are created using a variant of the *cire-perdu* (French, 'lost wax') method. First, an inner core (*bolvan* or *litso*, literally, a 'block' or 'face') made of bricks and clay is constructed and fired from within an internal cavity to form the basic shape of the bell's interior. The most complex stage, however, is the creation of a 'fake bell' (the *telo* or *rubashka*, literally, 'body' or 'shirt') which lies between the inner and outer core. The 'fake bell' is made of clay mixed with soft materials such as tallow and linen fibres. Inscriptions and iconic ornamentation are modelled on the surface of the fake bell using a special mixture of ten parts wax, twenty parts colophony (pine resin), five parts red lead and half a part of soot.

After the middle 'fake bell' is completed and dried by firing, it is covered in a protective mixture of tallow, soap and wax, before the final outer layer (*kozhukh* or *kolpak* - literally 'leather coat' or 'cap/bell-glass') is gradually applied. To further protect the ornaments on the fake bell, the cope is made using finely sifted clay softened with horse manure, cow hair and chopped flax. Once all three layers have been completed, the bell is again fired from the central cavity. After firing, the cope is raised and the 'fake bell' removed, leaving a space between the inner and outer molds. Once the cope is replaced, the bell is carefully buried in earth and then, in the critical pouring stage, the space between the inner core and the cope is filled with molten

bronze made of about 13 parts to 4 of pure copper and tin. Assuming that the pouring stage goes well, the bell is then allowed to cool before, in its 'moment of truth', being unearthed and removed from its clay shell.

The materials of bell-founding, including earth, fire, water, cow hair, fats, excrement, tree sap, flax and metal, attain the quality of a secret, magical, or alchemic formula. The bell-founding process is a demonstration of the primary concerns of alchemy, especially the transformation that can be observed in the states of matter (solid/liquid, water/stone) and the dynamic processes of heating, cooling, congelation and reverberation that correspond allegorically to transformations experienced as a spectrum of psychic states.

As James Elkins points out in *What Painting Is*, it is through the transformations of alchemy that the dynamisms of matter (such as those perceived in the colours of iconic painting and in the reverberation of bell bronze) enter into the human soul:

Ceramics begins with the careful mixing of tap water and clay, and the wet clay slip is itself a dense mixture of stone and water. [...] Mural painting uses water and stone, and tempera uses egg and stone. Even a medium like bronze casting relies on the capacity of 'stone' – that is, the mixture of tin, lead, copper, zinc, and other metals – to become a river of bright orange fluid. So painting and other visual arts [as well as bell-making] are one example of negotiations between water and stone, and the other is alchemy. In alchemy, the Stone (with a capital S) is the ultimate goal, and one of the purposes of alchemy is to turn something as liquid as water into a substance as firm and unmeltable as stone.⁵⁸

The rituals of bell-founding are fortified by traditional religious blessings at every stage of the production process including pouring, removal from the cope and raising of the bell into its tower. Sprinkling of the *kolokol* with holy water is supposed to protect it from thunder and lightning and to ensure that it will be successful in warding off evil spirits.⁵⁹

Entire communities were involved in moving the bell to its tower, acting also as witnesses to its baptism. Underlying this religious sanctification, however, was a strong sense of superstition, partly since bells belonged to the collection of paraphernalia possessed by the Russian *Koldun* (pagan wizard). This emphasis on superstition, spirituality and magic is noted in Ryan's *The Bathhouse at Midnight*:

Bells are [...] thought to drive away the Devil [...] and *klikushi*, hysterical 'possessed' women, were sometimes placed under bells to exorcise the evil spirit [...]. Bell-towers were thought to be the haunt of demons which had inhabited the bodies of dead magicians, but they were obliged to flee each time the bells rang. Bells are involved in certain types of divination when listened for at crossroads. Water in which the clapper of a bell has been dipped acquires healing properties.⁶⁰

Wax, a major Russian export from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and an integral ingredient in bell-making, is also surrounded in superstition. On Easter day, beekeepers would hang a piece of copper obtained from a bell in their apiaries to attract a swarm.⁶¹ The power attributed to bell metal may have arisen from a belief in the magical qualities attributed to words, including taboo words and word-weaving (*pletenie slov*):⁶² in Russian, the word for bell-ringing (*zvon*) has a buzzing quality which may have been thought to attract bees. The Russian words for 'copper' and 'honey' also bear a close sonic resemblance to one another. The fact that churches were also wax traders is recorded in bell inscriptions, one bell founded in 1754 accounting for 62 puds and 5 funt of wax.⁶³

Religious rites surrounding the blessing of bells are highly codified. Dedication of bells after casting requires, to this day, a number of applications of holy water and prayers. While there are many versions of these rites, they all begin with singing in ecclesiastical mode 6 (called *glas*) and the repetition of benedictions - for example, twelve times *Gospodi pomilui*, 'Lord have mercy' - preceding a long series of psalms and prayers. Concluding the prayers and psalms, which contain an array of references to

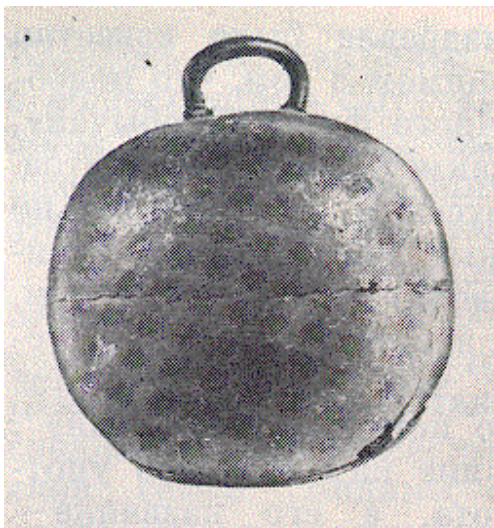
thunder, fire, storms and trumpets, is the reading of religious *stikhera* ('verses'), the first of which reinforces the symbolic relationship between bells, divinity and the natural elements. The Russian Orthodoxy's *Great Book of Needs*, which governs ecclesiastical procedures for the dedication of bells, reads:

The earth and the other elements move against us who are troubled and storm-tossed, O Lord, because Thy fury is unleashed on account of our sins. Having heard the voice of this sign, as Thou hearest the silver trumpets of Moses, with Thy deeply compassionate eyes look down upon us, and do not convict us through Thine anger [...] O Thou Who, as the Fashioner of all things, alone makest the foundations of the whole earth to struggle, O God, and causest the bed of the sea to shake, deliver us from Thy just reproaches, driving away, at the sound of this sign, bad storms and ill winds, thunder and lightning. [...] O Lord Who by Thyself alone didst fashion all things instantly in the beginning, and Who now, through the voice of this consecrated bell dost effect everything among us: Do Thou banish all despondency and laziness from the hearts of Thy faithful.⁶⁴

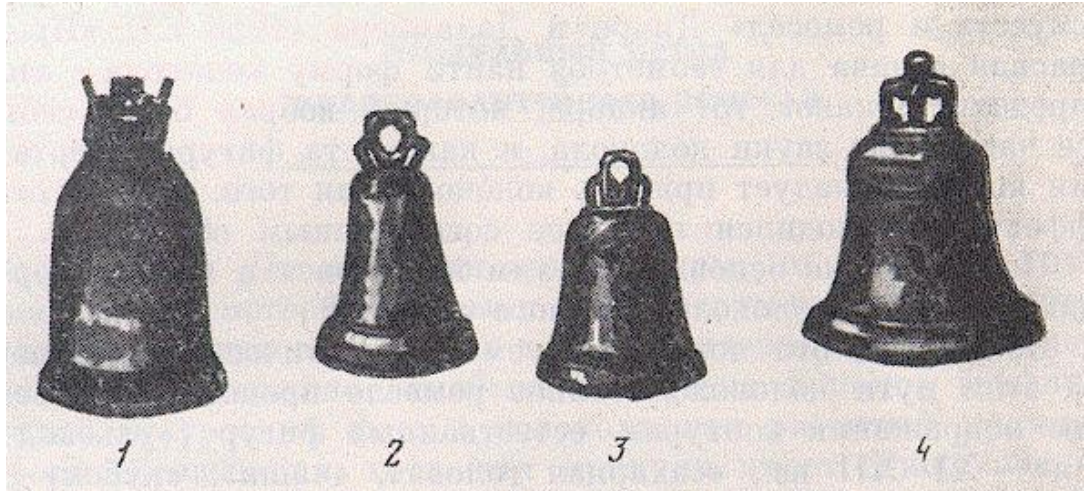
The ultimate form of modern tulip-shaped bells can be traced back through an historical line of geometrical, metallurgical, chemical and acoustical experimentation. The continued re-design of the basic forms of bells ('beehive' form from the eleventh – twelfth century, 'sugar loaf', 'chalice', and 'barrel' from the twelfth – thirteenth century) leads back to the epoch of the Goths.⁶⁵ While the Russian bell developed interdependently with other European bells, no exact time or place can be assigned to the origination of any well defined method for bell-founding in Europe. The first description of an advanced systematic method is contained in Biringuccio's treatise *Pirotechnika*, only published in 1540.⁶⁶ The images of medieval bells below⁶⁷ show how the form of the bell, transforming along with changing cultural and historical influences and 'mirroring' Russian cultural change, developed from the archaic seed-pod form of the *bubenets* ('jingle bell') and the folded forms of medieval bells through various mutations of curvilinear bell-castings that ended in the campaniform of the classical Russian church-bell.



The 'archaic' (pre-medieval) bell formed by folding and riveting is still used for the belling of animals, particularly cows.



***Bubenets* - the earliest form of bell based upon the model of a seed-pod. This form of bell adorns the traditional team of three carriage in Russia, the Troika.**



Bells from the Middle Ages –

- 1- 'Beehive' form (1124)**
- 2- 'Sugar Loaf' form (1175)**
- 3- Transitional form (mid thirteenth – fourteenth century)**
- 4- 'Gothic' form (1389)**

Only after the middle ages does the architecture of the Russian bell begin to resemble the classical curved form of modern bells. The modern bell form is founded upon modular dimensions and relations derived from the dimensions of the mouth of the bell and its height. The exact proportions of the *kolokol* are defined by a set of distances between the wall of the bell and points along an architectural line drawn from its lip (the lowest diameter) to the shoulder. This line, which is taken to be the height of the bell, is divided into 12 segments, each of which is equal to $1/7^{\text{th}}$ of the bell's lowest diameter.

These 'magical' proportions form a kind of mathematical key that defines the curvature and location of the bodily features of the bell. For example, the shoulder is located at a distance of $10 \frac{1}{2}$ segments from the lip. The *boi* (the

sound bow – the thickest point of the bell near the bottom of the lip, where the clapper strikes the bell) is located between the first and second segment of the 'height line'. The lower limit of the *boi* (at the point marking the first segment) is located at a distance of $1/32^{\text{nd}}$ of a segment from the line, while the upper limit is located at a distance of $1/16$ of a segment-length from the height line. The primary elements of the bell's formal configuration are, by convention, each assigned a letter:

- D – the exterior diameter at the edge of the *iubka* ['skirt']
- D^1 – the diameter of the roof at the shoulders of the trunk
- V – the height of the bell of the bell, designated as a straight line describing the angle from the edge of the skirt to the top of the shoulders
- V^1 – the vertical height of the bell, including the ears
- V^2 – the vertical height of the, excluding the ears
- U – the height of the ears
- T – thickness of the bell walls at the sound box
- M – the mass [weight] of the bell without the tongue
- M^1 – the mass of the bell tongue⁶⁸

Perhaps as a result of an inherent conservatism in the Christian world, or simply because of trade secrets within the *artel'* (co-operative workshop) of bell-making artisans, the modular specification of the bell emerged quite slowly between the sixteenth and eighteenth century. This type of specification has in common with classical architecture a fundamental emphasis on proportion: 'perfect' proportions of a complete object were supposed to emerge from the measurements of a single unit of the whole.

In her article entitled 'Modular method of the bell founding craft', the Russian campanologist Shashkina points out that this model could not have emerged purely through intellectual investigation, but rather as a physical product of the bell-founding craft. From the point of view of the bell-founder, this evolution towards the 'modular' bell was entirely intuitive, a *psychic quest* for an ideal and transcendent spectrality motivated by:

- (i) An intense image of ideal sound, a kind of 'aesthetic information;'
- (ii) The aesthetic character of the method as a whole that strives towards the incarnation of the internal (physical qualities) within the external (form) simultaneously;
- (iii) A 'genetic' (generational) transference of logical orientation;
- (iv) The collective mechanism of development – hence a sparsity of personalities in the historical biography of the bell;
- (v) The invariable, end-of-the-line, finality of the decision, the idea that 'we can go no further' in respect of the basic form and standards of the technical equipment;
- (vi) The interaction of mathematical devices with artistic and technical tasks – 'synthesis of art and science;'
- (vii) Professionalism of the artisan – a thorough contrivance of the concrete work;
- (viii) A desire for rational and logical clarity; and
- (ix) The completeness of the picture – the formation of the full structure of a modeled phenomenon.⁶⁹

While the form of the *kolokol* kept changing, based firstly upon natural models like the beehive, purely formal ideas played less of part in its historical metamorphosis than this quest for an illusive sonic aestheticism. This 'ideal' was not to create Pythagorean evenness or engineered consonant sound but, on the contrary, to delight in the unpredictable, natural, asymmetrical distribution of tones, a sound full of higher partials dissonant with the lower notes in the spectrum. Shashkina defines these ideal factors of bell resonance as follows:

- (i) Clarity of the fundamental tone (the basic tone of the low register) – the [quality of] attack, an unexpectedness of the sonic effect;
- (ii) Production of multi-voiced overtones, the choir effect;
- (iii) Harmonic structure, harmonicity;
- (iv) A wide range of timbre within a diapason that is drawn out vertically, [creating an effect of both] depth and space;

- (v) Movement and variation in dynamics; and
- (vi) An attenuated, completely simultaneous, sounding of all partials and a soft 'fade-out'.⁷⁰

The result of this application of an 'intuitive sonic quest' to bronze, the *materia prima* of bells, is the attainment of an intensified sonority that acts as an acoustical mirror to the 'inner ear' of human consciousness and memory. So reflective is its sonority that the bell seems to be perfectly receptive to, and demonstrative of, the emotive play of the bell-ringer.

The ear of the *listener*, on the other hand, is concentrated upon the fundamental tone of the bell (heard just after the moment of the attack) rather than its spectral decay, which is nevertheless audible, giving the impression of a sound without identifiable source or discernible end. This accentuates the differences between sonic affinities arising from melodic relations, within which sounds are related in the consciousness by memory, and harmonic relations, where sounds are heard simultaneously, immediately and without being contingent upon the possibility of conscious musical recall.⁷¹ From out of this sense of this sonic sourcelessness and endlessness, and the harmonic indeterminacy that the listener experiences, comes an attenuated state of psychic unity between the spectrality of consciousness and that of the physical, cosmic universe, a moment of 'being at one with the world'. This is the *acoustical* means by which the bell acts as a copula, or 'hook', a link to the spectral world.

The Materiality of the *Kolokol*

As a material object, a body of matter, the *kolokol* is a cultural indicator of social orientation towards the value and power of the very material from which it is created. Materiality, in itself, perfectly reflects the social, cultural, religious and ideological constructs with which this orientation is associated. Materiality and consciousness are united in the production of cultural artefacts like the *kolokol*. The Russian campanologist Vladimir Il'in confirms this when he writes:

The vibrations of the bell peal creates the same kind of spiritual-material (*dukhovno-material'nom*) form as the penetrating ethereal layer of the sun's light, and the radiance of candles and lustres.⁷²

Bell bronze, normally 78% copper and 20-22% tin with impurities of no more than 2%, combines the strength of copper with the ringing quality of tin, intensifying the amplitude and lengthening the decay of the bell. If impurities (including lead, zinc, silver, aluminium, arsenic, phosphorous magnesium, bismuth, iron, cobalt, nickel) exceed 2% of the metal content, they can perceptibly affect the quality of the sound. Higher levels of tin 'whiten' not only the metal, but also the spectrum of sound, which becomes brighter. High tin levels are often found in brightly sounding *kolokol'chiki* - little bells with smaller, lighter clappers and softer bronze.

The unique qualities of particular bronzes result from the smelting and various phases of the heating and cooling process, during which the structure of the alloy changes at the molecular electromagnetic level until meta-stabilisation of a prevailing, though not pervasive, crystalline structure occurs. This structure supports mathematical constants of resonance that conduct sound at a particular range of speeds, as Shashkina explains:

Of all the intermediate Cu-Sn [copper-tin] phases, the most interesting for the analysis of bell bronze is probably δ -phase, [a phase of cooling at 350 C° when a particular crystalline structure predominates in the bronze] in the structure of the tectoid. At the basis of the δ -phase lies the inter-metallic bond $\text{Cu}_{31}\text{Sn}_8$ with an extremely complex cubic mesh structure related to brass. That phase of crystallisation occurs in a very narrow window at a temperature of 350 C° which should break down into ($\alpha + \epsilon$) [Two different crystalline structures, alpha structures more common in the higher temperatures range leading up to the melting of copper at 1083 C°, and ϵ structures occurring at around the lower melting point of tin at 232 C° - bronze melts at 880 C°]. Due however to the very slow

speed of this process, in most cases, the meta-stability of the δ -phase is preserved at room temperature.⁷³

In musical acoustics, the basic demand for a sounding material is that it should vibrate freely when activated, that the *whole* instrument should radiate sound, and that the sound should be attenuated as much as possible. These conditions can be found only in a particular range of elastic materials that tend to reflect rather than absorb sound, that are highly dense, with minimal porosity, and that are only slightly dependent upon the frequency of the main or inherent acoustical parameters of the instrument itself.

At the same time, the material must also be stable and elastic enough to be manipulated. The degree of resonance in bronze can be defined as an acoustical constant determined by factors such as the quantity, density and internal friction of the material itself, and the speed with which sound passes through it. Though there are many factors that contribute to the success of bronze as a musically sounding material, what makes bronze a unique phenomenon is that it is a man-made metal with a spectrum and sound morphology which has attained particular significance in the historical development of human consciousness:

[In its physical nature, bronze is] both human-made and made of humanity itself [... being] physically defined by its primary effect in perception, that is, the psychology and psycho-physiology of human perception of complex sounds.⁷⁴

Prior to Christianisation, Russian pagans attributed a range of spectral powers to bronze, particularly to bell bronze and bronze percussion instruments, thanks to the reverberant properties of the metal. Included in these attributes were restorative or preventative powers, the ability to purify, protect, induce catharsis, conjure and exorcise. Bronze acted as a conduit between heavenly and natural power, enabling the conversion of natural phenomena to human use against the fear of evil, illness and bad fate:

[A more fundamental experience] attributable to the chiming of metal is a psychological turn towards the power of nature, to the universe, to an expansive idealism, to actively benevolent origins.⁷⁵

These practices were widespread in the ancient world. In his 'Outline of the history of music in Russia from ancient times to the end of XVIII Century', Findeizen describes how shamans and pagan priests in Rome and Athens also used metal instruments including bells and gongs as oracular indicators of the future, as ecstatic, orgiastic and funereal musical instruments and as votive objects in various cultic ceremonies:

At the time of the blessing and purification of a sacrifice, and during their prayers, the Proserpine priests in Athens rang small bells. In deep antiquity, the Roman people positioned those to be sacrificed near to a sacred tree laden with bells. Also in ancient times, houses were sprinkled with water to the ringing of a bell to cleanse them of evil spirits.⁷⁶

Bells were a monument to the animistic notion that spirit resides in the inanimate and within material, the vibrational properties of matter being understood as a projection of universal spiritual energy into the field of conscious perception.

Specific superstitions and legends surround the magical events of metallurgy and the casting of Russian bells. One legend pertains to the secret admixture of a small portion of silver to the bronze alloy, the exact measure apparently known only to bell-founders, to impart a silvery tone to the bell, though all physical evidence would deny the truth of this belief. Even bells inscribed with the words *so serebrom* (with silver) never contain more than a trace of silver – around .01 - .06 %.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the addition of a small silver coin to the molten bronze of a large bell as a secret 'trick of the trade' is certainly possible.

Another superstition relating to bell-casting was the custom of dissolving all rumours and scandals during the actual pouring to protect the *kolokol* from the *durnoi glaz* (the evil eye, usually of a witch).⁷⁸ Bronze is unique amongst metals in this regard, as Shashkina again explains:

Other than perhaps the alloy of bronze used for *mirrors*, (bronze with 32-33% tin), no other man-made metal alloy has given rise to so many beliefs and accompanying rites or as much poetising in world literature as [is encountered in] the public life of the bell-alloy.⁷⁹

All of the elements identified as belonging to the world of magic in Marcel Mauss's *General Theory of Magic* are present in the founding and ritual use of bells presented so far, including the necessary role of magicians, priests and founders (those attributed with magical powers), the designation of specific times and places to magical rituals, the role of *Mana* or magical forces residing in objects and people and, above all, the element of belief – 'magic, by definition, is believed'.⁸⁰ These superstitious, mysterious and ritual elements of bell-casting reinforce the spectral character of the *kolokol* from the very beginning of its 'incarnation'.

The importance afforded to the moment of founding gives recognition to the fact that formulation of reliable and predictable structures in the materials of culture are also the ramifications of, or even precursors to, the development of predictable structures in society and cultural life itself.⁸¹ As Bondarenko notes, the development of bell-making in Russia coincided with a girding of the Russian state against the Mongolian yoke, while more sophisticated forms of bell music emerged simultaneously with the development of a complex social state:

The evolution of the bell-making was directly related to the establishment of a national community for the Russian people. Without doubt, the idea of a unified national territory for *Rus*, at the same time as centralized government was being formed, was important and influential. Nothing responded better to these ideas [in a cultural sense] than the music of bells.⁸²

Bells were a sign of new social order in seventeenth century Russia, not only because of the technological advances they implied, but also because of the degree of social power and control over material value that they represented. Bells began to represent the perceptible fingerprint of human consciousness on the material universe, and to exhibit the knowledge of material behaviouralism first acquired by metalsmiths through direct tactile experience.

The inseparable interconnection of human being and spirit with metallic matter freed from the constraints of classical atomism and scientific objectivity is considered further by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*:

[What] metal and metallurgy bring to light is a life proper to matter, a vital state of matter as such, a material vitalism that doubtless exists everywhere but is ordinarily hidden or covered [...] Metallurgy is the consciousness or thought of the matter-flow and metal the correlate of this consciousness. As expressed in pan-metallism, metal is coextensive to the whole of matter, and the whole of matter to metallurgy. Even the waters, the grasses and varieties of wood, the animals are populated with salts or mineral elements. Not everything is metal, but metal is everywhere [...].⁸³

Deleuze expanded upon this theme in his Vincennes seminar, reaching a conclusion suggesting that the bell-founder is as much the creator of bell music as the bell-ringer:

I no longer even need to say why the blacksmith is a musician, it's not simply because the forge makes noise, it's because music and metallurgy find themselves obsessed by the same problem: namely that metallurgy puts matter into a state of continuous vibration just as music is obsessed with putting sound into a state of continuous variation and instituting in the sonorous world a continuous development of form and a continuous variation of matter.⁸⁴

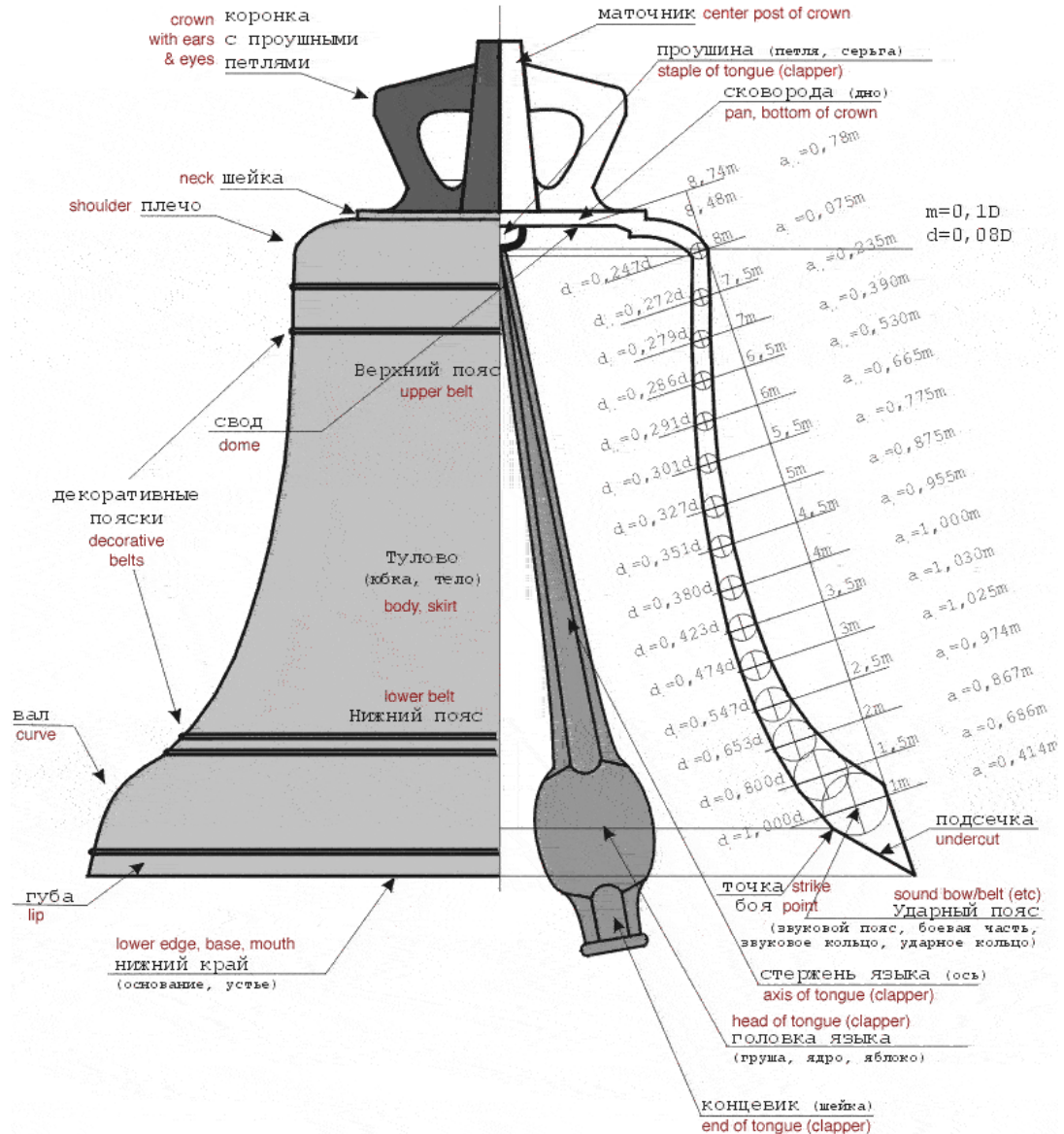
The evolution of metallurgy thus parallels the evolution of musical instruments that reflect the *Zeitgeist* of particular epochs and the idiom of certain stylistic movements. The historical development of specific dynamisms of metal by instrumental craftspeople has generated the exaggerated powers of Wagner's brassy nationalist opera, the heavy metal pianos that supported the weight of the great nineteenth and twentieth century school of Russian pianism, and the electronic instruments invented by Lev Sergeivich Teremen (Leon Theremin), precursors to the ecstasies of today's musical electronica.

The Anthropomorphic Body of the *Kolokol*

Emerging from an amalgamated *mélange* of science, alchemy, superstition and artistry, the spectral bell forms an anagram of corporeal human Being, a kind of memorial or monument to incarnation that also encapsulates, captivates and embodies the idea of the human 'soul'. The names of the various components of the *kolokol* are clearly anthropomorphic: the opening of the bell, called its 'mouth' in English and the *annulus* in Latin, is called the 'lip' (*guba*) in Russian. The central section is called the 'body' (*telo*) or 'skirt' (*iubka*). The bell's clapper, as in English, is called the 'tongue' (*jazyk*). At the top of the bell 'body' (*telo*) is the 'shoulder' (*plecho*) and 'neck' (*sheika*). The 'crown' (*koronka*) at the top of the bell implies a head, especially since it supports a structure with 'eyes and ears' (*s proushnyimi petliami*). A set of bells is called a 'family'.

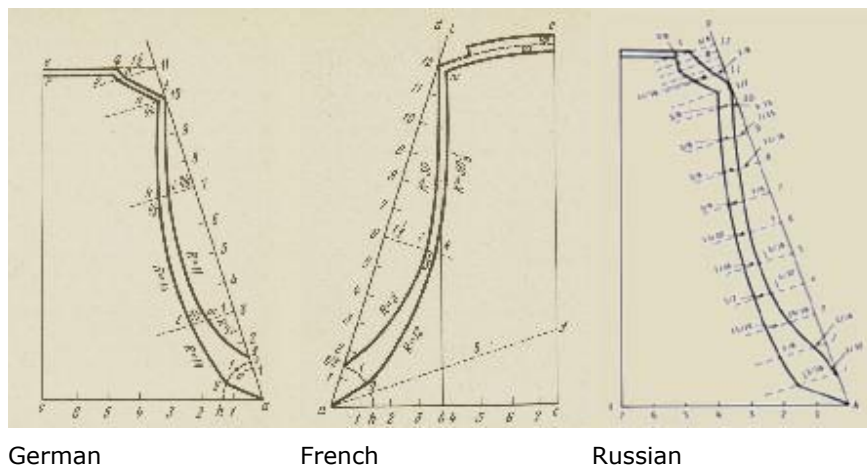
A taxonomy of the bell's physiology, with its modular proportions, is illustrated in the following diagram:⁸⁵

Basic Elements of a Bell



Details of physiology distinguish the Russian bell from its Western European counterparts. The tongue of a stationary Russian bell, made of cast iron, is much larger than the tongues of swinging bells, since the force of attack comes from the tongue, not from the weight of the swinging body as it does with Western European bells. The tongue culminates in a 'head', also called an 'apple' (*iabloko*), which is far larger than those of Western bells. Below the 'apple' is a tapered spur of metal called the 'flight' (*perelet*) that centers

the head of the tongue and helps it to swing evenly. Above all, the lips of the bell are distinct from Italian or French bells. As shown in the images below,⁸⁶ the Russian bell exhibits a long sharp internal angling and a protuberance on the exterior that counterbalances the point where the lip ends and the internal bell curve begins.⁸⁷



The Russian bell, on account of a highly anthropomorphised history in ritualised birth, alienation, exile, execution and annihilation, has already revealed itself as a highly subjectified object in Russian culture. Throughout its cultural history, especially represented in the creative arts, the Russian bell has been symbolically associated with the head and crown of imperial will, the ear and eye of perception, the organs of reproduction, the orifices of ingestion and excretion, and the tongue, mouth and lips of articulation. The bell is not associated with any one particular body *part*, but with the *soma*, embodiment itself, or as Deleuze and Guattari described it, the 'body without organs'.⁸⁸

This concept of the 'body without organs' effectively describes the material body of the bell *in excitation*, as all components of the assemblage are brought into an indeterminate continuum in the transcendent form of sonic spectrum. This *spectre*, a momentary unifying 'chaos' in the bell body, is brought into a continuous relationship with subjective Being as it is projected through the body of the hearing subject. Russian bell-ringers similarly

describe a state of intimate connection with the bell as they play *v udare*, 'at one with', or literally 'within the strike of' the bell.

In this moment of being *v udare*, 'stratification', the physical division between the bell body, the body of the hearing subject, and the originating body of the bell-ringer, is dissolved into pure intuition, a continuity of perception which opens up the possibility of new alignments, flows and fluxes. This 'open relationship' between bodies can occur only within this moment of 'organlessness'. All bodies are subject to these conditions. There is, therefore, a symbolic continuum between the action of the bell-ringer upon the body of the bell, of the bell upon the body of the listening subject, of 'God' upon *Kosmos* and of the cosmic upon the incarnate. The bell is granted its religious rites as a body connected to all of the *Kosmos* and the *Logos* through symbolic contact with the 'hand of God'.

This bodily aspect of the *kolokol* gives rise to its most powerful and self-evident implications in mystical, religious, philosophical and cultural observances. The body is prior to any possibility of voice or *Logos*. It is the seed (*seme*) of language and the form of all heavenly bodies. The idea of body is *a priori* to all the other symbols (the seed-pod, the sun, cosmos, the voice) with which the *kolokol* is normally associated. The bell, a material body capable of transferring spectral/cosmic energy, implies a state of unity between the perceptive body and the transcendental real.

According to the American philosopher of psychology Ken Wilbur, this unified or 'nondual' psychic state (a state approximated when the listening/hearing subject is submerged in the music of bells) may only arise within a great 'holarchy' of Being, a continuous spectrum of consciousness that brings inanimate matter and divine super-consciousness into one continuous dimension:

[In this continuous 'nondual' state], the agitation of the separate-self sense profoundly relaxes, and the self uncoils in the vast expanse of all space. At that point, it becomes obvious that you are not 'in here'

looking at the world 'out there', because that duality has simply collapsed into pure Presence and spontaneous luminosity.⁸⁹ [...]

This dissolution of the duality and separation between subject and cosmos in a moment of calling, interpellation, or election, brings subjective spiritual awareness into contact with the objectivity of the cosmos, the very communion of spirit and matter that the *kolokol*, as a copula, represents:

When I rest in simple, clear, ever-present awareness, I am resting in intrinsic Spirit; I am in fact nothing other than witnessing Spirit itself. I do not become Spirit; I simply recognize the Spirit that I always already am. When I rest in simple, clear, ever-present awareness, I am the Witness of the World. I am the eye of Spirit. [...] The entire Kosmos arises in the eye of Spirit, in the I of the Spirit, in my own intrinsic awareness, this simple ever-present state, and I am simply that.⁹⁰

The spectrum of the 'all-body' is experienced as touch, including the touch between bodies and the body in contact with itself. Duration, location, action, intensity, frequency and sensation are all variables or dimensions of touch that form continua in the interrelationship of these bodies.⁹¹ Spectra of touch therefore arise between bodies as they come into contact *in time*.⁹² This implies that the temporal bodies of the bell, the bell-ringer, the listening subject and the cosmos are united in the archetypal symbolism of the spectral projection and rhythmicity of bell music.

As instruments of convocation, bells call the listening subject back into the sensation of unity with eternal time. In his *Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty elaborates similarly upon the nature of this temporal belonging when he writes that the temporal subject and the world are inseparable, that the world is projected by the subject as much as the subject is a project of the world. Not only are the world and subject inseparable, but so also are the dimensions of time, the past/present/future of birth/living/death.

The *kolokol* thus symbolises far more than cyclic repetitions of birth and death. It is the sign of an entire spectrum of temporal Being moving throughout all subjective existence. Subjectivity is not temporal itself, for successive states of time-consciousness would demand a new conscious state for each new moment in time. As Merleau-Ponty argues, 'Subjectivity is not in time, because it takes up or lives time, and merges with the cohesion of a life'.⁹³ Nevertheless, for Merleau-Ponty, consciousness is the culmination in uniqueness of a single and definitive corporeal being⁹⁴ exemplified in the individuality of each singular person, and in the uniqueness of each instance of a cultural artefact such as the *kolokol*. The bell, through its body and spectrum, signifies this deep understanding of Being: that consciousness, spirit, body and the cosmos are not independent, opposed or separate, but are joined together (copulated) through time at the 'very horizon of the question of Being'.⁹⁵

The Spectrality of the *Kolokol*

When brought into a state of excitation through the movement of the tongue, an 'image' of the material body of the bell is projected in the form of a sonic spectrum. This spectrum is mediated invisibly through the air. The acoustical properties of spectra that arise from this synthesis of the 'perfect' bell form and its perfectly resonating substance (the exact structure of these arrays) are determined by a complex and totally unique spectral structure and sound morphology contained in a personalised sonic *envelope* - another indication of the bell's association with the letter and *Logos*.

Following the initial attack of the sounding agent against the sound bow of the bell, a vertical series of partials is created. These include natural tones, difference tones (tones that result from the coexistence of natural tones) and subsonic tones in the largest bells. The bell, an instrument of sonority rather than tonality, produces an agglomerated sound that is comprised of a range of frequency components (normally around eleven primary overtones) each of which is dynamic and distinctive in timbre, ranging in duration

(attenuation) and wavering in amplitude. This gives rise to a multifarious sonic texture like *a cappella* voices moving from *sotto voce* to *en dehors*.

The primary partials, far from being an even division of intervals according to Pythagorean measurements, produce dissonant and imperfect intervals due to the unusual distribution and transmission of vibration over the bell's surface. The bell produces a fundamental tone that sounds just below the 'strike note'. The strike note, the primary metallic tone heard just after the 'clang' of the initial impact, is heard only briefly as the clapper hits the bell wall giving way immediately to the sound of the fundamental and the other partials.

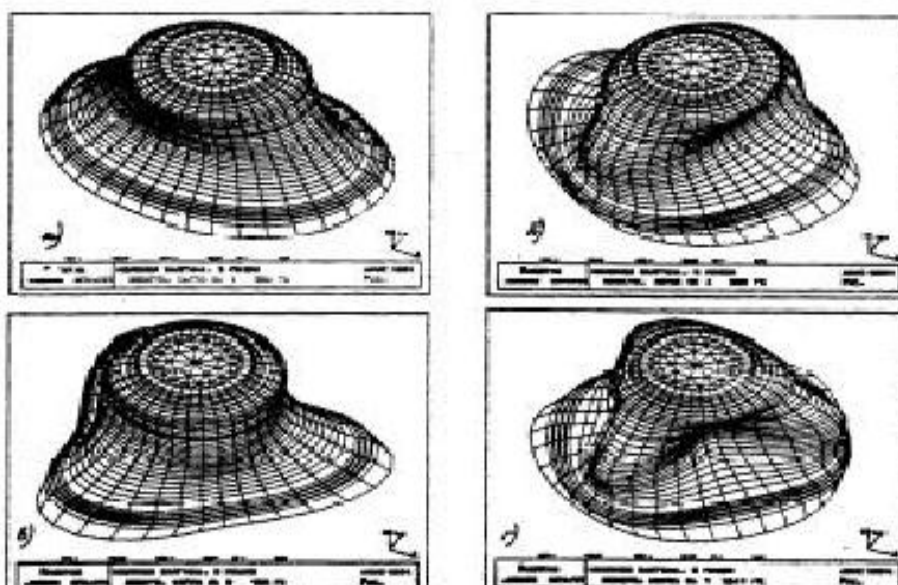
The fundamental tone is sustained for a moderate duration compared to the 'hum tone', another important partial that usually sounds almost an octave lower than the fundamental. Upper partials (roughly, fifths and thirds) are orientated around the 'nominal tone' which is actually an overtone generated by the very lowest pitch of the bell, which can be subsonic in large bells. The very highest partials are hard to typify, being highly unpredictable in their pitch and sound morphology.

The production of highly complex clouds of partials in Russian bells is unparalleled in other musical instruments. The impact of the tongue on the sound bow initially distorts the entire body of the bell sending the elastic material of the bell into a spasm (paroxysm) that issues the so-called strike-note. The energy of the clapper strike is transformed into sound energy, longitudinal waves that form alternating and complementary points of compression and rarefaction in the material of the bell, and slightly distort the shape of the bell into an almost elliptical figure.⁹⁶ Alternating energy patterns radiate everywhere around the bell except at nodal points where the radial movement is impeded and stopped. The frequency of horizontal (radial) movement and the nodal points at various points of the bell's vertical matrix generates a complex profusion of overtones.

Nodal points of quiescence (vibrational 'stops') are found both vertically and horizontally on the bell body. Horizontal nodes (parallels) are determined by

the contour of the campaniform wall, while the vertical nodes occur along meridian lines relative to the point at which the clapper strikes the bell. Four equidistant (vertical) meridians of quiescence (lines of stillness) extend from the lip to the head of the bell. The intensity, number and distribution of the overtones contribute to the timbral *Gestalt* of the bell. The behaviour of each partial, its decay length and stability, also influence its overall sonority. Holographic images of bells show the radiation of sound energy through the body of the bell.

The computer-generated images of the vibrational modes of Russian bells below⁹⁷ clearly show conduits of radial vibration, points of quiescence, and centres of rarefaction and compression, in an energetic play of sonic concentration and dispersion. These waves of compression and rarefaction along the vertical meridians and parallel circumferences of the elastic bronze resemble natural and cosmic waves, or meridians of energy in the human nervous system. Excitation in the static body of the bell re-enacts, repeats and imitates the constant motility of the human body and the perpetual motion of the surrounding cosmos, pointing, in an allegory of life and death, at once towards the infinity of an attenuated spectrum and the inevitable disappearance of a decaying toll.



Spectral analysis of a typical Russian bell from the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery⁹⁸ indicates that the chords produced by Russian bells do not normally resemble the triadic consonances of classical harmony. Unlike tuned bells that are doctored to achieve true octave doublings, the untuned Russian bell creates a microtonal cluster following the sound of a momentarily audible 'tonic' (the strike note). This cloud of pitches forms a dense choral texture reminiscent of the microtonal choral works of Gyorgi Ligeti or Iannis Xenakis. In a typical array of bell pitches,⁹⁹ there may be a multitude of microtonal approximations of a central tone, while the overall tonality may remain ambiguous. This tonal ambiguity underlies the harmonic language of Russian art music that so often references bells, with its structural reliance on the 'ambiguous' tritone, and its historical movement towards harmonic colourism and *stasis*.

Notations of bell spectra are often imprecise, and depend upon subjective experiences of audition. Perception of bell sounds seems to be constituted partially in consciousness itself. Musicians listening to bells are subject to a kind of 'sonic mirage'. Bells can sound as though they are falling through space, a paradoxical effect caused by a perceived descent in pitch though the tones of bell partials are actually rising.¹⁰⁰ The bell rings in a series of beats or waves of sound that loop (repeat) the falling effect in a series of iterations, thus creating a vertiginous sensation of downwards flight. The bell plays a *trompe l'oreille*, so that even trained musicians report aural perceptions that differ from the definitions of a spectrographic analysis. This sonic indeterminacy is explained by audio engineers Aldoshina and Nikanorov in their 'The Investigation of Acoustical Characteristics of Russian Bells', presented at the 108th Convention of the Audio Engineering Society in 2000 in Paris:

A range of acoustic hindrances are encountered when notating bells by ear. Musicians say their work is made more difficult by their flowing unstable sound. The correct placement of octaves is almost impossible. The notations of medium-sized bells mostly coincide with the objective characteristics of spectrum analysis. Musicians' evaluations of the sonic pitches from small (up to 480 KG) and

massive (over 4800 KG) bells differ from one another as well as from the results of spectrum analysis. In most bells from the 16th – early 17th century, augmented 9th and augmented 10th intervals from the lower basic tone are determinable. These two tones are the most intensive and stable in time. Neither aural nor technical analysis revealed typical intervallic relationships of Western bells, such as octaves, minor thirds and fifths, in Russian bells.¹⁰¹

The strike note is another audio-paradox. The ear attributes this pitch to the bell, even if it does not continue to sound after the initial strike. The strike note leads the ear to believe it is hearing the initial tone as a unifying force, unconsciously moving this identifying pitch from the bottom of the spectral hierarchy to the top in a sonic reflection or inversion. The imaginary tonic of the strike note, though it fragments into a range of partials and disappears almost immediately into silence, forms an holistic unification of tonality, the multiplicity of elements contained in the spectral array represented in perception by a Gestalt sonority, an imaginary or 'virtual' sound.¹⁰²

The nature and quality of the quasi-choral polyphony of untuned Russian bells depends upon the physical form of the bell walls, each sound emerging from a particular section of the bell's body, as Williams explains:

The thinnest portion of the bell, just below the shoulder, generates the quint, and as the wall gradually thickens descending into the sound bow, the tierce and fundamental come into play. The section between the sound bow and the lip defines the nominal, and the hum tone is drawn from the full length of the bell, shoulder to lip.¹⁰³

These are the parts of a bell that can be moderately altered by design, or by sanding, chiseling or lathing, if the bell is to be tuned.

The chaos of Russian bell sonority, as opposed to the orderly spectrum of tuned bells, was the subject of controversy when a set of bells was cast in 1995 in the factory of I D Finliandskii to replace those lost in the 1931 destruction of the *Khram Khrista Spasitelia* (Cathedral of Christ our Saviour

in Moscow). The four largest bells of the original set in the *Khram Khrista Spacitelia* weighed 1654, 970, 635, and 323 pounds. The replica peal was modeled using experimental analyses of the spectra and vibrational patterns of several bells, including the one five pound bell that was saved from the ruined cathedral.¹⁰⁴

The bells were also recast to conform to historical annotations of the spectra of the original bells made by the Russian bell-ringer Saradzhev.¹⁰⁵ These annotations indicated that the *zvonitsa* ('set of bells') of the cathedral had been partially tuned, though deliberate differences in tuning between the bells created the kind of 'shimmering light' effect heard in Balinese gamelans, thus retaining the characteristic *dikost'* ('primal-ness')¹⁰⁶ of the Russian bell sound. Some of the tunings between the bells apparently formed perfect consonances, while the chordal structure between the bells would have been extremely dense and chromatic. The partials of the bells form a chromatically saturated chord containing every pitch in the chromatic scale, except one – D#/ E♭. The partials in the arrays clash with one another at the semitone and the tonality is decidedly obscured.

The harmonic profile of these bells dilutes the significance of Aristarkh Izrailev's contention, after he heard the original bells, that they (more or less) described an A minor tonality.¹⁰⁷ Izrailev's attempt to introduce 'fine tuning' (perfect intervals) to bells during the 1880s was met with dismissal by some Russian campanologists: Vladimir Il'in went as far as to say that tuned bells reminded him of mechanical dolls or other forms of automatons and that it would be just as ridiculous to automate the bronze sculptures of Catholic churches.¹⁰⁸ The revival of Izrailev's ideas in the creation of the new bells for the *Khram Khrista Spacitelia* caused disagreement again in 1995, with complaints being heard that the 'primal' (*dikii*) sound of the original cathedral bells had been tamed in the replicas.¹⁰⁹

In the end, a compromise was made: without tuning the bells to the exact pitches of carillons or Dutch bells, the replica bells were tuned more closely to A and C tonalities, lessening the dissonant effect of the original peal. The degree of passion engendered in this controversy is a clear indication of how

deeply the 'primal' sonority of Russian bells is engrained in Russia's cultural self-image and the extent to which the sound of the *zvon* is considered to represent the cultural identity of the Russian people. The spectre of the *kolokol* has been adopted as the sonic 'signature' that underwrites the traditions of Russian life.

The Symbology of the Bell Spectrum

Being essentially an artefact emerging out of fired earth, the *kolokol* assumed the role of 'cosmic interpellator' (especially during the pagan Koliada festival) by virtue of its symbolic alignment with the earth and with the natural/cosmic force of fire (*Der Geist ist Flamme*¹¹⁰) as it occurs within Russia's ecological systems. In his study of world fire-systems, Stephen Pyne explains the way in which the boreal forests of the Russian Taiga oscillate to the rhythm of fires, following decadal patterns for small fires and centurial patterns for large destructive fires, set against atonal cycles of fuel availability and climate change. Fire is the primary agent of the natural cycles and balances, regeneration, and rhythmic repetitions of life that the *kolokol* symbolises:

The boreal forest [is] subject to a syncopated rhythm of fires [...] Fires both great and small have hammered together an ecological architecture not unlike Russian Orthodox cathedrals, at once monumental and ornate. [...] The composition of stands – the relative dominance of fir, spruce, pine and larch – announces their typical regimen of fire.¹¹¹

As Pyne relates, the Russian Taiga dances with a rhythm of fires that opens up the permafrost to nutrients, blackens the earth's surface so that it absorbs more solar radiation, induces the growth of mushrooms and berries, and reddens the skies over Siberian cities. The firing of bells, formed out of, and emerging from beneath the Russian soil, forms a continuum between cosmos and humanity within the dynamic architecture of nature and the Russian land.

The fact (reported by Corey Powell in a 1992 article in *Scientific American*) that bells vibrate in the same way as do planets and stars, projecting sound as stars radiate light, lends empirical weight to folkloristic associations between bells and the sun¹¹² and to the idea that the bell is primarily an archetypal symbol of primordial communication with the eternal cosmos (the 'otherworldly') as understood by pagan society:

The discovery that the sun rings like a bell, made in the early 1960s [...] heralded the new field of helioseismology. [...] By far the greatest successes in this field have come from white dwarf stars [...]. Instabilities in the outer layers [...] of some dwarfs set up waves along a star's surface so that the whole star shakes and shimmies [...]. Those waves compress the outer layers of the star as they travel, causing some regions to radiate more intensely. Oscillations therefore show up as complicated but well-ordered changes in the brightnesses of white dwarfs.¹¹³

A highly detailed interpretation of the significance of this 'cosmic association' between the sun and the bell is made possible through Carl Jung's definition¹¹⁴ of the sun as an archetypal 'symbol of transformation' in history, mythology, cosmology and language. Jung posits the existence of a nexus of inter-related symbols which is highly informative in any consideration of the symbolism of bells when they are understood to be a kind of vibrating 'cosmic body'. For Jung, these symbols are not simply allegorical signs, but representations of psychic content which themselves transcend consciousness, and with which 'it is not only possible but absolutely necessary to come to terms'¹¹⁵ in order to attain to any kind of transcendent Being.

Jung's analysis offers a comprehensive consideration of the symbolic relationship between the bell, the sun, *Logos*, language, the body and the originary seed-pod (*seme*). Pointing (as Corbin suggested) to the primordial origins of language itself, bell music is capable of conveying a primary array

of emotional or psychic states, and cosmic or natural sounds. In relation to this 'primordial language' Jung wrote:

Language was originally a system of emotive and imitative sounds – sounds which express terror, fear, anger, love, etc., and the sounds which imitate the noises of the elements: the rushing and gurgling of water, the rolling of thunder, the roaring of the wind, the cries of the animal world, and so on; and lastly, those which represent a combination of the sound perceived and the emotional reaction to it.¹¹⁶

This theoretical model of originary language is backed up by ethnographic evidence. Il'in has this to say about the universality of bell 'language', especially the difference between untuned or 'primal' Russian bells in comparison with their tempered counterparts in Western Europe:

If the melodies played on tempered [tuned] bells remind one of parrots, and badly pronounced human words are no doubt incomprehensible to parrots, then perhaps the rhythmic peal of [untuned] timbral bells may be better suited to the chatter and chirping amongst birds, humans and birds understanding the peculiarities of their own languages. Symbolically, it might be said that the rhythms, overtones and harmonics of bell noise are even understood by the bell itself, though the final essence of that 'consciousness of the bell' is the same as the noise and movement of a generalised material infinity, attaining to the everlasting transcendency of a single God. In any case, no human will ever purloin the spirit of material, but will collaborate with it for a shared cause.¹¹⁷

Jung's study reveals that, throughout the mythology of the human psyche, the voice (the original sound of language and *Logos*) has been identified as the originator of, rather than an emergence from, creation.

These are the most fundamental meanings underlying the mythical, religious, psychic and spiritual interpretation of bells and their resonant sounding. Since Jung's examples of this psychic complex in mythology are numerous and, since they are a unique and primary account of the significance of the bell as a symbolic object, they must be cited comprehensively.

First, the sun, like the *kolokol*, is associated with the primary creative force of the *Logos*:

[The father-*imago* or Creator-God is conceived of as having] created first Sound, then Light, and then Love. That Sound should be the first thing created has parallels in the 'creative world' in Genesis, in Simon Magnus, where the voice corresponds to the sun [...].¹¹⁸

The emergence of ideological orders and the human pursuit of divine power (exemplified in the 'grand project' of the bell-founder) are primordially associated with an orientation towards the radiance of the sun and the evil portents of distant stars:

[Christianity and Mithraism] strove after [a higher form] of social intercourse symbolized by a projected ('incarnate') idea (the *Logos*), whereby all the strongest impulses of man – which formerly had flung him from one passion to another and seemed to the ancients like the compulsion of evil stars.¹¹⁹ [...] [The deification or transcendence of a mortal comes about through a coronation rite, in which the crown symbolizes the corona of the sun.]¹²⁰ [...] The visible father of the world is the sun, the heavenly fire, for which reason father, God, sun, and fire are mythologically synonymous.¹²¹

Bells are sonic representations of the libidinous aspects of pure energy. The energetic repetitions of bell music, as if participating in some ancient rite of sun-worship, are produced through the movement of its tongue:

The whistling and clicking with the tongue [in the Mithraic liturgy] are archaic devices for attracting the theriomorphic deity.¹²² [...] [The sun] is perfectly suited to represent the visible God of this world, i.e., the creative power of our own soul, which we call libido, and whose nature it is to bring forth the useful and the harmful, the good and the bad. [...] Our physiological life, regarded as an energy process, is entirely solar.¹²³

Human Being exists in a continuous relationship with the rhythms of the cosmos. This idea is explained extensively by Jung in the following citation, which introduces the word *belbel*. This word encapsulates the physical corporeality of the bell - its mouth, its rounded form - and the concepts of *Logos* and speculative 'Light' also contained in the repetition/rhythmicity and phonosemantics of the word *kolokol*:

The connection of the mouth with fire and speech is indubitable. Another fact to be considered is that the etymological dictionaries connect the Indo-European root *bha* with the idea of 'bright', 'shining'. [...] But the homonymous root *bha* also signifies 'speaking'. [...] A similar archaic fusion of meanings occurs in a certain class of Egyptian words derived from the cognate roots *ben* and *bel*, duplicated into *benben* and *belbel*. The original meaning of these words was 'to burst forth, emerge, swell out', with the associated idea of bubbling, boiling, roundness. *Belbel*, accompanied by the obelisk sign, meant a source of light.¹²⁴

As Jung traces through the symbolism, psychology, philology and mythology of the sun and orinary voice/*Logos*, a basis for the highly rhythmic nature of bell music is also established, located primordially in the somatic (bodily) experience of nourishment. The intense profusion of energy that is common to both the fiery sun and the reverberant bell is connected to the most primal aspects of human Being and consciousness - the rhythmic repetitions of sucking, breathing, sexuality - the entire dance of life:

[The] libido first manifests itself exclusively in the nutritional zone, where, in the act of sucking, food is taken in with a rhythmic movement.¹²⁵ [...] Since the rhythmic activity can no longer find an outlet in the act of feeding after the nutritional stage of development is over, it transfers itself not only to the sphere of sexuality in the strict sense, but also into the 'decoy mechanisms', such as music and dancing, and finally to the sphere of work.¹²⁶ [...] Thus the mouth (and to a lesser degree the anus) becomes the prime place of origin. According to the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, the most important discovery ever made by primitive man, the discovery of fire, came out of the mouth.¹²⁷

Through Jung's investigation of transformational symbolism, the symbolic world of the *kolokol* (its emergence from earth and fire, its anthropomorphism, its spectre of light and sound) is shown to be intimately connected with the symbology of the cosmic body of the purifying sun, as well as to the ecstatic (sexualised, rhythmic and temporal) body of humanity. This is yet further evidence of the way in which bells, and especially the *kolokol* in its iconic role in Russian culture, operates as a sign of *vse-edinstvo*, a unity of all conscious, spiritual and cosmic Being.

Zvon* – The Music of the *Kolokol

Zvon is essentially heard as a harmonic spectrum arising as the tongue of the *kolokol* strikes against its body, normally in repeating rhythmic patterns. The sound that arises from this rhythmic repetition is radically spatialised, so that the spectrum takes on a voiced or choral quality. A 'cloud' of spatialised harmonics is transmitted through the medium of air, projecting a 'spectrum' of psychic states ranging from ecstasy to grief. The most obvious characteristic of *zvon* is repetition, the repeated striking of a single bell or a set of bells. It is this temporalised repetition that symbolises ideas of life and death, temporality, eternity and transcendence, these concepts being constituted in noise and sound as rhythm, timbre, spatialised sonority, and

spectral harmonic arrays with a sound morphology characterised by attack and decay.

Although percussive rhythm plays a very important role in the articulation of *zvon*, defining the minimalism of the melodic invention, so do the inherent timbral characteristics of the *kolokol*. The possibilities for melodic exploitation in Russian bell music are defined by a specialised relationship to the sonorous and spectral nature of the instrument: the melody emerges from the relationship between rhythmic repetition, sonority and spectrality. Bell music is described by Il'in as 'rhythmo-overtonal' (*ritmo-obertonnoi*) or 'rhythmo-timbral' (*ritmo-tembrovoi*).¹²⁸ It could also be described quite as 'spatio-temporal' or simply as 'spectral'.

As Kavel'makher explains in his history of bell-ringing techniques,¹²⁹ various methods of ringing bells are possible: they can be stationary or swinging, and struck either with an external hammer or an internal tongue. Although he points out that all of these methods of bell-ringing have been employed by Russian bell-ringers, the predominant arrangement is for bells to be suspended and, while remaining stationary, to be struck by an internal tongue that is attached to a string. Unlike the usual manner of playing Western bells, the body of Russian bells remains still so that the tongue can be moved with considerable precision. Consequently, Russian bell music is more rhythmically precise and ornate than other forms of European bell music, such as English change-ringing.

Typical transcriptions of Russian bell music open with the repeated tolling of a single low-pitched bell followed by a few measures of a specific rhythmic pattern that is set up between a number of higher-pitched bells. This pattern is then repeated, perhaps with some changes of tempo or interpolations of other motifs. Russian bell-ringing rubrics fall into a well-defined set of categories that are differentiated by these varied rhythmic patterns and that form a complete 'language' of meaning-bearing and culturally valenced signals. The following explanation of the basic forms of bell-ringing appeared in *Russian Life*, a San Francisco Russian language newspaper, in April, 1983:

Church bell ringing falls into two basic categories: calling to worship (blagovest) and bell ringing proper (zvon). [...] The call to worship (blagovest) is achieved by the measured striking of one large bell. [...] This ring is called blagovest because it announces the 'good news' of the beginning of divine services. [...] First the bell is struck three times slowly (until the ring all but dies away) after which it is struck at a measured pace. [...] There are two types of call to worship: normal or frequent striking of the largest bell and the Lenten or slow striking of the second largest bell on the weekdays of Great Lent. If the temple has several large bells, as happens in some cathedrals and large monasteries, then these large bells are named according to their designation: festal bell, Sunday bell, polyeleion bell, weekday bell and fifth or small bell. Usually in parish churches there are no more than two or three large bells.¹³⁰

Bell-ringing proper (*zvon*) brings all the bells into play, sounded either simultaneously in accord or in melodic patterns or series. The permissible forms of ringing (and their symbolism) are restricted to a specific code. The *trezvon* (triple peal) and *dvuzvon* (double peal) consist of two or three separated tolls using all the bells simultaneously, with a continuing pulse sometimes sounded on the lowest bell. *Perezvon* ('chain ringing') is the ringing of each separate bell in order, beginning with the largest bell and rising to the smallest, this pattern (or 'chain') being repeated a number of times. The *perebor* (literally, 'overturning', with its implications of catastrophe) is a reversal of *perezvon*, the series of bells descending instead of ascending, often followed by a single peal on all the bells simultaneously at the end. The *nabat*, or *vspoloshny zvon* (literally, 'startling bell'), is the rapid striking, usually of the lowest bell, as a warning or *tocsin* (French - 'alarm').

Zvon normally combines various of these patterns depending upon custom, role in the religious rite, and local practices. Use of ornate patterns in *zvon*, sometimes called 'beautiful pealing', and playing of more complex combinations of various rubrics or repeating patterns on single bells, is normally reserved for celebratory occasions.¹³¹ In effect, these rubrics form

a parasemantic system or rhetorical code for the vocalised expression of emotional and psychic states.

In liturgical contexts, the 'right praising' of God requires that these rubrics be used within specific temporal arrangements at very specific moments in rites, ceremonies and occasions. The Russian Orthodox Church has recently (2002)¹³² published the first ever official 'charter' (*Ustav Tserkovnogo Zvona*) to govern the use of bells in their religious rites.

A *blagovest* is normally played at precise moments in the Eucharist during the transubstantiation of the wine and bread. Slow *perezvon* is played to mark Christ's death and burial, and is followed by a *trezvon* symbolising his resurrection, while faster *perezvon*, including repeating (isorhythmic) patterns on individual bells is reserved for lesser occasions such as the blessing of water. The *nabat* is played to issue a public warning of impending threat. The *perebor*, with its symbolic descent, single punctuating toll and concluding *trezvon*, is a simple sonic analogy representing death, subsumption into the universe and resurrection (repetition), and is usually played only at funerals.¹³³

The bounds of these church rubrics, simple indexical or symbolic patterns to be used like ecclesiastical modes for prescribed religious purposes, were far exceeded in more virtuosic bell-ringing styles. Bell-ringers (*zvonari*) also performed extemporal music with an imagistic quality to represent the characteristic atmosphere of special occasions. The added complexity of such music demanded the involvement of a number of bell-ringers on a set of large bells, or a single bell-ringer operating a number of smaller bells using strings attached to each finger and to pedals.

The musical inventions of the virtuoso *zvonar'* ('bell-ringer') deploy complex musical techniques such as rhythmic augmentation and diminution, tonal modulation, *ostinati* and melodic variation to represent a wider range of significant occurrences including fasting, *veille*, holidays, farewells and other incidental events. These musical works would supplement traditional

forms with improvisations and 'entirely free creativity and sheer inspiration'.¹³⁴

Stylistic distinctions are finely wrought and framed in the master bell-ringer's unique eccentricity of language and thought, as is evident in the extensive critique of an apprentice bell-ringer's technique cited in a lecture delivered by Smolenskii in 1906 at the University of St. Petersburg (translated below). Dialect, and the use of words like *kolot'* ('to cleave'), skews the original Russian speech towards a poetic expression of striking bell-language, balancing the joy of bell-ringing with the importance of clarity when speaking faithfully. Stylistic freedom in both language and music is constrained only by the eternal, redemptive implications of a guaranteed repetition at the very end:

Why are you thrashing? This is the deal, look at the way the tongue on the large bell goes along evenly, given it's attached to a foot board, so, for the tongue's sake, that means, step on it evenly, from one to the next, or second to third; again, on both big and middling, don't hit too hard, but just as suits the peal, when softer, when stronger. That grandfather bell, sings on its own, like that now, like this another minute, in the cold this way, in the heat, differently, meaning, you have to take into account what he wants. Why do you have to cleave [*kolot'*] the thing in two? Ta-la-la, ta-la got dragged out, no sense at all [*bes-toloch*]; a strike, then not quite there, giving it too much, the next, you really sounding the fire alarm! Get it in order, given you're fooling 'round with Easter. There are different ways to go about playing for a wake-up call, on holidays, for prayers, feasts, a funeral call, one way to bring them in, and yet another to scatter them. Again, after the imperial prayer; or at weddings, one way for a rich wedding, a second way for merchants, and a third for the nobility. Same thing for a welcoming or farewell peal, or for the approach of the archpriests or for the rank and file of the cross, from the very beginning, point out what you're ringing for. Otherwise it's a spare bang in the head [*odna lish tumasha*, implying a groundless disturbance] through the parishioners' cabin windows, and they will

never understand what all the fuss is about. And you can't just throw in all sorts of petty fingerings wherever you will, without its proper time and place. Should you [*koli*] choose one fingering for the beginning of, let's say, a peal to meet an archpriest, then continue it to the first leg [literally, knee - *koleno*]; midway, of course you can change to another, but at the very end of the peal, return again to where you began, and I'll think it praiseworthy that the figure has been drawn out into one long line.¹³⁵

The reference to 'fooling around with Easter' refers to the custom of allowing an open stage for bell-ringers over the religious holiday. At Easter, the normal constraints of bell-ringing rubrics were lifted, allowing bell-ringers free reign to develop musical forms that far exceeded the normal restrictions. This free improvisation, permitted only at Easter (a remnant of chaotic pagan Koliada rituals), overturned the ordered 'language' of bells, which was precise enough to send unambiguous signals and indexical messages, such as the exact location of a fire in Moscow.¹³⁶

The physical mechanisms used to control the movement of the bells using feet and hands allowed the *zvonari* to fully exploit the innate personality of each bell, and the technical, rhythmic, melodic and harmonic range of the instrument, leading to the creation of a true musical form and 'one-man-band' as described in this passage from an article by Lokhanskii:

[At the Troitsa-Sergeevskaya monastery] the largest bell, called 'The Swan' because of its softness of tone, is played by a single bell-ringer, striking both sides of the bell. The head bell-ringer plays on the other bells. In his right hand are the four strings [attached to the clappers of] the four *zazvoni* [high] bells, tied together in one knot. [...] Cables from the alto bells are tied to short posts that act as keys. Striking the keys in a particular way will elicit different kinds of sounds. The tongues of the tenor bells, hanging in the furthest row of bells, are moved using a system of blocks that allow the cables to be moved with foot pedals [...]. In some peals, the largest bells can only

be moved if the bell ringer ties part of the cable around the hand, anchoring it with the elbow.¹³⁷

When the *zvonari* are immersed in the peal ('*v udare*') pauses can be introduced impulsively, as can gradual changes in tempo and changes in amplitude ranging from almost inaudible (appropriate for example during the procession of the dead) to crashingly loud. While these techniques are extraordinary or apocryphal to the 'great forms' of the bell rubrics, they are nevertheless a replete mode of musical expression that encompasses the cyclic forms and rhythmic verve of Russian folk music, with ornamentation as intricate as the inscriptions that embellish the exterior walls of the *kolokol*.

In these 'lesser' forms, bell music acquires the rhythms of the *chastushka*, a Russian form of rhythmic folk poem performed at running speed half way between speaking and singing. Regional tastes applying to the performance of *chastushka* rhythms are replicated in regional 'dialects' of bell-ringing.¹³⁸ This kind of bell music is part ecclesiastical, or *dvoeverie*, while remaining firmly in the possession of the culture and psyche of the folk-collective.

The most idiosyncratic aspect of *zvon*, as opposed to other forms of bell music, developed as a natural response to the need to contour and shape the nebulous 'cloud' of potentially raucous (*gromoglasneishuii bestolkovshchinu*¹³⁹) sounds emanating from a large set of great church bells (*zvonitsa*). This was achieved by raising the bell into a tower (*kolokol'nia*) that not only protected it from pillage, but also set up the possibility of antiphonal space. Bell towers added a further dimension of 'external' spatialisation to the sound emanating from within the unique internal spaces of individual bells. The potential for appeals, responses, hockets (interlocking rhythmic patterns) and 'choral symphonism' could be fully exploited by master bell-ringers only if they were ringing from a number of towers. In large *zvonitsy*, bells are distributed at various heights on beams or arch formations set at different levels. Single bells could be hung in separate towers to sound *lontano*.¹⁴⁰

The thirty-seven bells in the Ivan the Great peal in the Moscow Kremlin are divided conceptually into three distinct polyphonic 'lines' (termed a *trezvon*, not to be confused with the rubric of the same name) to form a three-voiced structure comprised of the low tempo-setting *blagovestnye* bells, the high *zazvonye* discant bells, and the middle *podzvonye* alto or tenor bells.¹⁴¹ Each group of bells could be played separately, each with its own style of movement and role in the ensemble. In a typical formation of texture, the largest bell would sustain a *basso (molto profondo!) continuo*, while the low-range bells would hold the *cantus firmus*, or kernel rhythmic motif. Middle range bells are used to effect melodic variation and modulation, and to 'fill out' the texture of the *trezvon*. The smallest, brightest bells are reserved for more elaborate, rapid, ornamental melodic figures and trills, which artificially elongate their shorter decay. The opening up of antiphonal space preserves the integrity of the three-voiced texture as well as the sonorous identity of each individual bell.¹⁴²

Maintaining the sonorous identity of each bell within the collective ensemble is essential to *zvon* according to the master bell-ringer Saradzhev who, guided in his performance only by the sonic quality of each individual bell, also believed that the tuning of bells to a recognisable 'scale' was immaterial.¹⁴³ The collection of bells, though totally non-tempered, is saved from cacophony by the clarifying antiphonal spaces of the bell tower.

Spatialisation of bell sounds using towers, which open up the interior space of individual bells, was extended further as spatial relationships emerged between numerous towers in villages and across entire cities by the end of the seventeenth century, especially in Moscow. Lokhanskii, in his lecture of 1906, noted this spatialised profusion of bells in the Russian capital:

At the same time as the size of individual bells was increasing, so were their numbers. According to contemporary witnesses, in Moscow and her peripheral villages, from the 16th to 17th century, the number of churches grew to over four thousand, each of which had five to ten bells. An unimaginable booming overtook Moscow at the time of

celebrations, as tens of thousands of bells were rung simultaneously.¹⁴⁴

Development of the *zvonitsa* and *kolokol'nia* into a truly independent musical instrument, a vital stepping-stone towards the emergence of a true musical language of the *kolokol*, came about only as bells were founded in greater numbers and larger sizes. As the number of bells increased, the simple structure of the *zvonitsa*, a wooden wall with openings for bells to hang in, was formed. As their weight increased, the *kolokol'nia*, a round or multi-leveled stone tower with sound holes like windows, was built to support them. The diffusion of sound in both structures is horizontal, but while the *kolokol'nia* forms a more homogenised (blended) sound, the *zvonitsa* channels sound into different lines or spaces.

As seen in the following images from the Prokudin-Gorskii Collection at the Library of Congress,¹⁴⁵ the architectural forms that were developed in order to spatialise and project the rhythmic repetitions of *zvon* (and protect bells from abduction) ranged from rickety wooden structures to towering spires. Construction of more robust support structures permitted the founding of larger and larger bells, which extended their vocal range into the *basso profundo* region to the extent that their sound equaled the intensity and deepness of Russian choral music. The greatly attenuated voices of these larger bells also traveled over greater distances than before. Expanding the musical possibilities of bells beyond their noise effect, a fully musical relationship within a collective of bells became possible so that Russian bells, more than any other European bell, resembled a kind of metallic choir.¹⁴⁶



Wooden bell tower, church in Nikolsk settlement, Golodnaia Steppe.¹⁴⁷



Large spire-shaped bell tower, Church of Saint John the Precursor, in Tolchkov, Yaroslavl.¹⁴⁸



Church belfries, Borisoglebskii Monastery from the northeast, Borisoglebsk.¹⁴⁹

The spatialised character of *zvon* is essentially an 'extension' of the air-filled space within the *kolokol*. Bells, in keeping with their humanised status, must 'breathe': the stories of airless or submerged bells that have already been encountered are always metaphors for some form of tragedy, disorder, or 'evil.' The air inside the bell is possibly the strongest element of its set-up that aligns the *kolokol* with the invisible world of 'spirit'. The bell is simply a mechanism geared towards the definition and articulation of a specific type of resonating fold or pocket. The vibration and projected repetition of the ringing bell, rather than being the *subject* of contemplation, articulates a forgotten and unseen medium of contemplation, a dedicated space for the reflection of the human soul - a metaphor for psychic and contemplative 'clearing', as deployed by Luce Irigaray in her *Forgetting of Air*.¹⁵⁰

The articulation of a protected air-filled space forms an opening for collective meditative contemplation, a medium for the transmission of

language/messages and the 'voicing' of divine *Logos*. This space enables attenuated projection of sound and signifies an eternal continuity of space which may transport personal spaces, like houses or corners, into cosmic space, thus placing the infinite into an intimate domain, just as the bell concentrates the infinity of God into an intense personal experience. Gaston Bachelard defined this effect in his *Poetics of Space*:

Here we discover that immensity in the intimate domain is intensity, an intensity of being, the intensity of a being evolving in a vast perspective of intimate immensity.¹⁵¹

Spatialisation of sound is, therefore, one of the most important differentiating aspects of bell music from a symbolic (as well as sonic) perspective. The belfry places bells at a distance from one another, and also at a distance from the physical world. A symbolic 'emancipation' from the material world is achieved through magnification of the spiritual world, while the world is subject to a miniaturisation from the bell's heightened perspective.¹⁵² Hearing *zvon*, the subject is enveloped in an intangible mantle of pervasive sound that fills out and defines the architectural or natural space around them, hangs over them like an umbrella and penetrates their bodies, causing the human body itself to vibrate in sympathy.

The intensity of emotion incited by the *kolokol* in the Russian observance of God-worshipping is bound to the intensity of feeling the Russian *narod* ('people'/'folk') have for the encompassing spaciousness of their land, the *Rodina* ('birthland'). The wide spaces of Siberia are likened in everyday rhetoric to the depth and extent of Russian sadness or passion, and to ideas of freedom and liberation. Folk songs, epic poems and folk verses reflect Russian delight in great open land-spaces. The following example of anonymous folk verse contains an exaggerated comparison between an expansive overland view from a watchtower or belfry, and the vastness of the ethereal cosmos:

Beautifully decorated are the towers -
In the sky the sun – in the tower the sun,
In the sky the moon – in the tower the moon
In the sky the stars – in the tower the stars
In the sky the dawn – in the tower the dawn,
And the whole beauty of the earth.¹⁵³

The space within the *kolokol* is an articulated space that 'opens up' the *Logos* and extends its field of spatial, temporal and cultural influence. This spatio-temporal articulation of the spectre, symbolically illustrative of God's 'voice' and *Logos*, meant that large choirs of bells also gained ideological acceptance in religious rites despite the prohibition of the church and the opposition of the faithful to 'instrumental' music. The bell is a special case, not only because of its relationship to the early *bilo* and its special reverence in folk culture, but because of the very need to build an instrument that would be acceptable in the church, something outside the bounds of any other instrumental music.

As the Russian musicologist Livanova indicated in her 1938 'Notes and material on the history of Russian musical culture', the sound of the bell, monumental, mysterious, powerful, and suited to the elevated communication of rituals and symbols, is considered to be possessed of a human soul, and to act as a channel for the invocation of God:

The Russians refuse all instrumental music, because, as they say [...], it merely provides pleasure for the senses, incapable of invoking praise and song for the Trinity. However, if the bell is baptised and given a name by its Godfather, then it is already described not as a 'secular object' or even a 'musical instrument', but as the 'voice of God' [*glasom Bozhim* – the *Logos*]. And if it transgresses, then, like all Christian souls, it must be punished and banished into exile.¹⁵⁴

As an iconic representation of divine *Logos*, the spiritual significance of bell-ringing patterns and rubrics goes further than the plainchant symbolism articulated in rising, falling and repeated figures symbolising ascension,

death and resurrection. Mystifying religious interpretations (such as Vladimir Il'in's) of the conflict between tonality (centre) and spectrality (diffusion) in the enigmatic temperaments of bells are perhaps an attempt to decipher the meaning of a struggle with the material world, the code of mankind's relation to the universe and the confusion of natural language on the pathway to communion with the idea of divinity.

Though related to a host of other bell-like ideophones and metallophones such as gongs and crotales by varying degrees of commonality of function, construction, execution and spectrally diffused timbre, the Russian church bell attains the *Doppelgänger* status of a musical instrument masquerading as a metallic voice that imitates the deep vocal range of the Russian bass. The originary model of the *kolokol* (in the form of a seed-pod) is situated in the physical 'grain' of the voice, as described by Barthes in his essay 'The Grain of the Voice':

Listen to a Russian bass [...]: something is there, manifest and stubborn (one hears only *that*), beyond (or before) the meaning of words, their form (the litany), the melisma, and even the style of execution: something which is directly the cantor's body, brought to your ears in one and the same movement from deep down in the cavities, the muscles, the membranes, the cartilages, and from deep down in the Slavonic language, as though a single skin lined the inner flesh of the performer and the music he sings. [...] Above all, this voice bears along *directly* the symbolic, over the intelligible, the expressive: here, thrown in front of us like a packet, is the Father, his phallic stature. The 'grain' is that: the materiality of the body speaking its mother tongue; perhaps the letter, almost certainly *signifiante*.¹⁵⁵

Russian bell music is, accordingly, a musical form that emerges from a non-instrumental music, from a spectral simulacrum of the voice. In the seventeenth century, as Russian bell music became imbued with the heterophony of Russian folk music, polyphonic liturgical singing was also developing. The natural polyphony of bells and the multi-voiced style of

vocal singing adopted in Russian religious ceremonies form another copula, like that of bell and icon; a relationship of perpetual and mutual re-definition. Polyphonic liturgical singing of the seventeenth century (*melosa*) imitated Russian bell music in its form. *Melosa* was sung by a number of singers each with their own manner of melodic variation and ornamentation of the same repeated fragment of text in a 'multi-coloured spectrum of vertical diffusion' [*mnogotsvetnogo vertograda*].¹⁵⁶

As an almost entirely rhythmic, spectral/timbral and spatial music, it is difficult to describe *zvon* in classical terms - as melody and harmony. Nevertheless, Russian bell music is also 'harmonic', though the nature of this harmony blurs the boundaries of tonality. While there was normally no attempt to reconcile the spectrum of one bell with another in a collection of bells, some, including the original bells of the *Khram Khrista Spacitelia* and the famous *zvonnitsa* in Rostov,¹⁵⁷ were partially tuned to simultaneously reinforce and subvert (for example, by doubling key pitches with both unisons and stark dissonances) the fundamental pitches of the *zvonnitsa*.

The 'melodic' style of Russian bell music is an exploration of the musical potentials of an instrument that far surpassed the sonic possibilities of its predecessors, the wooden *bilo* and metal *klepalo*. These instruments were capable only of small pitch changes depending upon where they were struck. The limited melodic possibilities of the *bilo*, a pentatonic scale at most, were used to form motivic signals called *klepanie* (hammerings) that were translated into the rubrics of the earliest Russian bell music. *Bilo* music was almost entirely based on repeated notes, small scales and alternating patterns performed on two notes, the simplest and most fundamental motifs of *zvon*. The most important acoustical differences between the *bilo* and *kolokol* are that the bell is multiphonic (produces multiple pitches from a single source), highly scalable (a much larger range of instrument sizes is possible), more resonant (the sound lasts longer and travels further) and far greater in range of amplitude (loudness and softness) and pitch. These developments expanded the simple musical opportunities of the bell inordinately.

The usual terms of reference for musical analysis are all diverted – harmony without a harmonic ‘system’, melodic development based upon the spatialisation of repeated motific rhythm-cells and a rhythmic language that emulates the simple patterns of vocalised speech. The air-filled space inside the bell, intervals of the spectral ‘array’, the distributed spaces between bells, the demarcation of the extended spaces of cities and villages, the great Russian land mass itself, and even cosmic (especially solar) space, is exteriorised and re-iterated in the spatialised quality of the Russian bell’s spectral music.

Repetition in its various modes - reverberation, attenuation of sound across distant spaces using repeated figures, tolling of a single bell as a call (*blagovest*) and repetition of musical motifs in the form of a refrain - articulates these spaces. These qualities are brought to the surface by an emphasis on space and repetition that is heightened by the colossal scale and erratic spectrality of the *kolokol*, as well as by a turning away from the musically constructed towards a sonic articulation of the ‘natural chaos’ of noise. Bell music, without recourse to endless adjectivisation, can only be understood through an understanding of the philosophical poetics of a music that is fundamentally constituted by spectral/vocal projection brought about in the rhythmic and temporal articulation of space by means of *repetition*.

Zvon and Repetition

Repetition is the most immediate sensation in the refrain and tolling rubrics of bell music, the most powerful characteristic of a spatialised antiphonal instrument of spectra, a phenomenon evident in the very name of the *kolokol* and a concept symbolised in the eternal ring of the bell’s circular opening. Repetition, in the form of metric rhythm, refrain and reverberation, is the unifying concept and formal structure that scaffolds the time and space-delimiting sonorities of Russian bell music. The significance of these forms of repetition is fundamental to a final interpretation of the symbolism of the *kolokol* and its music, especially its association with archetypal

conceptions of primordial emergence, temporality, transcendence and eternity.

To recap, Russian bell music (as opposed to, say, English change ringing, which depends upon algorithmic variation of a series of notes) normally begins in the first order of repetition, the near-exact, representative or iconic repetition of a single *blagovest* bell. The tolling of a single bell that forms this simple *ostinato* is followed by repetitions of an initial iteration of one melodic cell, often no more than a symbolic pentatonic cell of indeterminate musical pitches. This is followed by many more iterations that give the sonic impression of cyclic, continuous, or 'eternal' repetition. In reality, these repetitions are interrupted by new indices of musical material (new milieus) and new forms of movement (new rhythms), as well as by repetitions that exploit the essential difference emerging from, and made possible by, the original iteration of a single bell. These reiterations of a central musical motif are used to build the symbolic architecture of the refrain, return, or *ritornello*, the motif that will be returned to and heard again at the very end.

The type of repetition that occurs in between the two extremes of the *zvon* (the original iconic iteration and the *retour*) pits repetition against difference in the form of free modulations, flexibility of time (diminutions, augmentations and transferences) and changes of 'atmosphere' brought about through changes of amplitude and tempo. The free will of the bell-ringer '*v udare*' enters as extemporisation, but is inadmissible without the preceding repetition of the same, the mandatory repetition of return to the initial cell and the attainment of a seemingly eternal attenuation of music beyond the moment when the music actually ends. This effects a magnification of essential difference, the kind of repetition which makes it possible to regard an object as original. In every possible sphere of its iconic role in Russian cultural and political history, the bell is an object of repetition, as much as repetition is its object.

Repetition emerges as the essential 'force' in a phenomenology of the Russian bell. This movement of repetition, articulated by the tongue of the

bell as it strikes against its body, presents the *kolokol* as a sonic icon, a symbolic (especially 'maternal' and mirroring) voice and, finally, as an attenuated (eternal) spectrum that transcends the materiality of the bell's anthropomorphic body. This final form of repetition founds the *kolokol* as a 'spiritual-material' (*dukhovno-material'nom*¹⁵⁸) copula, as the Russian campanologist Vladimir Il'in has been quoted as saying.

The significances exemplified by the *kolokol* arise from of each of these underlying forms of repetition present in its spectral music, namely, (i) the duality of repetition formed on the basis of a distinction between iconic similitude and symbolic difference (ostinato and variation), (ii) the formal repetition of the refrain (the vocal *ritornello*) and (iii) the transcendent repetition of eternal return (the spectre). The significance of each of these forms of repetition in the musical language of the *kolokol* is now considered within the perspective of relevant theoretical discourses.

- Ostinato and Variation

The initial tolling of the *kolokol* that sets up the underlying pulse in the *zvon* is an 'iconic' repetition: it represents nothing but the pure sound-image of the bell itself. It sets up a sonic 'constant' that can then be subject to variation: the icon can be deconstructed musically through the mechanism of variation to depart from the iconic sound-image and enter into musical symbolism – gestures with implied or even literal 'meanings'. This form of repetition is based upon the duality of similitude and difference, an opposition common to all forms of repetition, including the refrain and transcendent or 'eternal' repetition.

This fundamental reliance upon repetition as the 'driving force' in Russian bell music has profound implications for the whole political economy of bell-founding and the social and ritual use of bells in Russian society. In his 1985 *Noise, the Political Economy of Music*, Jacques Attali argued that music, as socially or consciously organised noise, controls and even predicts the general violence or 'noise' of society.¹⁵⁹ Attali identified networks of musical distribution that exist in constant historical opposition, disappearance and

return, namely, (i) the sacrificial or ritual mode of distribution involving ideology, mythology, symbolic society and sacred music, (ii) the representative mode, involving spectacle, the concert hall and the 'closed space of the simulacrum of ritual',¹⁶⁰ (iii) the repetition mode, involving technology, stockpiling and recording, and finally, (iv) the compositional mode, which involves personal or self-transcendent communication.

Accordingly, the *kolokol* is (i) an instrument of interpellation with cosmic forces, God and the spiritual or 'spectral' world, (ii) an ideological apparatus representing ideals, truths and socio-political visions, (iii) a technology that 'records' historical events and belongs to an economic system as a stockpile of material, and (iv) an instrument that can articulate a vernacular community 'language' through the individualised art of the bell-founding artisan and the expression of the bell-ringer '*v udare*'. Within this matrix of repetition, according to Attali, ritual music enables society to rationalise violence, the music of representation engenders belief in harmony and the music of repetition silences social vociferousness. Only the music of unique individuality is considered to be a self-transcendent form.

As a concept, repetition is most often construed as repetition of the exact-same, the effects of mechanical or mass repetition that enable the *kolokol* to be transformed into cannon-fodder at the metal works in times of war. Repeatability of this potentially 'negative' type is nevertheless one of the primary modes of repetition underlying musical production. The form of repetition that is required to ensure supply (for example the stockpiling and distribution of bells) relies upon the possibility of repeating the means of production, as Attali explains:

Of course, the mass repetition of the music object leans very heavily upon representation and draws the major portion of its sound matter from it. Repetition began as the by-product of representation. Representation has become an auxiliary of repetition.¹⁶¹

The mass-production of bells in Russia led to their 'popularisation' or 'massification'. The general populace gained access to the spiritual power of

the Russian church bell as it became a common item that could even be given as a personal gift. In his *The Pleasure of the Text*, Roland Barthes contrasts repetition that is formalised in 'marginal' musical culture (the church bell) with the form of repetition that 'bastardises' originality for popular consumption, creates typical genres, and sets the menu of public taste (the mass-produced 'popular' bell). While the opposition that this implies tends to segregate the exceptional from the regular, the 'blissful' from the merely contented, neither mode of repetition can be dismissed or invalidated since one complex appears to emerge from the other.¹⁶² Thus, the mundane use of bells in mass culture is simply a repetition of the elevated use of bells in church towers. Mass culture is no more humiliated nor degraded than historical degradations associated with the high institutions of religion, but a figure of the popular imagination, a form of collective foresight.

This 'bastardisation', as Barthes calls it, of iconic repetition arises only where there is an 'exact same' repetition – the cheap mass reproduction of a painting or icon, bells sold in the cities of Russia as souvenirs to tourists. Though *zvon* takes iconic repetition (repetition of the same) as its very basis, there is no possibility of such exact reproduction. Since Russian bells are not usually tuned after casting, their 'primal polyphony' being left untouched, no single bell can be identical in sound or form to another. Ornamental musical motifs are rarely 'repeated' exactly. Ornamental figures may be highly codified, but the bell-ringer is '*v udare*', the will centered without conscious choice on the becoming of the musical moment, intuitively exploring or recollecting asymmetries in the kernel motif of the music in advance, hearing the music just before it is played, raising the kind of temporal disequilibrium identified by Deleuze in *Difference and Repetition*:

They [artists] introduce a disequilibrium into the dynamic process of construction, an instability, dissymmetry or gap of some kind which disappears only in the overall effect.¹⁶³

Further asymmetries arise between milieus and rhythms. Rhythmic invention distinguishes two forms of repetition, that of purely horizontal rhythmic

repetition and that of vertical harmonic rhythm marked by isochronic recurrence of similar elements determined by tonal intensity. The asymmetries that open up between shifting milieus and rhythms are described by Deleuze in *Difference and Repetition* as opening up a *locus* for the articulation of life and death:

Here again, the unequal is the most positive element. Cadence is only the envelope of a rhythm, and a relation between rhythms. The reprise of points of inequality, of inflections or of rhythmic events, is more profound than the reproduction of ordinary homogeneous elements. [...] It is in this gap [of asymmetrical movement] that creatures weave their repetition and receive at the same time the gift of living and dying.¹⁶⁴

The iconic repetition of ostinato and variation that underlies the music of *zvón* articulates the fundamental *duality* of life and death. The formal repetition of the refrain articulates life and death as a *cycle*, while transcendent (eternal) repetition opens up the mystery of Being as it emerges from, and returns to back into, nothingness: from out of darkness and into the Light.

The difference that underlies the chaos of bell music (difference tones, spectral noise) transports the listener into the transcendent, joyful acceptance of inevitability, not the tyranny of predictability. The judgment that exact repetition (absolute subjugation to the inevitable) implies is beyond moral evaluation, yet the distinction (for example in the Orthodox distinction between an icon and an idol, though both are images, repetitions or copies of a model) remains one of good versus evil. Iconic internal resemblance tends to be accepted as divine in church icons or the strict codification of bell rubrics, while the outward difference of free extemporization and orgiastic music (symbolic liberation from divine command) is taken to be demonic. As Deleuze pointed out, mankind, being 'demonic', risks losing its likeness to God while remaining 'in his image'.¹⁶⁵

- The Refrain

As stated in the introduction to this dissertation, the *kolokol* and its music are commonly associated with the Voice of God, both in its creative and its eschatological dimension. By extension, the *kolokol* is a symbol of *Logos* and the origins of language itself. The anthropic *kolokol* possesses its own voice. This 'voice' acts, like the maternal voice, as a psychic 'mirror' that 'reflects' the real world in a form of spectral musical language. This 'self-sustained language', as Agapkina described it, articulates psychic states and opens up a conduit between the material and spiritual worlds.

The form of the refrain, the form normally taken by Russian *zvon*, is also associated philosophically with ideas of transcendence, spirituality and enlightenment through an encounter with the 'Voice of God'. The *Exercises* of the Jesuit priest St Ignacio Loyola (1491 – 1556), described in Barthes' *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* as a 'universally ex-tolled'¹⁶⁶ manual of religious asceticism, are a methodology for religious meditation based upon repetition in a form close to that of the mantra or refrain.

Loyola recommended praying in rhythm tying the duration of words to the duration of a breath in order to achieve consonance with God (theosophany), a mode of spiritual interlocution or interpellation between Divinity and the exercitant. The structure of this exercise revealed an asymmetrical cycle, more like a spiral or curve than a circle, involving the subdivision of three *ways* (purgative, illuminative and unitive) into a cycle of four weeks. The four weeks of intensive consideration and spiritual questioning were divided in half by an insubstantial yet powerful moment of free choice or 'election', in which God and the exercitant established a direct line of communication.¹⁶⁷

The musical form of the refrain requires a return, after divergences, to a central core that contains the kernel of musical material, like the chorus of a lullaby or hymn. Refrain is, according to Deleuze, 'the eternal return as cycle or circulation, as being-similar and being-equal – in short, as natural animal certitude and as sensible law of nature'.¹⁶⁸ It is a specific form of evolution

beginning with the discovery of a calm and stable centre in the midst of cosmic chaos, a mother singing the repetitions, rhymes, and gently rocking rhythms of a lullaby to her child in the disturbing moments before sleep. A circle is drawn around that core, a constant return to the assurance of the point of calm, the chorus of the lullaby.

The circle of the refrain is allowed to open up, as Deleuze and Guattari explain in 'Of the Refrain' in *A Thousand Plateaus*, not to the energies of fear or disquiet, but to the gentle forces of nature, each return to the central point hazarding an expressive improvisation, the child permitted to drift, to travel through the world fearlessly with the assurance of the refrain in the modulations of its mother's voice:

But to improvise is to join with the World, or to meld with it. One ventures from home on the thread of a tune. Along sonorous, gestural, motor lines that mark the customary path of a child and graft themselves onto or begin to bud 'lines of drift' with different loops, knots, speeds, movements, gestures and sonorities.¹⁶⁹

Refrains in all forms in music, social structures and natural phenomena can be conceived of as a structure or assemblage that marks out a privileged territory. Just as birds sing to mark their territory, Russian bell music is specific to the territory of Russian culture and geography. Cultural, natural and psychological territories determine the nature and form of their material or milieu, and the movements or rhythms within the assemblage, claiming the components of a cultural, physical or natural aggregate as belonging to a specific space or region.

The assemblage of the refrain sets up the encoded sonic gestures of a particular vibratory milieu, and the rhythms that ensure the stability of the milieu, the tradition or continuity of the gesture which would otherwise disintegrate. Without the refrain, the whole cultural order is prone to transference and collapse. Rhythm develops from the coded and meaning-bearing patterns of movement or transition between these milieus.¹⁷⁰

The refrain speeds up the exchanges and reactions of the material and forms indirect connections between episodic material such as verses and passages of improvisation. The *kolokol* becomes a harmonic instrument of the refrain, a 'glass harmonica', a heightened rhetoric that is refractive like a prism. 'Reflections, echoes, doubles and souls', Deleuze wrote in *Difference and Repetition*, 'do not belong to the domain of resemblance or equivalence.'¹⁷¹ Essential to all forms of refrain, even the echo that answers its own call, is the nature of repetition itself, the very *possibility* of difference that resides within unique singularities. The possibility of repetition in bell music always exists already within the singular toll of a unique bell.

- Eternal Repetition

The subjectivity of the bell-ringer *v udare*, a will situated absolutely in the momentary flux of the music, approaches the state of transcendent (timeless) repetition that Alphonso Lingis defined in his 1978 article 'Difference and Eternal Recurrence of the Same':

[Utterly] without apprehensiveness, without anxiety, it wills already the passing of the present moment, wills already all that it is to come, including the non-being to come, wills its own expiration. [...] This kind of exultation appropriates all of itself, all its time, wills each will and each moment without reserve, absolutely, to the point of willing its eternal recurrence. [...] The absolute appropriation of the instant then deepens into an inalienable possession of all instants, a deep eternity.¹⁷²

These ideas of transcendence and eternity are symbolised in the continuity of the bell's spectral resonance, its circular form, the development of its repeating music and, most importantly, in the conscious experience of the listener as the attenuated spectrum of the peal decays and moves imperceptibly into silence. The listener is momentarily transported into the expectation that one iteration of the repeating toll will be followed by another before the first has even decayed, that more repetitions will follow

on, transform, move, and return to the beginning, continuing on in the imagination well after the music has actually ended.

At the same time, the ear hears only what sounds in the moment, though the instant contains the sonic context of what went before and what will come. Through difference, the consciousness of the listening subject is thereby 'ecstatic', in the sense of being simultaneously past, present, and future. In *Difference and Repetition*, Deleuze describes this ecstatic state as being a 'succession of instants [that] does not constitute time any more than it causes it to disappear [indicating] only its constantly aborted moment of birth'.¹⁷³ *Ekstasis* is freedom from, or forgetting of, the inevitability of time. Accordingly, free will, in the form of the bell-ringer's musical extemporisation and free modulation of the bell rubrics, unlocks the difference that leads to a positive and constructive forgetting of the original,¹⁷⁴ not as an incidental fault, but as a pre-conscious act of disassociation.

The transference of this state of forgetting to the consciousness of the listener is a kind of revelation that permits continuity between the material and the spectral (spiritual, psychic, imaginary, emotional) world. This state of revelation is, according to Lingis, the consequence of the subject's will being turned towards 'what is most inward to itself, to its own will and its own joy [through which] this utterly singular form of life discovers the law of nature that is the law of its own nature and the law of nature universally. It is in understanding what is most singular in its feeling and most singularizing in its will, that the Zarathustrian life comes to understand what is most universal'.¹⁷⁵

For Nietzsche and Herzen, Zarathustrian Will is the force capable of determining the difference between historical renaissance and human catastrophe. Nevertheless, in the following passages from *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, there is also the implication that the question of eternal return is unanswerable, an eternal mystery of its own, and that the answer is hidden in the deepest recesses of the world, in the deep voice and tolling *Logos* of the oracular bell:

And presently it became quiet and secret around; but from the depth the sound of a bell came up slowly. Zarathustra and the higher men listened to it; but then he put his finger to his mouth another time and said again, '*Come! Come! Midnight approaches*'. [...] I want to whisper something to you as that old bell whispers it into my ears – as secretly, as terribly, as cordially as that midnight bell, which has experienced more than any man, says it to me. It has counted the beats even of your fathers' hearts [...].

You higher men, redeem the tombs, awaken the corpses! Alas, why does the worm still burrow? The hour approaches; the bell hums, the heart still rattles, the deathwatch, the heart-worm still burrows. Alas! Alas! *The world is deep*. [...] You higher men, what do you think? Am I a soothsayer? A dreamer? A drunkard? An interpreter of dreams? A midnight bell? A drop of dew? A haze and fragrance of eternity? Do you not hear it? [...] Have you now learned my song? Have you guessed its intent? Well then, you higher men, sing me now my round. Now you yourselves sing me the song whose name is 'Once More' and whose meaning is 'into all eternity' – sing, you higher men, Zarathustra's round!

O man, take care!
What does the deep midnight declare?
'I was asleep –
From a deep dream I woke and swear:
The world is deep,
Deeper than day had been aware.
Deep is its woe;
Joy – deeper yet that agony:
Woe implores: Go!
But all joy wants eternity –
Wants deep, wants deep eternity'.¹⁷⁶

An eternity of repetition may be interpreted as curse or blessing, the burden of Sisyphus as much as the promise of eternal Heaven. With its implication

of eternal time, the resonant tolling of a bell may, as Poe imagined in 'The Bells', foretell a world of merriment or turn the human heart to stone. Though Nietzsche proclaimed love as the way through these essential dualities of good and evil,¹⁷⁷ he did not consider this love to be of divine origin, unlike for Kierkegaard and his Russian counterpart Soloviev, for whom 'eternal transcendence' could never be an act of human Will, nor reasoning based on truth (as for Herzen), but would be attainable only in the ecstatic ('forward recollection'¹⁷⁸) of divine *Sophia*, faith, love and 'unity-of-all'.

The Russian church bell, the supreme form of the *kolokol*, reflects the ascendancy of religious faith as a form of 'fixed' ideology that (even more so than political or aesthetic ideologies) takes the spectral as its very predicate. This avoidance of the material world in favour of spiritual 'afterlife' becomes the cause for rigid thinking and inflexible ideals, as explained by Derrida in the following passage of *Specters of Marx*:

[The] 'essence' of religion, [is] neither in the 'essence of man' [...], nor in the predicates of God, but in the material world which each stage of religious development finds in existence [...]. All the 'specters' which have filed before us [...] were representations [...]. These representations - leaving aside their real basis [...] - understood as representations internal to consciousness, as thoughts in people's heads, transferred from their objectality [...] back into the subject [...], elevated from substance into self-consciousness, are obsessions [...] or *fixed ideas*.¹⁷⁹

With the authority of primordial *Logos*, the interpellating voice of the *kolokol* always 'rings true'. Truth, wrote Nietzsche in *Truth and Lying in an Extra-Moral Sense*,¹⁸⁰ is an illusory world created by a host of psychic translations of the Real - metaphors, anthropomorphisms, a 'sum of human relations poetically and rhetorically heightened, transferred, and adorned'. They are primordial sounds, images, language and interpellations that define subjectivity, collective culture, the 'unity-of-all'. These truths, like the

cultural patterns of Russian bell music and the iconic images cast on the surface of the *kolokol*, 'seem solid, canonical, and binding to a nation'. The Word of the *kolokol* is indisputable: it says 'my Will be done'.

But the *kolokol* consistently suggests an enigmatic double-meaning, acting as a copula that mediates between, and unifies, supposedly divergent worlds. In Agapkina's words, the *kolokol* is a 'medium capable of bridging limitless distances on the scale of the macrocosm' (*posrednika, sposobnogo preodolevat' beskonechnye prostranstva v masshtabakh makrokosma*).¹⁸¹ As a cultural symbol, the *kolokol* has been associated with the spectrality or 'becoming-immaterial' of religion, mythology and belief, as much as with the founding or 'becoming-material' of a state, people and cultural life. At the same time as the bell points to 'the beyond', the transcendent and the spectral, it also has a body - it is a form made of perfected metallic material, it represents technological power and material value, it comes from the earth.

Corbin, Agapkina, Il'in and Bondarenko have proposed that the *kolokol* embodies a self-sustained, primordial, reflective, cosmic or divine language. Deeper examination of the historical role of the bell in Russian society, history and culture has confirmed these concepts: as an instrument of interlocution between the human experience of material existence and the transcendent or spectral world of consciousness, spirituality and divinity, the bell is an iconic representation of a kind of 'universal voice'. The moral dilemma of historical repetition motivated by opposing ideological forces (a question still more relevant today), the inevitabilities of the human condition, and the mysteries surrounding human relations with the speculative world and the material cosmos are the central enigmas raised through the haunting voice of the *kolokol*.

Throughout Russia's cultural history, the *kolokol* has done more than simply reflect social change. It has operated as a symbolic medium for the interpellation of changing ideologies and creative vision in Russia, both as an apparatus of political ideology and as a 'sonic icon' reflecting spiritual, creative and psychic being. The bell has called or 'hailed' the Russian people

to their changing beliefs, ideals, myths and faiths. It has articulated human relations with the 'audible-visible'¹⁸² interpellation of the *Logos*.

As an objective witness and monument to the defining moments of a nation's cultural evolution and historical conscience, the form, substance, and iconic image of the *kolokol* has founded, recorded and influenced Russia's social, political and cultural destiny for more than a millennium. It has served as a sonic focal-point for the socialisation of its people, reflecting their inner spectres – reflections and aspirations, fears, dreams and imaginings. As the voice of the *kolokol* traverses the vast spaces of Russia, it calls the Russian people back to their origins and causes and accompanies them faithfully into the future, revealing a collective purpose for their passing a lifetime.

Appendix: Transliteration of Russian

The system used to transliterate Russian language from the Cyrillic into the Latin alphabet is the Library of Congress standard.

| Russian | English transliteration | Russian | English transliteration |
|---------|-------------------------|---------|-------------------------|
| а | a | р | r |
| б | b | с | s |
| в | v | т | t |
| г | g | у | u |
| д | d | ф | f |
| е / ё | e | х | kh |
| ж | zh | ц | ts |
| з | z | ч | ch |
| и / й | i | ш | sh |
| к | k | щ | shch |
| л | l | ъ | '' |
| м | m | ы | y |
| н | n | ь | ' |
| о | o | э | e |
| п | p | ю | iu |
| | | я | ia |

There are however occasions when alternate systems are encountered in the text. These exceptions are normally found when:

- a. Citing or referencing sources which do not use the standard system
- b. When a well-known common proper or geographical name is used in its English form (e.g. Moscow, Stravinsky)
- c. When words originate from pre-modern Russian or Slavic language.

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Endnotes

Introduction

¹ T A Agapkina, 'Mat' presviataia Bogoroditsa kolokol sviatoi: Kakie zvony razdavalis' nad Rossiei' in *Rodina (Homeland)* (1997) Vol. 1, page 94-97

Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru>

² Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-century French Countryside* (Macmillan Publishers: London, 1999) page 293

³ Agapkina, *op. cit.*

⁴ The primordially of the creative *Logos* is at the centre of this symbolic relationship between the *kolokol* and the origin of language. There is an iconic relationship between the bell and the 'voice of God', both of which are commonly referred to as being 'thunderous'. The voice of God is involved in an iconoclastic acts when, uttering the word 'thunder' in a global/universal language, the tower of Babel falls on the very first page of *Finnegans Wake*:

bababadalgharaghtakamminarronnkonnbronntonnerronntuonnthunntrovarrh
ounawnskawntoohooorderenthurnuk!

This word, made up the word for thunder in several languages (excluding the Russian *grom*), which implies confusion or diffusion of tongues, was also likened to a psychic breakdown by Sylvia Plath in *The Bell Jar*: 'I counted the letters. There were exactly a hundred of them. I thought this must be important'.

At the centre of this form of this form of 'freed' language is the agency of the letter in the unconscious. The letter is the agency through which the unconscious is structured, according to Lacan, like language. The letter, Lacan says, is 'the material support that concrete discourse borrows from language' (Jacques Lacan, 'Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious' in *Écrits*). Acting as the agent that links the unconscious with the objective world, the letter must be prefixed with a + sign, the + in the (K) + L-effect as Derrida calls it, or the 'crossing of the bar [between signifier and signified] and the constitutive value of this crossing for the emergence of signification', as it is described by Lacan in 'Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious' (*Écrits*, page 164). In this movement across the bar between materiality and ideality, there is 'rubbing' and 'heating', which causes the erasure of the trace of origin embodied in the seed as Derrida describes in *Glas*, with reference to the bell as a symbol:

The setting in motion, swinging, of the body (*Erschütterung*) is not only 'relief of matter ideally (*auf ideale Weise*) presented', it is a 'real relief' through heat. Heat is the relief of the body's rigidity (*Aufheben seiner Rigidität*). 'There is therefore a direct relation between sound and heat. Heat is the fulfillment (*Vollendung*) of *Klang* ... Yet a bell (*Glocke*) will become hot by being struck (*geschlagen*) for example,

and this is a heat ... not external to it. Not only the musician gets warm, but also the instrument (Jacques Derrida, *Glas*, page 251).

This process of heating corresponds to the usury or wearing down of the original etym referred to in *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce refers to these erasures in the context of Ivan the Terrible/Stalin's iconoclastic obliterations and 'utter-most' confusion: [The] abnihilation of the etym by the grining of the grosning of the grinder of the grunder of the first lord of hurtreford expolodotonates through Parsuralia with an ivanmorinthorrorumble fragoromboassity amidwhiches general uttermosts confussion are perceivable. (James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*, Faber & Faber, London, 1939, page 350)

This small section of psychic confusion in *Finnegans Wake* originates from one of the earliest proclamations of Greek philosophy that also fascinated Heidegger and Nietzsche, a fragment of Anaximander's (reported by Aristotle in *Physics*) holding that all emergence involves a 'justification' or reckoning with time that ends in disappearance. The same fragment is retold in Anatole France's *The Garden of Epicurus* as Aristos and Polyphillos wear down the exergue (the marginal text on metal coins) in a grinder. This metaphorical loss of connection with the roots of language is taken up again in Derrida's *White Mythology* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1972), in which this numismatic term is used to elaborate upon the nature of text which is, like marginalia, prolegomena, or a codicil, outside the main body of the work (*ex ergon*). In the same way, the marginal texts of the bell not only designate its purpose and use, but also spell its *usure*, and ultimate erasure.

The bell is a vocal *leit-motiv* that enters and dissolves in the fugue of language and sense that unfolds in *Finnegans Wake*. Fusing the word bell with many other words, Joyce creates an entire language of bells comparable to the philosophy of bells evident in Derrida's *Glas*. The figure of the bell is used to trace the entire movement central to the *Wake* from origin to erasure. An exclamation point in the text, 'Holyryssia, what boom of bells!' (Faber and Faber, London, 1939, page 329) suggests some genetic link or common seed between the Irish genealogy central to the narrative and Slavic culture. Other evidence supports this. Bells are prominent in Irish Ballads like 'The Bellfounder' by Denis Florence MacCarthy, a writer who is mentioned by Joyce in the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' chapter of *Finnegans Wake* and in the poem 'The Bells of Shandon' by Rev. Francis Mahony. MacCarthy wrote a poem called 'Those Shandon Bells' as a poetic eulogy to Francis Mahony who was buried in the St. Anne Shandon Churchyard, the location of the actual Shandon Bells. Francis Mahony's work traces the bell in a global peregrination from Ireland to Russia and back again. This poem reads like a microscopic précis of the monumental Babelesque work of *Finnegans Wake*.

⁵ A F Bondarenko, *Moskovskie Kolokola XVII V. (Moscow Bells of the VII Century)* (Russkaya Panorama, Moscow, 1998) page 139

⁶ N E Prianishnikov, 'Metall Blagozvonnyi' in *Metally Evrazii* (1997) Vol. 3 page 116-119 Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru>

⁷ Andrei Vorontsov, 'Molitva, otlitaia v bronze: interviu c I. V. Konovalovym' in *Moskovskii Zhurnal* (1995) Vol. 10 page 33-42 Source:

<http://www.bellstream.ru>

⁸ V I Mashkov, 'O kolokol'nom zvone i prozhitoi zhizni' in *Pravoslavnyi Kolokol'nyi Zvon: Teoriia I Praktika* (2002) page 128-133 Source:

<http://www.bellstream.ru>

⁹ Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1985) page xvi

¹⁰ Edward V Williams, 'Aural Icons of Orthodoxy: the sonic typology of Russian bells', in William C Brumfield and Milos M Velimirovic (Eds) *Christianity and the Arts in Russia* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991) page 5

¹¹ Agapkina, *op. cit.*, paragraph 16

¹² Jacques Derrida, *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1989) page 28 - 29 – A consideration of the idea of spirit (*Geist*) in Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit*, in particular, his 'avoidance' of the term 'spirit'.

¹³ Jacques Derrida, *Voice and Phenomenon*, quoted in Leonard Lawlor, *Derrida and Husserl: the Basic Problem of Phenomenology* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2002) page 191

¹⁴ A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 122 – 123

¹⁵ Williams noted in 1985, in the preface to his *The Bells of Russia* that: 'One reason the "soundscape" of Moscow has not been pursued in Western scholarship is that ... the historical development of Russian bells and their liturgical function have remained inaccessible; even with knowledge of the language, the sources, widely scattered throughout an extensive literature, are not easily obtained.' Little has changed since that time: Richard Hernandez's recent addition to Western scholarship on Russian campanology, 'Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance: Church Bells and the Auditory Culture of Russian Villages during the Bolshevik Velikii Perelom' (2001) also relies almost entirely on Western sources (especially Corbin and Williams). While the present dissertation includes many references to Russian sources not previously presented in English, further translation of the many articles cited in recent bibliographies (see for example, the bibliography at www.bellstream.ru) and inclusion of this scholarship in international humanities databases would be a worthy exercise for a Russian scholar in collaboration with an English-speaking campanologist or cultural historian.

Chapter One

¹ Jacques Derrida, 'Apparition of the Inapparent' in *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, Peggy Kamuf (Trans) (Routledge, London, 1994) page 152

² Louis Althusser, 'On Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, Notes Towards and Investigation', in *Essays on Ideology* (Verso, London) page 53

³ *Ibid.*, page 48

⁴ Renate Rolle, *The World of the Scythians*, F G Walls (Trans) (Batsford, London, 1989) page 88

⁵ Edgar L Owen Gallery (<http://www.edgarlowen.com>) Private Collection

⁶ Joanna Hubbs, *Mother Russia: the feminine myth in Russian culture* (First Midland Book Edition, 1993)

⁷ According to Giambattista Vico, thunder, misinterpreted as the voice of God, was the origin of all language. See *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* (Cornell U. Press, Ithaca and London, 1976; originally published 1744) See <http://www.hauntedink.com/ghost/ch5.html>

⁸ A N Davydov, 'Bells and Bell Music in Folk Culture', in B V Rauschenbach, *Kolokola Istorii i Sovremennost' (Bells: History and Modernity)* (Nauka Press, Moscow, 1985) page 14 (Original Translations)

⁹ Joanna Hubbs, *op. cit.*, page 64

¹⁰ Sydel Silverman, *Three Bells of Civilisation* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1975) page 150

¹¹ Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika, A Village in Modern Greece* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1962) page 98

¹² *Ibid.*, page 100

¹³ *Ibid.*, page 102

¹⁴ The blackening of the sun is a held to be a portent of death. The same apocalyptic omen is found in Verse [iv] of T S Eliot's 'Burnt Norton' in *Four Quartets*:

*Time and the bell have buried the day,
The black cloud carries the sun away.*

¹⁵ W F Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (Sutton Publishing, Phoenix Mill, 1999) page 50

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, page 125

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, page 218

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, page 240 - 241

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, page 184

²⁰ *Ibid.*, page 73

²¹ Robin R Milner-Gulland, *The Russians* (Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1997) page 88 - 89

²² Helena P Blavatskaya, *Isis Unveiled* (1877) vol. 2 page 624 - 625

(Source: Theosophical university Press Online Edition, <http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena>)

²³ W F Ryan, *op. cit.*, page 11

²⁴ Eve Levin, 'Dvoeverie and Popular Religion', in Stephen K Batalden (Ed), *Seeking God: the recovery of religious identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia* (Northern Illinois University Press, Illinois, 1993)

²⁵ *Ibid.*, page 31 - 52

²⁶ Francis Conte, 'Paganism and Christianity in Russia: 'Double' or 'triple' faith?' in *The Christianization of Ancient Russia; A Millennium: 988 - 1988*, Yves Hamant (Ed) (UNESCO, Paris, 1992) page 214 - 215

²⁷ William Pokhlebkin, *A History of Vodka*, Renfrey Clarke (Trans) (Verso, London, 1992)

²⁸ Aristide Wirsta, 'The Byzantine origins of medieval sacred music in Kievan Rus'' in *The Christianization of Ancient Russia; A Millennium: 988 - 1988*, Yves Hamant (Ed) page 14 - 15

²⁹ Stanislav Martselev, 'Christianity and the Development of Architecture and Art in Western Rus'', in *The Christianization of Ancient Russia; A Millennium: 988 - 1988*, Yves Hamant (Ed) page 133

³⁰ Yves Hamant, 'The Evolution of Russian Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Christianization of Ancient Russia; A Millennium: 988 - 1988*, Yves Hamant (Ed) page 138

³¹ *The Nikonian Chronicle*, Serge A Zenkovsky (Trans) (The Kingston Press, New Jersey, 1984) vol. 1 page 112

³² *Ibid.*, vol. 1 page 157

³³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1 page 247

³⁴ *The Nikonian Chronicle*, vol. 2 page 234

³⁵ *Ibid.*, page 308

³⁶ John Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church* (Longman Group, Essex, 1995) page 189

³⁷ Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1985) page 38 - 39

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ W Bruce Lincoln, *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1993) page 41 - 45

⁴⁰ James H Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretative History of Russian Culture*, page 32

⁴¹ Munin Nederlander, *Kitezh: the Russian grail legends*, Tony Langham (Trans) (Aquarian Press, London, 1991) page 92 - 93

⁴² This practice was filmed by Werner Herzog in his 1993 documentary on Siberian *sueverie* ('superstition'), popular religion and folk culture, *Bells from the Deep*, an image from which is below:



⁴³ W J Belski, 'The Legend of the Invisible City Kitezh and Lady Fevronia', in Munin Nederlander, *op. cit.*, page 54

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, page 59 - 60

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, page 69

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, page 86 - 88

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, page 88

⁴⁸ Greg Gaut, 'Vladimir Solovyov's Social Gospel Theology', in *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, vol. 10/11, 1994/ 1995 (source: <http://members.valley.net/~transnat/gautfp.html>)

⁴⁹ Valentin Tomberg, 'Introduction to the Kitezh Legend', in Munin Nederlander, *op. cit.*, page 94

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, page 103 - 104

⁵¹ Vladimir Soloviev, cited in Peter J S Duncan, *Russian Messianism: third Rome, revolution, and after* (Routledge, London, 2000) page 7

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- ⁵² Vladimir Soloviev, *A Solovyov Anthology*, S Frank (Ed) (London, 1950) page 10, quoted in James H Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretative History of Russian Culture* (Vintage Books, New York, 1970) page 465
- ⁵³ Gerhart Hauptmann, *The Sunken Bell* (William Heinemann: London, 1913)
- ⁵⁴ Carl G Jung, *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990) page 113
- ⁵⁵ Gerhart Hauptmann, *op. cit.*, page 8
- ⁵⁶ Hermann Weigand, quoted in Warren R Maurer, *Gerhart Hauptmann* (G K Hall and Company, Boston, 1982) page 82
- ⁵⁷ Leon Feuchtwanger, *Moscow 1937: a Travel Report for my Friends*, quoted in Karl Schlögel (Ed), *Moscow* (Reaktion Books, London, 2004) page 81
- ⁵⁸ Adam Olearius, *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth Century Russia*, Samuel H Baron (Trans) (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1967) page 263 - 264
- ⁵⁹ James H Billington, *op. cit.*, page 37
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, page 39
- ⁶¹ V Odoevsky, as cited in A Koyré, *La Philosophie et le problème national en Russie au début du XIX-ième siècle*, 1929, page 31, quoted in James H Billington, *op. cit.*, page 41
- ⁶² Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 42-43
- ⁶³ *Ibid.* page 45
- ⁶⁴ Roman Lukianov, Address delivered May 22, 1999, at the Northeastern Regional Meeting of the American Bell Association International, and printed in the ABA's journal *The Bell Tower*, Vol. 57, number 4, July-Aug 1999 (Source: <http://www.russianbells.com/history/history1.html>)
- ⁶⁵ James H Billington, *op. cit.*, endnote no. 17, Chapter 1 (Kiev), page 630
- ⁶⁶ Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 102
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, page 49-51
- ⁶⁸ Sergei Mikhailovich, 1863-1944 (photographer). In album: *Views along the upper Volga River, from Kashin to Makarev, Russian Empire*, LOT 10340, no. 273. Forms part of: Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii Collection (Library of Congress). LOT 10340, no. 273
- ⁶⁹ *Moscow City Web Site*, Kremlin, http://www.moskva.ru/guide/kremlin/kremlin_e3.html
- ⁷⁰ Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 56
- ⁷¹ Lev Tolstoi, *War and Peace*, Book 14, Chapter 17, Adelaide University Library (<http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au>)
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, Book 11, Chapter 1, page 2
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, Book 11, Chapter 1, page 3
- ⁷⁴ I V Konovalov, 'Zvuchashchie Simvoly Rossiiskogo Gosudarstva' in *Russkoe Vozrozhdenie* (1998) Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru>
- ⁷⁵ Roman Lukianov, *op. cit.*
- ⁷⁶ B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*
- ⁷⁷ Stereoscopic Image from the Keystone-Mast collection, University of California, Riverside (Source: <http://www.cmp.ucr.edu>) Ref: KU55765
- ⁷⁸ Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-century French Countryside* (Macmillan Publishers, London, 1999) page 69
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, page 8
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, page 3

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- ⁸¹ François Rabelais, *The Lives Heroic Deeds and Sayings of Gargantua and his Son Pantagruel* (Chatto and Windus: London) page 50 - 51
- ⁸² Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Helene Iswolsky (Trans) (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984) page 213-214
- ⁸³ Rabelais, *op. cit.*, page 306
- ⁸⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, *op. cit.*, page 215
- ⁸⁵ Craig Brandist, *The Bakhtin Circle* (University of Michigan Press, Michigan) page 139
- ⁸⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *op. cit.*, page 217
- ⁸⁷ Tim McDaniel, *The Agony of the Russian Idea* (Princeton Academic Press, New Jersey, 1996) page 20
- ⁸⁸ Many instances of abduction are subject to ongoing dispute. A set of bells gifted by Tsar Alexander III in 1888 to San Francisco's Holy Trinity Cathedral, the oldest Orthodox Church in America, was stolen in Easter 1998. Bells donated to Harvard University by a Russian businessman in the 1920s are now subject to claims by the Russian church for their return. Three 'priceless' bells donated by Tsar Alexander III to the Orthodox Holy Trinity Cathedral in San Francisco in 1888 were stolen in August 1999. Bells, perhaps because they are so often gifts, are objects whose possession (spiritual and material) is always in dispute.
- ⁸⁹ Original Translation
- ⁹⁰ Nikolai Gogol, *The Diary of a Madman* (Signet, Winnipeg, 1960) page 28
- ⁹¹ Original Translation
- ⁹² Moissaye J Olgin, *The soul of the Russian Revolution* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1917) page 335 - 336
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, page 340 - 342
- ⁹⁴ Anna Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill: revolutionary terrorism in Russia, 1894 - 1917* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1993) page 21
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, page 16
- ⁹⁶ Fedor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment*, University of Adelaide Library (<http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au>) Part 4 Chapter 4, page 12
- ⁹⁷ In *The Brothers Karamazov*, for example, Dostoevsky momentarily introduces a little dog named 'Perezvon' after the traditional form of bell-ringing rubric used in the Russian Orthodox Church. This novel marked Dostoevsky's final arrival at a point of rejecting the socialist radicalism of the period in favour of a philosophy of redemption through suffering and faith in line with Soloviev's ideas. The dog Perezvon symbolises faith, though he is also forced to perform tricks obediently by his young 'socialist' owner Kolya Krassotkin.
- ⁹⁸ Walter A Carrithers (a.k.a. Aldai E Waterman) 'Obituary: The Hodgson Report on Madame Blavatsky' (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1963) and Alice Gordon, *Some Experiences of the Occult* (Light, London, 1890) page 575 - 577
- ⁹⁹ L P [sic], 'Astral Bells' in *Theosophical History* (London, 1985) vol. 1 no. 4, page 85
- ¹⁰⁰ H P Blavatskaya, 'Persian Zoroastrianism and Russian Vandalism' in *The Theosophist* (London, 1879) (Source: <http://www.blavatsky.net>)
- ¹⁰¹ Alfred Lord Tennyson, 'The Gem', 1831
- ¹⁰² H P Blavatskaya, *Karmic Visions* (Lucifer, June, 1888) (Source: <http://www.blavatskaya.net>)

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- ¹⁰³ David Masson (Ed) 'The Russian Political Press' in *Macmillan's Magazine* (Macmillan and Co. Nov. 1862) Vol. 7, page 399
- ¹⁰⁴ Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *The Road to Revolution: A century of Russian Radicalism* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1986) page 59
- ¹⁰⁵ Abbott Gleason, *Young Russia: The Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1860s* (The Viking Press, New York, 1980) page 84
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, page 91
- ¹⁰⁷ Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *op. cit.*, page 92
- ¹⁰⁸ Anna Geifman, *op. cit.* page 11 - 13
- ¹⁰⁹ Anna Geifman, *Thou Shalt Kill*, page 154 et seq
- ¹¹⁰ Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *op. cit.*, page 103
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, page 106
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, page 126
- ¹¹³ Three copies of the now rare journal *Kolokol'chik* (Little Bell), published in Tula in 1917 by the Novikov family, are now held in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.
- ¹¹⁴ Abbott Gleason, *op. cit.*, page 106
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, page 110
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, page 110
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, page 111
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, page 132-133
- ¹¹⁹ William Cannon Weidemaier, 'Herzen and Nietzsche: A Link in the rise of Modern Pessimism' in *Russian Review* (Ohio State University Press, Ohio, October 1997) Vol. 36 no. 4, page 478
- ¹²⁰ A I Herzen, *Collected Works in Thirty Volumes* (Moscow, 1954-65), vol. 5, page 215 - 216, quoted in William Cannon Weidemaier, *Herzen and Nietzsche*, page 481
- ¹²¹ The Project Gutenberg EBook of *Ecce Homo*, by Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche gives the following original text:

Denn wenn die Wahrheit mit der Lüge von Jahrtausenden in Kampf tritt, werden wir Erschütterungen haben, einen Krampf von Erdbeben, eine Versetzung von Berg und Thal, wie dergleichen nie geträumt worden ist. Der Begriff Politik ist dann gänzlich in einen Geisterkrieg aufgegangen, alle Machtgebilde der alten Gesellschaft sind in die Luft gesprengt - sie ruhen allesamt auf der Lüge: es wird Kriege geben, wie es noch keine auf Erden gegeben hat. Erst von mir an giebt es auf Erden grosse Politik.

Translation by Walter Kaufmann in *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, Walter Kaufmann (ed.) (Vintage Books, 1969) page 327

¹²² Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: the state of debt, the work of mourning, and the New International* (Routledge, New York, 1994) page 77 - 78

¹²³ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, page 1 (Source: <http://marxists.org>)

¹²⁴ Peter J S Duncan, *Russian Messianism: third Rome, revolution, and after* (Routledge, London, 2000) page 48 - 61

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, page 51

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, page 48 - 61

¹²⁷ Edward V Williams, 'Aural Icons of Orthodoxy: the sonic typology of Russian bells', in William C Brumfield and Milos M Velimirovic (Eds)

Christianity and the Arts in Russia (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991) page 5

¹²⁸ A F Bondarenko, *Moskovskie Kolokola XVII V. (Moscow Bells of the VII Century)* (Russkaya Panorama, Moscow, 1998) page 122 – 123

¹²⁹ Lionel Kochan, *Russia in Revolution* (Paladin, London, 1966) page 20

¹³⁰ Robert K Massie, *The Romanovs: the final chapter* (Random House, New York, 1995) page 15

¹³¹ John Reed, *Ten Days the Shook the World* (Penguin, Middlesex, 1977) page 98 (First published by the Communist Party in Britain, 1926)

¹³² Vladimir I Lenin, *Socialism and Religion* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955) page 6

¹³³ *Ibid.*, page 7

¹³⁴ Vladimir I Lenin, *On Marx and Engels* (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1975) page 7

¹³⁵ Nikita Struve, 'Atheism and Religion and the Soviet Union', in Yves Hamant (Ed), *The Christianization of Ancient Russia*, page 256

¹³⁶ Sabrina P Ramet, *Nihil Obstat: religion, politics and change in East-Central Europe and Russia* (Duke University Press, London, 1998) page 14

¹³⁷ Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 63

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, page 63

¹³⁹ Sabrina P Ramet, *op. cit.*, page 24

¹⁴⁰ Vladimir P. Korzh, *A Tree With Deep Roots: The Bells and Chimes of Russia* (Source: <http://www.russianbells.com/akir/korzh-deeproots.html>)

¹⁴¹ Richard L Hernandez, 'Sacred Sound and Sacred Substance: Church Bells and the Auditory Culture of Russian Villages during the Bolshevik Velikii Perelom' (American Historical Review, December 2004) vol. 109 number 5 (Source:

<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/109.5/hernandez.html>)

¹⁴² A E Videneeva, 'K Istorii Unichtozheniia Rostovskikh Kolokolov', *Soobshcheniia Rostovskogo Muzeia* (Yaroslavl, 1995) Issue 7, page 157-162

¹⁴³ Stereoscopic Image from the Keystone-Mast collection, University of California, Riverside (Source: <http://www.cmp.ucr.edu>)

¹⁴⁴ Boris Pilnyak, quoted in Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 64

¹⁴⁵ Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 65

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, page 64

¹⁴⁷ Russian State Documentary Film & Photo Archive, Krasnogorsk (Source: <http://www.rusarchives.ru>) Ref: 2-53763

¹⁴⁸ ITAR-TASS Russian News Agency file photo, Ref: 49786

¹⁴⁹ Morshansk Historical and Cultural Society, <http://www.morshansk.orthodoxy.ru>

¹⁵⁰ Vladimir P. Korzh, *op. cit.*

¹⁵¹ Edward V Williams, *op. cit.*, page 65

¹⁵² Walter Benjamin, from a letter written to Martin Buber on February 23, 1927, cited in Gershom Scholem, 'Preface' to Walter Benjamin, *Moscow Diary*, Gary Smith (Ed) Richard Sieburth (Trans) (Harvard University Press, London, 1986) page 6

¹⁵³ Walter Benjamin, *Moscow Diary*, Gary Smith (Ed) Richard Sieburth (Trans) (Harvard University Press, London, 1986) page 66

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, page 112 - 114

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- ¹⁵⁷ Richard L Hernandez, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵⁸ Kirill O Rossianov, 'Stalin as Lysenko's Editor: Reshaping Political Discourse in Soviet Science' in *Configurations* (John Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1993) page 439 – 456 (Source: <http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/con/1.3rossianov.html>)
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- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶² David Wingeate Pike, *In the Service of Stalin: the Spanish Communists in exile* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993) page 150
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- ¹⁶⁷ After an article by Victor Zorza, 'How Moscow Broke the News of Stalin's Death' in *The Guardian* (London, 1953) (Source: <http://www.guardiancentury.co.uk>)
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- ¹⁷¹ Jacqueline Rose, *The Haunting of Sylvia Plath* (Virago Press, London, 1991) page 195
- ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, page 57
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- ¹⁷⁴ John Fitzsimmons, *Sylvia Plath's The Bell Jar* (Central Queensland University, Rockhampton, 1996) (Source: <http://www.cqu.edu.au/arts/humanities/litstud/naff/naffch5plath.html>)
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- ¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, page 227
- ¹⁷⁷ Julia Voznesenskaya, *The Women's Decameron* (Minerva, London, 1990) page 2
- ¹⁷⁸ Frederic Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, page 20, quoted in Jack Murray, *The Landscapes of Alienation: Ideological Subversion in Kafka, Celine, and Onetti* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1991) page 2

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- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*, page 158 – 159 (Original Translation)
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- ¹⁸⁵ Aleksei Gastev, 'On Tendencies in Proletarian Culture' quoted in Patricia Garden, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia*, page 8
- ¹⁸⁶ Yevgeny Zamyatin, 'On Literature, Revolution and Entropy' quoted in T R N Edwards, *Three Russian Writers and the Irrational* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982) page 48
- ¹⁸⁷ Mikhail Yampolsky, 'In the Shadow of Monuments: Notes on iconoclasm and time' in *Soviet Hieroglyphics: visual culture in late twentieth-century Russia*, Nancy Condee (Ed) (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1995), page 104
- ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, page 105
- ¹⁸⁹ Tim McDaniel, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, page 12
- ¹⁹¹ Yuri Lotman, *Cultural Explosions* quoted in Tim McDaniel, *The Agony of the Russian Idea, op. cit.*, page 17
- ¹⁹² W J Thomas Mitchell, *Iconology: image, text, ideology* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986) page 162: "Marx makes the concepts of ideology and commodity concrete the way poets and rhetoricians always have, by making metaphors. The metaphor for ideology, or as Marx would say, the image behind the concept, is the *camera obscura* (...) in which images are projected. The image behind the concept of commodity, on the other hand, is the fetish or idol, and object of superstition, fantasy, and obsessive behavior. When these concepts are seen in their concrete form, their relationship becomes clearer. Both are 'hyper-icons' or images in a double sense (...) in that they are themselves 'scenes' or sites of graphic image-production, as well as verbal or rhetorical images (metaphors, analogies, likenesses). When we speak of them as 'images' then, it is important to keep in mind that we are using the term to refer (1) to the use of these objects as concrete vehicles in a metaphoric (symbolic) treatment of abstractions, and (2) to objects which themselves are graphic images or producers of images."
- ¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, page 168 - 171
- ¹⁹⁴ <http://russianbells.com/foundries/profile-litex.html>
- ¹⁹⁵ Pravda, 'Largest Bell will be Raised onto Bell Tower in Holy Trinity and St Sergius Monastery' (<http://newfromrussia.com>, 19 April, 2004)
- ¹⁹⁶ Joshua D Gottlieb, *Crimson Magazine* (Harvard University, <http://www.thecrimson.com>, December 9, 2003) Article Ref: 356721
- ¹⁹⁷ Circum-Baikal Railway on the Web (<http://kbzd.irk.ru/Eng/gal-his.htm>, 2001)
- ¹⁹⁸ Bureau of Industry and Security, U.S.A (<http://efoia.bxa.doc.gov/ExportControlViolations/e614.pdf>)

¹⁹⁹ Some of the comprehensive general-interest Web sites on the subject of Russian bells are:

<http://www.bellstream.ru>

<http://www.odmkbells.ru/bells/index.htm>

<http://www.bells.orthodoxy.ru/>

<http://www.orthodoxlinks.info/culture/music/musicbells/>

<http://www.russianbells.com/>

<http://www.zvon.ru/>

<http://www.kolokola.ru/>

<http://www.kolokola.com/>

http://www.decorbells.ru/bells_culture.htm

²⁰⁰ Debbie Whitmont (Reporter) and Sarah Curnow (Producer), *What the Children Saw* (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Sydney, 15.11.2004) (Transcript Source:

<http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2004/s1244370.htm>)

²⁰¹ The symbolic reduction of the bell into a mere telephonic automaton: see Avital Ronell, *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1989) page 109

²⁰² Erich Fromm, *On Being Human* (Continuum Publishing Company, New York, 1994) page 27

Chapter Two

¹ *Skazal elektrik i pererezal provoda* - "Let there be light", said the electrician, as he snipped the wires [A Russian joke playing on the Christian idea of 'light' and the Soviet ideal of progress and 'electrification'].

² Vera Shevzov, 'Miracle-working Icons, Laity, and Authority in the Russian Orthodox Church, 1861 - 1917' in *Russian Review* (Ohio State University Press, January 1999) vol. 58, page 28 - 29

³ *Ibid.*, page 34

⁴ *Ibid.*, page 41

⁵ Vera Beaver-Bricken Espinola, 'Copper Icons in Daily Use in Old Russia' in *Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection: Castings of Faith* (Smithsonian Institute, 1991) page 9

⁶ Anton Serge Beliajeff, 'Old Believers and the Manufacturing of Copper Icons' in *Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection*, *op. cit.*, page 17

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 18 - 19

⁸ Fr. Dmitry Grigorieff, 'Russian Orthodox Theology and Icons, 1600 - 1900' in *Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection*, *op. cit.*, page 5

⁹ *Ibid.*, page 6

¹⁰ James H Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretative History of Russian Culture*, page 34

¹¹ Katerina Clark, *Petersburg, Crucible of the Russian Revolution* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1995) page 30

¹² Basil Lefchick, 'Iconographic Form and Content in the Kunz Collection' in *Russian Copper Icons and Crosses from the Kunz Collection*, *op. cit.*, page 22

¹³ Roman Jakobsen, *The Sound Shape of Language*, Linda Waugh (Ed) (1979) page 188

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- ¹⁴ K S Malevich, *Letters to M V Matiushin* cited in Catherine Cooke, *Russian Avant-Garde: Theories of Art, Architecture, and the City* (Academy Editions, 1995) page 16
- ¹⁵ Isobel Hunter, *Zaum and Sun: The First Futurist Opera Revisited* (Central Europe Review, <http://www.ce-review.org>, July, 1999) vol. 1 no. 3
- ¹⁶ Along with Malevich, Vladimir Tatlin, whose 1920 *Monument to the Third International* resembles a new Tower of Babel, acknowledged that the stimulus to move away from early cubist experiments was a vast exhibition of icons that was mounted in Moscow in 1913.
- ¹⁷ Dziga Vertov, *Kinoki Perevorot*, 1923, Alexandr Lavrentiev, *Photo-dreams of the Avant-Garde*, cited in *Photography in Russia 1840 – 1940*, David Elliott (Ed)(Thames and Hudson, London, 1992) page 61
- ¹⁸ Vladimir Marko, *Russian Futurism: A history* (Macgibbon and Kee, London, 1969) page 5
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, page 6 -7
- ²⁰ Robin R Milner-Gulland, *The Russians* (Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1997) page 182
- ²¹ Konrad Onasch, *Russian Icons* (Phaidon Press, Oxford, 1989) page 300 - 301
- ²² Yelena Nesterova, *The Itinerants: The Masters of Russian Realism* (Parkstone Aurora, St Petersburg, 1996) page 222
- ²³ Roerich Organization (<http://www.roerich.org>)
- ²⁴ Evgenia Kirichenko, *The Russian Style* (Laurence King, London, 1991) page 235
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ http://museum.oglethorpe.edu/RoerichGallery/Zvenigorod_page.htm
- ²⁷ Guy Rosolato, 'La Voix: entre corps et langage' in *Revue Francaise de Psychanalyse* 37, no. 1 (1974) quoted in Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 1988) page 80
- ²⁸ This synaesthetical understanding of the bell as an eternal (sonic) voice resonating in the 'psychic mirror', and thus its 'iconic' nature in image and word, its 'reflective' capability, its spectrality and its relationship to the origins of language, is further substantiated by Jacques Lacan. Writing of 'the gaze', Lacan emphasises this distinction between the 'scopic register' and the 'invocatory/vocatory field'. In relation to sound, the subject is seemingly included and determinate, while in relation to visual experience of the world, the subject identifies as totally 'other'. According to Lacan, psychic movement from the Imaginary realm (and a purely iconic understanding of the world) into the symbolic order occurs with the development of a child's capacity for language. This movement into the symbolic order also implies absence (Freud's Fort! Da!), since language becomes necessary when an object is not present. Expanding upon this idea in *The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis*, Lacan shows that the unconscious structuring of language, encompassing the entire spectrum of linguistic relations and archetypal images, is the equivalent of a psychic 'instrument', and that these relations necessarily extend to the level of the phoneme – to the pure sound of the letter.

²⁹ Evelyn B Tribble, 'Like a Looking-Glas in the Frame: From the Marginal Note to the Footnote' in *The Margins of Text*, D C Greetham (Ed) (University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 2000) page 229

³⁰ Julia Bekman Chadaga, 'Mirror Writing: The literary traces of the zertsalo' in *Russian Review* (Ohio State University, Columbus, January 1999) vol. 58, no. 1, page 74

³¹ *Ibid.*, page 81

³² *Ibid.*, page 82

³³ *Ibid.*, page 84 Note: Anais Nin describes this quality of intimacy in the following passage of her short story *Under a Glass Bell* (Penguin, London, 2001, page 35 – 36):

That delicacy of design only created in a void, in great silence and great immobility. No violence here, no tears, no great suffering, no shouting, no destruction, no anarchy. [...] I felt pain detachedly, as if it were not happening to my body: I have no body.

³⁴ Sándor Ferenczi, *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis* (Hogarth Press, 1926) page 355 – 390 cited in Martin Stanton, *Sándor Ferenczi: Reconsidering Active Intervention* (Jason Aronson Inc., New Jersey, 1991) page 80 - 81

³⁵ Fr. Raymond Gawronski, S.J. *Word and Silence: Hans Urs von Balthasar and the Spiritual Encounter between East and West* (T and T Clark, Edinburgh, 1995) page 151

³⁶ Mikhail Yampolsky, 'In the Shadow of Monuments: Notes on iconoclasm and time' in *Soviet Hieroglyphics: visual culture in late twentieth-century Russia*, Nancy Condee (Ed) (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1995) page 101

³⁷ *Ibid.*, page 100

³⁸ Yuri Tsivian, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Notably the delay of Ivan's Childhood scene, which occurs at the very beginning of the original scenario, but only as a 'flashback' in the finished film.

⁴⁰ Sergei Eisenstein, *Ivan the Terrible*, Ivor Montagu and Herbert Marshall (Eds) (Secker and Warburg, London, 1963) page 68 - 72

⁴¹ Sergei Eisenstein, *Ivan the Terrible* (Faber and Faber, London, 1989) page 47 - 51

⁴² *Ibid.* page 50

⁴³ G Maryamov, 'J V Stalin: The Discussion with Sergei Eisenstein on the Film Ivan the Terrible' in *Kremlevskii Tsenzor* (Moscow, 1992), page 84 – 91, Sumana Jha (Trans) (Source: <http://www.revolutionarydemocracy.org>) [ISBN 5724000431]

⁴⁴ Lovgren Hakan, *Eisenstein's Labyrinth: Aspects of a Cinematic Synthesis of the Arts* (Stockholm University, PhD Dissertation, 1996) page 84

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, page 84

⁴⁶ G Maryamov, *op. cit.*, page 84 – 91

⁴⁷ Lovgren Hakan, *op. cit.*, page 29

⁴⁸ Yuri Tsivian, *Ivan the Terrible* (BFI Publishing, London, 2002) page 24 - 25

⁴⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Helene Iswolsky (Trans) (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984) page 10

⁵⁰ Sergei Eisenstein, *Ivan the Terrible*, page 48

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- ⁵¹ Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time Image* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997) page 161
- ⁵² Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*, Jay Leyda (Trans) (Meridian Books, New York 1957) page 75
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, page 75
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, page 78
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, page 66
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, page 67
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, page 70 - 71
- ⁵⁸ Sergei Eisenstein, *Ivan the Terrible*, page 34
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, page 69
- ⁶⁰ Original annotation
- ⁶¹ Original transcription
- ⁶² N Aristov, *Russian Folk Tales* (1878), cited in Maureen Perrie, *op. cit.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, page 175
- ⁶⁴ Lovgren Hakan, *Eisenstein's Labyrinth*, page 17
- ⁶⁵ Yuri Tsivian, *op. cit.*, page 80
- ⁶⁶ Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (Princeton, 1962) cited in Lovgren Hakan, *Eisenstein's Labyrinth*, page 63
- ⁶⁷ Yuri Tsivian, *op. cit.*, page 16
- ⁶⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Walter Kaufmann (Trans) (Penguin Books, New York, 1978) page 184
- ⁶⁹ Mark Le Fanu, *The Cinema of Andrei Tarkovsky* (British Film Institute, London, 1987) page 41
- ⁷⁰ Andrei Tarkovsky quoted in Zinovy Zinik, *Beauty Reflected in a Puddle* (TLS, July 19, 1991)
- ⁷¹ Thierry Cazals, *Au-Delà du Regard* (Cahiers du Cinema, 1986) Vol. 386, page 17
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, Vol. 386, page 20
- ⁷³ Vida T Johnson, *Tarkovsky: a visual fugue* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1994) page 212
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, page 231
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, page 93
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, page 189
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, page 199
- ⁷⁸ Andrei Tarkovsky, *Sculpting in Time*, quoted in Vida T Johnson, *op. cit.*, page 200
- ⁷⁹ Gilles Deleuze, *op. cit.*, page 43
- ⁸⁰ Fedor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov* (University of Adelaide Library, <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au>) Book 8, Chapter 8
- ⁸¹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Orion Press, Boston, 1964) page 193
- ⁸² Unless otherwise cited, translations are original. Versions of the poems in Russian are included if they were obtained from The Russian Journal, Archive of Russian Poetry (<http://www.litera.ru/stixiya/>) See also: <http://www.russ.ru/ri/index.htm>. Otherwise, the source for the original is cited. Translations included in the main body of the dissertation tend to convey literal meaning, though there are instances where a more free translation has been made in order to avoid absurdity or to maintain some element of the original (e.g. rhyme, mood or colour) that cannot be

rendered well into English in a literal sense. Translations that only appear in endnotes, and not in the main body of text, are indicative only.

⁸³ Gaston Bachelard, *op. cit.*, Introduction

⁸⁴ Sergei Bobrov, *O Novoi Illustratsii (On New Illustration)* quoted in Nina Gurianova, *A New Aesthetic: Word and Image in Russian Futurist Books*, in *Defining Russian Graphic Arts: from Diaghilev to Stalin, 1898 – 1934*, Alla Rosenfeld (Ed) (Catalogue of an exhibition organized by the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, 1999) page 97

⁸⁵ Elena Chervich, *Russian Graphic Design* (Abbeville Press, New York, 1990) page 15

⁸⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, cited in Deborah J Haynes, *Bakhtin and the Visual Arts* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995) page 108

⁸⁷ The Russian symbolist poets earned the silver epithet on account of a perceived movement of decadence and decline from the qualities of the Golden Age. From out of the symbolist movement emerged a group of writers who sought more clarity of meaning than the symbolists, but who nevertheless felt intellectually bound to some of their aesthetic and philosophical ideals. This group, some of whom called themselves 'Acmeists', were the 'Bronze' poets of post-revolutionary Russia. Conversely, the futurists were concerned with the materiality of the world, the mechanics and construction of architectures, energy, motion, and the amalgamation of art, science and society. From this materialist movement in art emerged Soviet Proletarian, Constructivist and Socialist Realist works, whose metallic theme during Lenin and Stalin's dictation of the country was always founded in iron, the same material that is used to fashion the tongues of Russian bells.

88

HEAR the sledges with the bells,
Silver bells!
What a world of merriment their melody foretells!
How they tinkle, tinkle, tinkle,
In the icy air of night!
While the stars, that oversprinkle
All the heavens, seem to twinkle
With a crystalline delight;
Keeping time, time, time,
In a sort of Runic rhyme,
To the tintinnabulation that so musically wells
From the bells, bells, bells, bells,
Bells, bells, bells—
From the jingling and the tinkling of the bells.

Hear the mellow wedding bells,
Golden bells!
What a world of happiness their harmony foretells!
Through the balmy air of night
How they ring out their delight!
From the molten-golden notes,
And all in tune,
What a liquid ditty floats
To the turtle-dove that listens, while she gloats

On the moon!
Oh, from out the sounding cells,
What a gush of euphony voluminously wells!
How it swells!
How it dwells
On the Future! how it tells
Of the rapture that impels
To the swinging and the ringing
Of the bells, bells, bells,
Of the bells, bells, bells, bells,
Bells, bells, bells—
To the rhyming and the chiming of the bells!

Hear the loud alarum bells,
Brazen bells!
What a tale of terror, now, their turbulency tells!
In the startled ear of night
How they scream out their affright!
Too much horrified to speak,
They can only shriek, shriek,
Out of tune,
In a clamorous appealing to the mercy of the fire,
In a mad expostulation with the deaf and frantic fire,
Leaping higher, higher, higher,
With a desperate desire,
And a resolute endeavor
Now—now to sit or never,
By the side of the pale-faced moon.
Oh, the bells, bells, bells!
What a tale their terror tells
Of Despair!

How they clang, and clash, and roar!
What a horror they outpour
On the bosom of the palpitating air!
Yet the ear it fully knows,
By the twanging
And the clanging,
How the danger ebbs and flows;
Yet the ear distinctly tells,
In the jangling
And the wrangling,
How the danger sinks and swells,—
By the sinking or the swelling in the anger of the bells,
Of the bells,
Of the bells, bells, bells, bells,
Bells, bells, bells—
In the clamor and the clangor of the bells!

Hear the tolling of the bells,
Iron bells!

What a world of solemn thought their monody compels!
 In the silence of the night
 How we shiver with affright
 At the melancholy menace of their tone!
 For every sound that floats
 From the rust within their throats
 Is a groan.
 And the people—ah, the people,
 They that dwell up in the steeple,
 All alone,
 And who tolling, tolling, tolling,
 In that muffled monotone,
 Feel a glory in so rolling
 On the human heart a stone—
 They are neither man nor woman,
 They are neither brute nor human,
 They are Ghouls:
 And their king it is who tolls;
 And he rolls, rolls, rolls,
 Rolls
 A pæan from the bells;
 And his merry bosom swells
 With the pæan of the bells,
 And he dances, and he yells:
 Keeping time, time, time,
 In a sort of Runic rhyme,
 To the pæan of the bells,
 Of the bells:
 Keeping time, time, time,
 In a sort of Runic rhyme,
 To the throbbing of the bells,
 Of the bells, bells, bells—
 To the sobbing of the bells;
 Keeping time, time, time,
 As he knells, knells, knells,
 In a happy Runic rhyme,
 To the rolling of the bells,
 Of the bells, bells, bells:
 To the tolling of the bells,
 Of the bells, bells, bells, bells,
 Bells, bells, bells—
 To the moaning and the groaning of the bells⁸⁸

⁸⁹ Heidi M Schultz, 'Edgar Allan Poe Submits "The Bells" to Sartain's Magazine' in *Resources for American Literary Study* (Pennsylvania State University, 1996) vol. 22 no. 2 page 166

⁹⁰ Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (Routledge, London, 1995, first published, 1946) page 129

⁹¹ Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More* (Harvard University Press, London, 1995) page 21 (Source: <http://www.sunsite.berkeley.edu/OMACL/Hesiod/works.html>)

⁹² A particularly 'musical' version of the poem composed by Stéphane Mallarmé was used by Darius Milhaud as the poetic pretext for his symphonic suite in six movements, *Les Cloches* (1946). Mallarmé's poem, which retains the repetitive incantation of the original, nevertheless allows the special sound of the French language to resonate in such phrases as:

Le ciel semblent cligner avec cristalline délice de l'oeil ... sonores
cellules quel jaillissement d'euphonie sourd volumineusement! ...
Dans l'oreille saisie de la nuit comme elle crie leur effroi! ... Entendez
le glas des cloches – cloches de fer! Quel monde de pensée solennelle
comporte leur monodie! ...

The darkness of Mallarmé's rendition of the last section of Poe's poem recalls Charles Baudelaire's very darkly coloured poem 'The Broken Bell' from *Les Fleurs du Mal*, in which the bell sounds a death rattle for a soldier who lies under a pile of bodies beside a blood-filled lake.

⁹³ K Balmont, *Poe's Ballads and Fancies* (1895) quoted in Lubov Breit Keefer, *Poe in Russia* (John Hopkins University, 1941) (Source: E A Poe Society of Baltimore <http://www.eapoe.org>)

⁹⁴ Valerii Briusov, *Edgar Poe – Fall collection of Poems and Verses* (Moscow – Leningrad, 1926) 'Introduction', cited in Lubov Breit Keefer, *Poe in Russia* (John Hopkins University, 1941) (Source: E A Poe Society of Baltimore <http://www.eapoe.org>)

⁹⁵ Tamara Bogolepova, *A Cooperation of Souls: Edgar Allan Poe's Poetry Translated By Russian Symbolists* (Far Eastern State University, Vladivostok, http://www.vladivostok.com/Speaking_In_Tongues/bogolepova3eng.htm, printed on 08.08.2000)

⁹⁶ Valerii Briusov, *On Translating Virgil's Aeneid* (1920), cited in Tamara Bogolepova, *Speaking in Tongues* (Far Eastern State University, Vladivostok) (Source: http://www.vladivostok.com/Speaking_In_Tongues/bogolepova3eng.htm, printed on 08.08.2000)

⁹⁷ This word is better translated as 're-birth'.

⁹⁸ Olga Gordon, 'Introductory Notes' to *Sergei Rachmaninov's 'The Bells' Op. 35* (1990) cited in Tamara Bogolepova, *op. cit.*

⁹⁹ Lubov Breit Keefer, *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Lubov Breit Keefer, *op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ Roman Jakobsen, *The Sound Shape of Language*, Linda Waugh (Ed) (1979) page 211

¹⁰² The The Russian Journal, Archive of Russian Poetry (<http://www.litera.ru/stixiya/>) was an invaluable source of publications of Russian poetry included in this annotated 'anthology.'

¹⁰³ 'Demons'

*Storm-clouds surge, storm-clouds flow,
A veiled moon
Lights up the fleeting snow;
The heavens are troubled, troubled is the night.*

*I travel through lands sweeping, pristine,
A little bell - chimes chimes chimes ...
Terror, terror rising from nowhere
In the midst of unknown climes!*

*'Let's be away, coachman!' ... 'Sorry, not possible:
Sir, the steeds are weary;
The blizzard obscures our view,
The road is impassable.*

*Do as you will – our track is unseen;
We're confounded. Try as we might!
It seems the demon drives us onward,
Whirls about in fearful flight.*

*Look there! There it plays its havoc,
Huffing, spitting, and obscene;
Our horse is in a terrible panic
Galloping through the dark ravine.*

*A weird milestone stakes his mark
His appearance before me cold and stark,
He glistens like a tiny spark
Then once more vanishes into dark.*

*Storm-clouds surge, storm-clouds flow,
A veiled moon
Lights up the fleeting snow;
The heavens are troubled, troubled is the night.*

*We have no strength to take to our heels;
Suddenly the bell no longer peals;
The horses halt ... what's there in those fields?
Who can tell? A tree-stump? A Wolf?*

*The blizzard furies, the blizzard cries,
The sharp-eared horses bay,*

*Still through the haze, the glare of his eyes,
Though he's already slipped away.*

*Anew the horse uneasy stirs;
The little bell – ding ding dings ...
Behold! The spirits gather 'round,
In their ghostly rings.*

*Endless, formless;
The moon blurs the sky,
All forms of devil turn and twist,
Like leaves in autumn fly.*

*Look at them all! How do we drive them away?
What sad lament do I hear?
Do they lay a Goblin to rest,
Or wed a man to a witch?*

*Storm-clouds surge, storm-clouds flow,
A veiled moon
Lights up the fleeting snow;
The heavens are troubled, troubled is the night.*

*Swarm upon swarm these devils shoot
Into their infinite zones,
As their wailing howls and fearful hoots
Crush my shaking bones...*

¹⁰⁴ T J Binyon, *Pushkin: a Biography* (Harper Collins, London, 2002) page 244 - 245

¹⁰⁵ A S Pushkin, 'Prorok' in *Poems and Evgenii Onegin* (Detskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1972) page 42

Духовной жаждою томим,
В пустыне мрачной я влачился,
И шестикрылый серафим
На перепутье мне явился.
Перстами легкими как сон
Моих зениц коснулся он:
Отверзлись вещие зеницы,
Как у испуганной орлицы.

Моих ушей коснулся он,
И их наполнил шум и звон:
И внял я неба содроганье,
И горний ангелов полет,
И гад морских подводный ход,
И дольней лозы прозябанье.
И он к устам моим приник,
И вырвал грешный мой язык,
И празднословный и лукавый,
И жало мудрыя змеи
В уста замершие мои
Вложил десницею кровавой.
И он мне грудь рассек мечом,
И сердце трепетное вынул,
И угль, пылающий огнем,
Во грудь отверстую водвинул.
Как труп в пустыне я лежал,
И бога глас ко мне воззвал:
"Встань, пророк, и виждь, и внемли,
Исполнись волею моею
И, обходя моря и земли,
Глаголом жги сердца людей."

1826

¹⁰⁶ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991) page 204 - 210

¹⁰⁷ I S Turgenev, *Literary And Biographical Memoirs* (Moscow, 1970) cited in W Bruce Lincoln, *Between Heaven and Hell: The Story of a Thousand Years of Artistic Life in Russia* (Penguin, New York, 1998) page 139

¹⁰⁸ 'Song'

*A bell groans
A young girl weeps
The coursing tears keep time.
Unwilling,
Forced,
She is cloistered, separate from the world,
Life without hope, nights without sleep.*

*How my unquiet heart
Pulses, pulses, pulses.
She has spoken,
Made her declaration,
I am destined to fail in love
To forget her, or let life cease.*

*Death and immortality,
Life and loss,
The girl of my heart has lost everything,
For the heart
For the girl
Only the way of wretchedness:
Hearts desire happiness.
She needs an open window.*

¹⁰⁹ 'Song of a Melancholy Bell'

*An uncontrollable stirring in my ears
In the evening hours, the bell's melancholy song
Reminds me of my cheated soul
As it tolls eternal hope.
Though lonely travelling winds
Unexpected gust through cemetery grass
My heart knows not the chill of fear:
Whatever lives, lives in its very depths.
I sense how fate kills nothing,
Acts of genius well up inside me;
But what protects the earthly soul,
From crafty slanderers, from the boredom of divertissement,
From sickening passions
From the endearing tongues of rakes
From incomprehensible desires
In the minds of mediocre people?
Without fuel the brightest flames
Are extinguished on the wild crags:
Stone is a cold confidante,
Try just once, try to open up
Some historic heartfelt bliss
He will start to explain how it ought to be amusing;
Seeing nothing perfect in simplicity
He is ill-prepared to know the wondrous,
Unlike those who strive to hold all nature in their heart,
To buy back suffering*

*To win glory over earthliness,
In the sacred spirit of freedom unlimited ...*

¹¹⁰ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 232

¹¹¹ Henry Gifford, 'Introduction' to Charles Tomlinson, *Versions from Fyodor Tyutchev 1803 – 1873* (Oxford University Press, London, 1960) page 1 - 8

¹¹² 'Spring Storm'

*I like the first thunder of May –
When Spring is anew,
And the storm dances
To the echo of blue.*

*The bloom of new bells clanging:
Dust flies, clouds split,
Rain pearls dangling
Like threads from the gilt-edged sun.*

*Birds fill the groves.
A torrent unseals,
The sounds of hills and forests
Chiming back at thunder peals.*

*As joyful Hebe,
And Zeus' eagle together sup
Mortality overflows
From the thunder-foamed brim of their cup.*

¹¹³ Fedor Tiutchev, 'Spring Storm', in *Versions from Fyodor Tyutchev 1803 – 1873*, Charles Tomlinson (Trans) (Oxford University Press, London, 1960) page 21

¹¹⁴ Alexander Blok, 'On the Mission of the Poet', in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*, Joseph Brodsky (Ed) Joel Stern (Trans) (Ardis, Michigan, 1976) page 72

¹¹⁵ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 427

¹¹⁶

Твое лицо мне так знакомо,
Как будто ты жила со мной.
В гостях, на улице и дома
Я вижу тонкий профиль твой.
Твои шаги звенят за мною,
Куда я ни войду, ты там,

Не ты ли легкою стопою
За мною ходишь по ночам?
Не ты ль проскальзываешь мимо,
Едва лишь в двери загляну,
Полувоздушна и незрима,
Подобна виденному сну?
Я часто думаю, не ты ли
Среди погоста, за гумном,
Сидела, молча на могиле
В платочке ситцевом своем?
Я приближался - ты сидела,
Я подошел - ты отошла,
Спустилась к речке и запела...
На голос твой колокола
Откликнулись вечерним звоном...
И плакал я, и робко ждал...
Но за вечерним перезвоном
Твой милый голос затихал...
Еще мгновенье - нет ответа,
Платок мелькает за рекой...
Но знаю горестно, что где-то
Еще увидимся с тобой.

1 августа 1908

¹¹⁷ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 235 - 237

¹¹⁸ 'The Bell' [19 April, 1908, Paris] Russian Version in *Dusha Liubvi (The Spirit of Love)* Aleksei Kazakov (Ed) (Iuzhno-Urlaskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo, Cheliabinsk, 1991) page 123 - 124

¹¹⁹ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 421

¹²⁰ The word 'opal'nyi' can be associated with a series of English words implying rejection or loss of favour: 'disgraced' or 'fallen from grace', 'scorned', spurned, or 'shunned'. The word 'banished', maintains the historical relationship between this word and the favour of a regal or landowner's court. For me personally, it also suggests the word 'vanished', as much as 'opal'nye' brings to mind 'opalovyi', meaning 'opal' in Russian.

Ангелы опальные,
Светлые, печальные,
Блески погребальные
Тающих свечей,-
Грустные, безбольные
Звоны колокольные,
Отзвуки невольные,
Отсветы лучей,-
Взоры полусонные,
Нежные, влюбленные,
Дымкой окаймленные
Тонкие черты,-
То мои несмелые,
То воздушно-белые,

Сладко-онемелые,
Легкие цветы.

Чувственно-неясные,
Девственно-прекрасные,
В страстности бесстрастные
Тайны и слова,-
Шорох приближения,
Радость отражения,
Нежный грех внушения,
Дышащий едва,-
Зыбкие и странные,
Вкрадчиво-туманные,
В смелости нежданные
Проблески огня,-
То мечты, что встретятся
С теми, кем отметятся,
И опять засветятся
Эхом для меня!

1899

¹²¹ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 422 - 424

¹²² Fedor Sologub, *Triumph of Death in The Russian Symbolist Theatre* (Ardis Publishers, Michigan, 1986) page 198

¹²³ Cathedral Bell Annunciation

1

*Good news spreads through the crowd -
The great temple bell.
Their fearless tasks
Lift its solemn tongue.*

*The bell slept long in its tower,
Hanging like a maline apparition,
While, in an unwilling daze,
The world around lay dormant.*

*Though unfettered winds from distant storms
Had sometimes rushed in from far way,
They could never disturb its sad ruminations,
Its copper side just swayed.*

*Only sometimes, a feeble groan
Would issue from the melancholy copper,
But in apathetic vagueness,
It fell weak and dumb again.*

*But now the time has come, the prohibitions shattered,
The weight of ancient sleep is broken,
The free, triumphant chime accords
With the proudest of gusting winds.*

2

*Gathered at the city gates,
A black throng of liars
Scream at us:
'Turn back, turn away!
That is no peal of convocation,
But an indignant warning bell!'*

*But why believe this mendacious cry?
To whom is their deceit not clear?
When the Motherland herself arises
In wonderful agreement.*

3

*The great temple bell
Moves its solemn tongue,
Good news greets the people,
The task ahead no longer daunts them.*

*The bell so long unnoticed sleeping in its tower,
Hung like an evil apparition,
With no choice but to wait,
As the world around lay dormant.*

*Though unchained winds from far-off storms
Had sometimes blown this way,*

*The bell's bronze had merely rattled,
Not strong enough to smash through dismal torpor.*

*Impotent, numb,
In vague narcotic apathy,
A feeble groan was sometimes heard
Behind those walls of grieving bronze.*

*But now the time has come to shatter prohibition,
The weight of old ideals has shifted,
Now a clanging din arises,
Tuned to the rising pride of people.*

4

*Contradicting blind destiny,
The East burns with hope,
The celebration of a happy village meeting,
A great celebration is not far off.*

*This was bought with Brothers' blood,
Cleansed with Mothers' tears,
Let the howl of enmity's curses,
Never shame this victory.*

¹²⁴ Ian Albrecht, 'Fyodor Sologub' (<http://www.sologub.narod.ru>)

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В толпе благим вещаньям внемлют.
Соборный колокол велик,
Труды бесстрашные подъявляют
Его торжественный язык.

Он долго спал, над колокольной
Зловещим призраком вися,
Пока дремотой подневольной
Кругом земля дремала вся.

Свободный ветер бури дальней,
Порою мчась издалека,
Не мог разрушить сон печальный,

Колыша медные бока.

И лишь порою стон неясный
Издаст тоскующая медь,
Чтобы в дремоте безучастной
Опять бессильно онеметь.

Но час настал, запрет нарушен,
Разрушен давний тяжкий сон,
Порыву гордому послушен
Торжественно-свободный звон

¹²⁶ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 559 - 561

¹²⁷ Boris Pasternak, 'Some Statements' in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*,
Joseph Brodsky (Ed) Angela Livingstone (Trans) (Ardis, Michigan, 1976)
page 81 - 85

¹²⁸ 'Dream'

СОН

Мне снилась осень в полусвете стекол,
Друзья и ты в их шутовской гурьбе,
И, как с небес добывший крови сокол,
Спускалось сердце на руку к тебе.

Но время шло, и старилось, и глохло,
И, поволокой рамы серебра,
Заря из сада обдавала стекла
Кровавыми слезами сентября.

Но время шло и старилось. И рыхлый,
Как лед, трещал и таял кресел шелк.
Вдруг, громкая, запнулась ты и стихла,
И сон, как отзвук колокола, смолк.

Я пробудился. Был, как осень, темен
Рассвет, и ветер, удаляясь, нес,
Как за возом бегущий дождь соломин,
Грядущим бегущих по небу берез.

*Last night, Autumn entered my dream through a smoked-glass window,
You, and friends, in a gang of caterwauling harlequins,
Then, a falcon swooping from the sky, drilling for blood,
A heart floated down into your hand.*

*Time went by. Time aged. Time went deaf.
Daybreak's silver edge frames the garden,
Bespattering the glass*

In a haemorrhage of September tears.

Time goes by. Time ages.

Crushed like ice, the armchair silk sinks deeper down, whispers,

You stumble, crash, go silent.

My dream goes quiet, like a decaying bell.

Awake now. There it was again,

The gloom of an autumn sunset,

Wind retreating,

A trail of straw

Raining from a horse-drawn cart,

A row of birch trees rushing through the sky.

¹²⁹ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 440 - 443

¹³⁰ Vladimir Khlebnikov, 'Blagovest Uma'. Original Translation of version provided by Auktyon Poets Group (Source: <http://www.auktyon.ru> and <http://threehorn.odessa.net/kilometr/hlebnik.htm>)

¹³¹ Mind Bell

Quiet! Quiet. He speaks!

A mind annunciation!

A great tocsin of intelligence, in the mind's bell!

*All brain emanations radiate before you in a display of every species
of thought.*

So! Take up the song with me!

1

Go-oom.

O-oom.

U-oom.

Pa-oom.

So-oom me

And all unknown to me.

Mo-oom.

Bo-oom.

La-oom.

Che-oom.

Bom!

Bom!

Bam!

2

Pro-oom.

Pra-oom.

Pri-oom.

Ni-oom.

Ve-oom.

Ro-oom.

Za-oom.

Vy-oom.

Vo-oom.

Bo-oom.

By-oom.

Bom!

Help, ringer of bells, I am exhausted.

Toll the mind's annunciation!

There's the bell and the rope.

3

Do-oom.

Da-oom.

Mi-oom.

Ra-oom.

Ho-oom.

Ha-oom.

Su-oom.

Iz-oom.

Ne-oom.

Na-oom.

Dvu-oom.

Tre-oom.

De-oom.

Bom!

4

Zo-oom.

Ko-oom.

So-oom.

Po-oom.

Gla-oom.

Ra-oom.

No-oom.

Nu-oom.

Vy-oom.

Bom!

Bom! Bom, bom!

Go-oom.

O-oom.

U-oom.

Pa-oom.

So-oom me

And all unknown to me.

That was the great annunciation of the mind's bell.

¹³² Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 441

¹³³ Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History* (Macgibbon and Kee, London, 1969) page 76

¹³⁴ 'Bells in the Cathedral of Feeling'

'Introductory Vision'

*In a private cathedral, my senses reside,
Though passion has cooled, goodness and peace abide.
The colossal weight of godless profanity
Hangs over the head of all humanity.
Beneath the soft hum of bells,
Through a haze of fragrant smells,
By soft lamplight, in gentle illumination,
Shine the icons, of my deep veneration.
But long before her face adorned these walls,*

*Her living image hailed me with a loving call,
Straying down to me, trusting, direct,
Asking nothing, giving all.
Today, she is greatest among divinities,
In the cathedral of sensitivities,
And the world has lost all the others I have adored,
All goddesses from this day forward.
In time of grave doubt and trepidation,
As age-old clocks strike condemnation,
I offer fronds of lilac and honour,
The death-mask of my Bella Donna
With jonquils, daffodils, dandelions, daisies,
Forget-me-nots on icon frames,
Perfumed smoke from incense raises
Verse in memory of their names.
Glowing, innocent like a child,
As my beating heart turns wild,
They shed their ruby tears,
Sighing remembrance of bygone years,
Then sings the lilly-bell,
And the blue-bell rings...
In silence, mass comes finally to a close,
In funereal darkness, sad, morose,
But all of them, my heavenly Sisters,
Begin to speak to me in whispers.
When I see beauty, so distant, unapproachable,
Hear silent words, innocent, irreproachable,
I feel the weight of heavy depression,
Holiness annihilated in confession.
But in these times of pain comes healing,
When sighing bells again start pealing,
Singing for all, living and dead,
In the cathedral of my feeling.
Suddenly, my icons are revived,
Unframed, a time of freedom has arrived,
When all my past and future wives,
Will fill my cathedral with their lives.
They offer prayers with ardent passions,*

*Celebrate flesh, discard their ashes.
'Now we are immortal, plenipotentiaries,
Ageless through the endless centuries,
Forever incapable of evil, or malice,
We offer forgiveness in a silver chalice.'..
Goddesses joined in endless singing,
With cathedral bells' perpetual ringing
Ever-lasting celebrations,
In the cathedral of my sensations.*

¹³⁵ Igor-Severyanin, 'Kolokola Sobora Chuvstv' (Source: <http://www.severyanin.narod.ru/kolokola.htm>)

¹³⁶ Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History*, page 62 - 65

¹³⁷ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 439

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, page 440

¹³⁹ Gregory Freidin, *The Whisper of History and the Noise of Time in the Writings of Osip Mandel'shtam* (Russian Review, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, October, 1978) vol. 37 no. 4, page 432

¹⁴⁰ Osip Mandel'shtam, 'On the Nature of the Word' in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*, Joseph Brodsky (Ed) Jane Gary Harris (Trans) (Ardis, Michigan, 1976) page 35

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, page 36

¹⁴² Osip Mandel'shtam, 'On the Addressee' in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, page 53 - 54

¹⁴⁴ 'Shell'

Быть может, я тебе не нужен,
Ночь; из пучины мировой,
Как раковина без жемчужин,
Я выброшен на берег твой.

Ты равнодушно волны пенишь
И несговорчиво поешь,
Но ты полюбишь, ты оценишь
Ненужной раковины ложь.

Ты на песок с ней рядом ляжешь,
Оденешь ризюю своей,
Ты неразрывно с нею свяжешь
Огромный колокол зыбей,

И хрупкой раковины стены,
Как нежилого сердца дом,
Наполнишь шепотами пены,
Туманом, ветром и дождем...

(1911)

*Perhaps, nighttime, you have no need
For me; a shell without a pearl,
Flying out of the world's abyss
Thrown onto your shores.*

*Ambivalent, your froth up waves,
Sing your contradictions,
But one day, you will love, cherish,
My superfluous shell-likelies.*

*You lie with her, side by side on the sand,
You slip into robes,
You will forever associate her,
With the ripples of a giant bell,*

*Her brittle shell walls,
Like the home of an uninhabited heart,
Is filled with whispering foam,
Wind, rain, and brume...*

¹⁴⁵ 'Freedom'

*Freedom – not for you the brittle figure
Of a belle dame from St. Germaine,
Spied in a crystal water glass,
Mascara eyes, carmine lips,
Knees weak with indifference.
No. It's a big busty woman
Voice gruff, passions strong,
Her face swarthy, her thighs swinging,
Marching across the square.
Her kind is rough and ready,
Noisy as a racket of drums.
Gunpowder smoke, her perfume,
Far off tides her dream,
Her music, the rich tocsin of bells,*

*Her lovers, Jokers not Kings.
She holds no fear of malignant power,
For blood-soaked hands, or stench -
Her midriff is a refuge,
The seat of her people's strength.*

¹⁴⁶ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 437

¹⁴⁷ Jane A Taubman, 'Tsvetaeva and Akhmatova: Two Voices in a Female Quartet' in *Russian Literature Triquarterly* (1974) No. 9 page 355 – 390 cited in Sibelan Forrester, 'Bells and Cupolas: The Structuring Role of the Female Body in Marina Tsvetaeva's Poetry' in *Slavic Review* (American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Seattle, Summer 1992) vol. 51, no. 2, page 232 - 246

¹⁴⁸ 'The Legend of the Black Ring'

*Suddenly the house is quiet,
A stand of poppies bare against the wall,
I sit drowsy, stunned, tired,
Watching early darkness fall.*

*Dark is the night, the wind is wan,
The gate is firmly closed.
Where to has happiness and worry run?
Where are you, my sweet betrothed?*

*Lost for good, my secret ring,
Though I waited to the last,
The sweet song I used to sing,
Dies captive in my heart.*

¹⁴⁹ Based on a translation by Sergei Roy, in *Akhmatova and Her Circle* (University of Arkansas, 1994) page 85 (Note: Akhmatova wrote another poem with the same title in three verses between 1917 and 1936)

¹⁵⁰ 'First Return' [1910]

*A snow-white death-shroud covers the land,
Solemn bells chatter,
Boredom yawns at the royal retreat,
New confusions rack our soul,
Five more years go by.
Everything now is mute, extinct;*

*As though the world's end were in sight,
Like an endless hollow argument,
A castle founded on dead dreams.*

'To M. Lozinsky' [1913] Based on a Translation from Zapiski Ob Anne Akhmatovoy (Moscow, 1989) vol. 1 Lydia Chukovskaya (Ed, Trans) English Translation (Harvill, London, 1994) page 222

*How the heavy amber day drags on into dark,
How sadness is impossible, how expectation vain!
And with its silvery voice the deer in the park,
Speaks of Northern lights again.*

*Now I believe in the cool relief of snow,
A font of blue for the fallen, poor, and ill,
I hear the distant bells of long ago,
The freakish sound of sleigh-bells, shrill.*

'She beckons .'. .

*She beckons,
Her friend enters the front room,
They stand in a haze of golden dust,
Neighbouring bells sound important.
Rejection! Such a contrived word –
Can I be thrown aside, like a flower? A letter?
Caught in the sun-room mirror,
A look of severity, reflected already in her eyes.*

¹⁵¹ 'The Way of All the Earth' [Verse 1 of 6, 1940]

*Sitting in a sleigh, departing
By the way of all the earth ...*

(Vladimir Monomakh's Homily to the Children)

*In the direct path of a bullet,
Casting aside cares,
By Januarys and Julys*

*I shall make my way through years...
None shall see my wound,
None shall hear my cry,
I, villager of Kitezh,
Am called back home.
A million birch trees
Pursue me,
Layers of frost,
Encase me in glass.
Ancient funeral pyres
Now the blackened heaps of burned-out fires.
'Here's the ticket, comrade,
That'll take you back.'..
The soldier calmly
Turns aside his bayonet.
How lush and sultry
Has the island risen up!
Its red-coloured clay,
And apple orchard...
O Regina, Salve! -
The sunset blazes.
Steep, quaking,
The pathway climbs.
Here I must give
My greeting to a stranger...
But I never heard the straining
Hoarse voice of the hurdy-gurdy,
This time,
The maiden of Kitezh,
Misheard the chime.*

¹⁵² Based on a Translation from *Zapiski Ob Anne Akhmatovoy* (Moscow, 1989) vol. 1 Lydia Chukovskaya (Ed, Trans) English Translation (Harvill, London, 1994) page 212 – 213

¹⁵³ 'My curly-haired boy, safe asleep.'.. [1940]

*My curly-haired boy, safe asleep,
At the lakeside I sing of happy times,
Drawing from waters, cold and deep,*

*I hear intoned familiar chimes,
I hear the song of tolling bells,
From under the blue of lapping swells,
The booming peal of ancient Kitezha,
A pæan of music from St. George,
The little bells on high ring out
In threatening tones, the great bells shout:
 'You alone fled the onslaught,
 Against our bitter end you never fought,
 Now our cries have come to naught.
 But eternal candles burn for you,
 Angels at God's throne yearn for you.
 Why wait on earth without renown,
 When you can claim a martyr's crown?
 Midnight saw your lily blossom by moonlight pale,
 You are ready to wear your bridal veil.
 Why steal innocence, one pious Sister from another?
 Why weaken the strength of a warrior brother?
 Why is a child harmed by his Mother?'*
Suddenly, at the last word spoken,
My entire world was utterly broken,
I returned my eyes in terrible shame,
To my home, my little one, consumed in flame.

154

Но я предупреждаю вас,
Что я живу в последний раз.
Ни ласточкой, ни кленом,
Ни тростником и ни звездой,
Ни родниковой водой,
Ни колокольным звоном —
Не буду я людей смущать
И сны чужие навещать
Неутоленным стоном.

1940

¹⁵⁵ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 531

¹⁵⁶ Elaine Feinstein, 'Introduction' to *Selected Poems of Marina Tsvetayeva* (Hutchinson, London, 1986) page xiv

¹⁵⁷ Marina Tsvetaeva, 'Art in the Light of Conscience' in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*, Joseph Brodsky (Ed) Angela Livingstone and Valentina Coe (Trans) (Ardis, Michigan, 1976) page 145

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, page 148

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, page 166

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, page 150

¹⁶¹ Boris Pasternak, 'Notes of a Translator' in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*, Joseph Brodsky (Ed) Angela Livingstone (Trans) (Ardis, Michigan, 1976) page 96 - 101

¹⁶² Russian versions in *Dusha Liubvi (The Spirit of Love)* Aleksei Kazakov (Ed) (Iuzhno-Uralskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo, Cheliabinsk, 1991) pages 366, 372, 374

Облака — вокруг,
Купола — вокруг,
Надо всей Москвой
Сколько хватит рук! —
Возношу тебя, бремя лучшее,
Деревцо мое
Невесомое!

В дивном граде сем,
В мирном граде сем,
Где и мертвой — мне
Будет радостно, —
Царевать тебе, горевать тебе,
Принимать венец,
О мой первенец!

Ты постом говей,
Не сурьми бровей
И все сорок — чти —
Сороков церквей.
Исходи пешком — молодым шажком! —
Все привольное
Семихолмие.

Будет твой черед:
Тоже — дочери
Передашь Москву
С нежной горечью.
Мне же вольный сон, колокольный звон,
Зори ранние —
На Ваганькове.

31 марта 1916

2

Из рук моих — нерукотворный град
Прими, мой странный, мой прекрасный брат.

По церковке — всё сорок сороков,
И реющих над ними голубков.

И Спасские — с цветами — ворота,
Где шапка православного снята.

Часовню звездную — приют от зол —
Где вытертый от поцелуев — пол.

Пятисоборный несравненный круг
Прими, мой древний, вдохновенный друг.

К Нечаянная Радости в саду
Я гостя чужеземного сведу.

Червонные возблещут купола,
Бессонные взгремят колокола,

И на тебя с багряных облаков
Уронит Богородица покров,

И встанешь ты, исполнен дивных сил...
Ты не раскаешься, что ты меня любил.

31 марта 1916

3

Мимо ночных башен
Площади нас мчат.
Ох, как в ночи страшен
Рев молодых солдат!

Греми, громкое сердце!
Жарко целуй, любовь!
Ох, этот рев зверский!
Дерзкая — ох — кровь!

Мой рот разгарчив,
Даром, что свят — вид.
Как золотой ларчик
Иверская горит.

Ты озорство прикончи,
Да засвети свечу,
Чтобы с тобой нонче
Не было — как хочу.

31 марта 1916

4

Настанет день — печальный, говорят!
Отцарствуют, отплачут, отгорят,
— Остужены чужими пятаками—
Мои глаза, подвижные как пламя.
И—двойника нащупавший двойник—
Сквозь легкое лицо проступит лик.
О, наконец тебя я удостоюсь,
Благообразия прекрасный пояс!

А издали — завиху ли и Вас? —
Потянется, растерянно крестясь,
Паломничество по дорожке черной
К моей руке, которой не отдерну,
К моей руке, с которой снят запрет,
К моей руке, которой больше нет.

На ваши поцелуи, о, живые,
Я ничего не возражу — впервые.
Меня окутал с головы до пят
Благообразия прекрасный плат.
Ничто меня уже не вгонит в краску,
Святая у меня сегодня Пасха.

По улицам оставленной Москвы
Поеду — я, и побредете — вы.
И не один дорогою отстанет,
И первый ком о крышку гроба грянет,
И наконец-то будет разрешен
Себялюбивый, одинокий сон.
И ничего не надобно отныне
Новопреставленной болярыне Марине.

11 апреля 1916

1 — й день Пасхи

5

Над городом, отвергнутым Петром,
Перекатился колокольный гром.

Гремучий опрокинулся прибор
Над женщиной, отвергнутой тобой.

Царю Петру и вам, о царь, хвала!
Но выше вас, цари, колокола.

Пока они гремят из синевы —
Неоспоримо первенство Москвы.

И целых сорок сороков церквей
Смеются над гордынею царей!

28 мая 1916

6

Над синевой подмосковных роц
Накрапывает колокольный дождь.
Бредут слепцы калужскою дорогой, —

Калужской — песенной — прекрасной, и она

Смывает и смывает имена
Смиранных странников, во тьме поющих Бога.

И думаю: когда — нибудь и я,
Устав от вас, враги, от вас, друзья,
И от уступчивости речи русской, —

Одену крест серебряный на грудь,
Перекрещусь, и тихо тронусь в путь
По старой по дороге по калужской.

Троицын день 1916

7

Семь холмов — как семь колоколов!
На семи колоколах — колокольни.
Всех счетом — сорок сороков.
Колокольное семихолмие!

В колокольный я, во червонный день
Иоанна родилась Богослова.
Дом — пряник, а вокруг плетень
И церковки златоголовые.

И любила же, любила же я первый звон,
Как монашки потекут к обедне,
Вой в печке, и жаркий сон,
И знахарку с двора соседнего.

Провожай же меня весь московский сброд,
Юродивый, воровской, хлыстовский!
Поп, крепче позаткни мне рот
Колокольной землей московскою!

8 июля 1916. Казанская

8

— Москва! — Какой огромный

Странноприимный дом!
Всяк на Руси — бездомный.
Мы все к тебе придем.

Клеймо позорит плечи,
За голенищем нож.
Издалека — далече
Ты все же позовешь.

На каторжные клейма,
На всякую болеть —
Младенец Пантелеймон
У нас, целитель, есть.

А вон за тою дверцей,
Куда народ валит, —
Там Иверское сердце
Червонное горит.

И льется аллилуйя
На смуглые поля.
Я в грудь тебя целую,
Московская земля!

8 июля 1916. Казанская

9

Красною кистью
Рябина зажглась.
Падали листья,
Я родилась.

Спорили сотни
Колоколов.
День был субботний:
Иоанн Богослов.

Мне и доныне
Хочется грызть
Жаркой рябины
Горькую кисть.

16 августа 1916

¹⁶³ 'The Red Spray'

Красною кистью
Рябина зажглась.
Падали листья.
Я родилась.

Спорили сотни
Колоколов.
День был субботний:
Иоанн Богослов.

Мне и доныне
Хочется грызть
Жаркой рябины
Горькую кисть.

16 августа 1916

*The red spray
Of an ash-tree on fire,
The leaves drop,
I am born.*

*It was a Saturday,
The day of John the Evangelist,
And a hundred bells argued.*

*Even to this day,
I desire,
To chew the bitter berries,
Of the red ash.*

¹⁶⁴ Russian version in *Dusha Liubvi*, op. cit. page 374

¹⁶⁵ 'Wintertime'

*Beyond the wall once more the bells,
A few streets, a few words in between us only,
Sing a new complaint, sad, lonely.*

*In an instant the day trickles out,
The snow on your collar,
A silvery sickle of snow.*

*Does the call of the past injure you?
Do your wounds take forever to heal?
Are you obsessed by every shiny new seductive glance?*

*(Blue eyes? Brown?) More important to the heart,
Than a screeds of wise pages,
Eyelash-tip arrows turn white.*

*Behind the wall, the bell's weak pining,
Muffled whining, a few words,
A couple of streets between us.*

*A white moon
Pours into poets and onto paper -
Snow falls on your fluffy collar.*

¹⁶⁶ Boris Gasparov, 'The Iron Age of the 1930s: The Centennial Return in Mandel'shtam' in *Rereading Russian Poetry*, Stephanie Sandler (Ed) (Yale university Press, 1999) page 78

¹⁶⁷ Aleksandr Blok, 'Vozmezdie' in Boris Gasparov, 'The Iron Age of the 1930s: The Centennial Return in Madelshtam' in *Rereading Russian Poetry*, Stephanie Sandler (Ed) (Yale university Press, 1999) page 78

¹⁶⁸ Osip Mandel'shtam, 'Kontsert na Vokzale' based on a translation in Boris Gasparov, *Ibid.*, page 78

¹⁶⁹ Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1995)

¹⁷⁰ *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia: Tales, Poems, Songs, Movies, Plays, and Folklore, 1917-1953*, James von Geldern and Richard Stites (Eds) (Indiana University Press, 1995) page 3 - 4

¹⁷¹ Victor Terras, *op. cit.*, page 541

¹⁷² Vladimir Ilyich Lenin [1924]

*A Bolshevik
in tears?
Should a museum
put him
on display,*

*what a house
he'd draw!
[...]*

*On January twenty-second
this same
human steel,
this fire-forged
man iron
met;
in patient rows
sat down
the great
soviet.
[...]*

*Why
can't Kalinin
stand straight
on his feet?*

*Is he ill?
What's up?
Tell me!*

*That?
No.
It cannot
be!*

*A sudden
night
blackens
the ceiling;
chokes on it
peeling.*

*The lamps
lose their
light,
and our faces
their
life.*

*And lusters
are shadows.
Self-mastered
at last
Kalinin
stands straight.
but his streaked face,
wet moustache,
limp beard
and still seeping look
betrayed
a Bolshevik
in tears.
Grief grips
his lean hands,
Grief clots
his breast,
drives in his
veins-
'Last night
ten minutes
to seven
Comrade
Lenin
died!' [...]*

¹⁷³ 'I often had, if not to destroy, at least to discredit the old poetics. The old poetry itself, which was blameless, was of course left almost intact. It drew fire only when spirited defenders of old junk hid themselves from the new art behind the backsides of monuments. [...] Our chief and unrelenting hatred comes crashing down on the sentimental-critical philistines [... for whom] the only method of production is an inspired throwing back of the head while waiting for the poetry-spirit to descend on one's bald pate in the guise of a dove, a peacock, or an ostrich. [...] Once again, I must make a very definite reservation: I am not giving any rules which will make a man into a poet [...]. Such rules do not exist. [...] [The] Revolution threw out into the street the uncouth speech of millions, the slang of suburbs flowed along central thoroughfares; the enfeebled language of the intelligentsia with its emasculated words [...] have been trampled. [...] There is no need

to start a vast poetic factory going in order to make poetic cigarette lighters. [...] One should take up one's pen only when there is no other way of speaking except in verse. One should produce finished verse only when one feels a clear social command.'

¹⁷⁴ Vladimir Maiakovski, 'How to Make Verse' in *Modern Russian Poets on Poetry*, Joseph Brodsky (Ed) Valentina Coe (Trans) (Ardis, Michigan, 1976) page 103 - 143

¹⁷⁵ 'Praying to God' (Bogomol'noe) [1925]

The Bolsheviks

argued the point of religion.

A war of words

in the templar clubs.

The bells are all tongueless

dumfounded.

'Round about the throne of god

sparrows chirp lasciviously.

Without faith

the quest for righteousness is in vain!

To be righteous

incense must be lit.

That's why in Mexico, for example,

there is such righteousness,

Why the churchgoers

grow stiff

in their pews.

The cathedral -

head office of theological workers.

The Mexican brother of Notre-Dame

stands in the square -

and near,

Packed with people,

'Constitution Square'

In common language -

'Falcon Square'

A chauffeur,

your average guy,

Parks a silver

twelve-cylinder

Packard.
- He stands – talks
 'I'll pray awhile'
The Donna Esperanza Juan-de-Lopez.
For the next hour
 or hour and a half,
 The Lady isn't seen.
It seems she's praying hard.
 That's believing for you.
The chauffeur sleeps –
 Lady's at the altar.
Over Paris
 the driver's mind
 drifts like a sparrow.
But the cathedral
 Is empty, quiet:
Not a single stool
 in the church
 is occupied.
The exit on the other side
 leads straight to noisy streets.
Donna Esperanza
 never hesitated
when a stranger
 threw himself at her in ardour.
Quick! 'Round the corner
 to Isabella Catholica Street -
 there's hotel after hotel.
Back at home –
 As the evening wears on,
the Don's impatience grows stronger.
His ire rises
 out comes a hiss
 out comes a groan.
Roaming across the living room,
 a lone tiger roars:
- I'll cut her up into eight little pieces! –
And, after drawing out meters

*of hair from his whiskers,
He draws out his sabre and says:
- O.K Senora, hit the deck!
My trusty Colt will keep you company
in your coffin! –
And fuming with a puma fury:
- And that's just a start –
As he slices
through the corks of a dozen bottles
with his blade.
A two-toned car horn blasts
the Lady has returned.
Before
his growl had time
to reach
the cactuses
in the nearby field,
a blade at the driver's breast,
a pistol at his temple.
- Talk or die!
Don't try
to worm your way out!
Answer right now
before she finds an excuse.
Where was that wife of mine,
the Donna Esperanza?
- Don Juan!
What the devil's got into you!
For God's sake
don't get riled!
Today,
The Donna Esperanza,
was prostrate in devotion.*

¹⁷⁶ Wiktor Woroszyński, *The Life of Mayakovsky*, Boleslaw Taborski (Trans) (Orion Press, New York, 1970) Page 133 – 135, Published November 20th, 1915, Literary Journal Nov'

¹⁷⁷ Christopher Barnes, 'Survival and the Modern Russian Writer: The Case of Pasternak' in *Artes: An International Reader of Literature Art and Music* (Mercury House, New York, 1998) vol. 5 page 69

¹⁷⁸ *Esenin: A Biography in Memoirs, Letters, and Documents*, Jessie Davies (Ed) (Ardis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1982)

¹⁷⁹ Vladimir Maiakovskii, 'To Sergei Esenin' (Original Translation) (Eksmo Press, Moscow, 1998) (source: <http://www.litera.ru>)

¹⁸⁰ Victor Terras, *Vladimir Mayakovsky* (Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1983)

¹⁸¹ Boris Pasternak quoted in Christopher Barnes, 'Survival and the Modern Russian Writer: The Case of Pasternak' in *Artes: An International Reader of Literature Art and Music* (Mercury House, New York, 1998) vol. 5 page 71

¹⁸² Christopher Barnes, *op. cit.*, vol. 5 page 68

¹⁸³ Courtesy of the Nabokov Library, <http://www.litera.ru/stixiya/cgi/see.cgi?url=http://www.lib.ru/NABOKOW>

Звон, и радугой росистой
малый купол окаймлен...
Капай, частый, капай, чистый,
серебристый перезвон...

Никого не забывая,
жемчуг выплесни живой...
Плачет свечка восковая,
голубь дымно-голубой...

И ясны глаза иконок,
и я счастлив, потому
что церковенка-ребенок
распевает на холму...

Да над нею, беспорочной,
уплывает на восток
тучка вогнутая, точно
мокрый белый лепесток...

¹⁸⁴ See Brian Boyd, *Nabokov's Blues* (http://www.gingkopress.com/_cata/_arph/alpco-for.htm) and also page 35 of Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak Memory* (1966): 'The word for rainbow, a primary, but decidedly muddy, rainbow, is in my private language the hardly pronounceable: kzszygv'

¹⁸⁵ Maksim Moshkov Library, <http://lib.ru/NABOKOW/stihi.txt>

¹⁸⁶ See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rainbow>

¹⁸⁷ Nikolai A Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life*, J Joffe (Trans) (London, 1924) page 331 quoted in Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (Allen Lane/ Penguin Press, London, 2002) page 179

¹⁸⁸ Roland Barthes, 'The Grain of the Voice' in *Image Music Text*, Stephen Heath (Trans) (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977) page 188 – 189

¹⁸⁹ Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton University Press, 2000)

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- ¹⁹⁰ Mikhail Bakhtin cited in Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, page xxiv
- ¹⁹¹ Vadim Pokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs: Musical Genres and History* (Scarecrow Press, Lanham Maryland, 2002) page 1
- ¹⁹² *Ibid.*, page 4 - 5
- ¹⁹³ *Muzykalnaia Kultura Sibiri (Musical Culture of Siberia)* (Novosibirsk, Novosibirsk Conservatorium, 1997) page 72
- ¹⁹⁴ 'Evening Bells' in Vadim Pokhorov, *op. cit.*, page 4 - 5
- ¹⁹⁵ Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Pskovityanka: Ivan the Terrible* (Opera Score) (Breitkopf and Hartel, Leipzig, 1894, reprinted 1912)
- ¹⁹⁶ Modest Petrovich Mussorgsky, *Boris Godunov* (Belwin Mills, New York, 1970)
- ¹⁹⁷ Rimsky-Korsakov version - Music and libretto by Modest Musorgsky (1839-1881) (text after Pushkin and Karamzin) Dates of composition: 1868-1874 (Musorgsky); 1896 (Rimsky-Korsakov version) First performance (Rimsky-Korsakov version): Moscow, 1898 (Source: Stanford University, <http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/borisrus.html>)
- ¹⁹⁸ Sergei Rachmaninov, *Kolokola (The Bells)* (Boosey and Hawkes, London, 1947)
- ¹⁹⁹ Richard Taruskin, *op. cit.*, page 343
- ²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, page 320
- ²⁰¹ Honoré de Balzac, *Séraphîta*, cited in Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, page 349 - 350
- ²⁰² Richard Taruskin, *op. cit.*, page 341
- ²⁰³ Simon Shaw-Miller, *Skriabin and Obukhov: Mysterium & La Livre de Vie / The Concept of Artistic Synthesis* (University of Wales at Aberystwyth, Dept. Theatre, Film and Television, <http://www.aber.ac.uk/tfts/journal/december/skria.html> December, 2000)
- ²⁰⁴ Boris de Scloezer, 'Nicolas Obukhoff in La Vie Musicale' cited in Simon Shaw-Miller, *Skriabin and Obukhov*
- ²⁰⁵ Simon Shaw-Miller, *op. cit.*, page 17 - 18
- ²⁰⁶ Yuri Kholopov and V. Tsenova, *Edison Denisov* (Kompozitor, Moscow, 1993)
- ²⁰⁷ Alfred Schnittke, Programme Note to *Symphony No. 1* (Gramzapis, 1987)
- ²⁰⁸ Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness* (Kessinger Publishing Company, Montana) page 17
- ²⁰⁹ Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, page 100
- ²¹⁰ Alfred Schnittke, Programme Note to Fourth Symphony performed by the USSR Ministry of Culture Orchestra (Gramzapis, Moscow) (Year of recording and translator of note not stated)

Chapter Three

- ¹ Luce Irigaray, *The Forgetting of Air* (Athlone Press, London, 1999) page 123
- ² Fr. Raymond Gawronski, S.J. *Word and Silence: Hans Urs von Balthasar and the Spiritual Encounter between East and West* (T and T Clark, Edinburgh, 1995) page 151
- ³ The word *kolokol*, designating a bell, is also encountered in English-language literature (transliterated into English as *collocol*) in the synthetic *nadsat* ('teenage' or adolescent) argot of Anthony Burgess's *A Clockwork*

Orange, as is the word *zvonok*, taken to mean doorbell, but buzzingly related to the Russian word for bell music – *zvon*.

⁴ C A Wolkonsky & M A Poltoratzky, *Handbook of Russian Roots* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1961)

⁵ *Jewish Heritage Online Magazine*

(<http://www.jhom.com/topics/voice/Sinai.htm>) vol. 5.9

⁶ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Online Edition, Entry for 'bells'

(<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02418b.htm>, Copyright, Kevin Wright, 1999)

⁷ Aristophanes, *The Birds* (Project Gutenberg Etext, <http://gutenberg.net>, Release date: January, 2002) Etext number: 3013

⁸ *Aesop's Fables*, University of Adelaide Library

(<http://www.etext.library.adelaide.edu.au>)

⁹ Margaret Magnus, *What's in a Word?: Studies in Phonosemantics* (Norwegian University of Department of Linguistics, Science and Technology, 2001) (Source: <http://www.trismegistos.com/Dissertation/>) page 1 - 2

¹⁰ Gerard Manley Hopkins, Diary entry for September 24, 1863, in *Poems and Prose of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1975) page 89 - 90

¹¹ Jacques Derrida, *Glas* (University of Nebraska Press, 1986) page 119

¹² *Ibid.*, page 89 - 90

¹³ *Ibid.*, page 158

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, page 159 - 160

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, page 250

¹⁶ Original translation

¹⁷ Danzig Baldaev, *The Secret Code of Thieves: Criminal Tattoo Encyclopedia* (Steidl Publishing, Göttingen, 2003)

¹⁸ Jacques Lacan, 'Alienation' in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (W W Norton and Company, London, 1981) page 206

¹⁹ B V Rauschenbach, *Kolokola Istorii i Sovremennost'* (*Bells: History and Modernity*) (Nauka Press, Moscow, 1985)

²⁰ T A Agapkina, 'Mat' presviataia Bogoroditsa kolokol sviatoi: Kakie zvony razdavalis' nad Rossiei' in *Rodina (Homeland)* (1997) Vol. 1, page 94-97
Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru>

²¹ Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 147

²² Steven Connor, *Samuel Beckett: repetition, theory and text* (Basil Blackwell, New York, 1998) page 3 -4

²³ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An archaeology of the human sciences* (Tavistock Publications, London, 1970) page 25 - 26

²⁴ *Ibid.*, page 25 - 26

²⁵ Edward V. Williams, *op. cit.*, page 111

²⁶ *Ibid.*, page 113

²⁷ A F Bondarenko, *Moskovskie Kolokola XVII V. (Moscow Bells of the XVIIth Century)* (Russkaya Panorama, Moscow, 1998) page 145

²⁸ Alain Corbin, *op. cit.*, page 157

²⁹ Edward V. Williams, *op. cit.*, page 109

³⁰ A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 122 - 123

³¹ Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-century French Countryside* (Macmillan Publishers: London, 1999) page 141

³² A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 145

³³ *Ibid.*, page 139

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- ³⁴ Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1985) page 106 - 107
- ³⁵ A N Davidov, 'Bells and Bell Music in Folk Culture', in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 7 - 17
- ³⁶ A K Ganulich, 'Towards a History of Coach Bells in Russia', in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 168 - 182
- ³⁷ A K Ganulich, *op. cit.*, page 55 - 60
- ³⁸ N P Yakovleva, 'Bell founding production in Valdai', in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 190 - 191
- ³⁹ A K Ganulich, *op. cit.*, page 127 - 129 (Original Translation)
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, page 128
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, page 128
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, page 127
- ⁴³ Original Translation of Russian text in Vadim Prokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs: musical genres and history* (Scarecrow Press, Maryland, 2002) page 131 - 132
- ⁴⁴ V A Kim, *Yamskie Kolokol'chiki i Bubentsy (Coachmen's Bells and Jingles)* (Association of Campanological Arts, Rostov, 1992) page 13 - 14 (Original Translation) page 25 - 26
- ⁴⁵ James H Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretative History of Russian Culture* (Vintage Books, New York, 1970) page 38
- ⁴⁶ N Kompaniesky, *O Sviazi Russkago Tserkovnago Pesnopeniia s Vizantiiskim* (RMG, 1903) page 825 quoted in *The Icon and the Axe*, page 38
- ⁴⁷ Slobodanka Millicent Vladiv-Glover, *Revelation and Suffering as Modes of Discourse* (Monash University, Melbourne, <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/gsandss/slavic/revelate.html>)
- ⁴⁸ John Bushnell, *Moscow Graffiti: language and subculture* (Unwin Hyman, London, 1990)
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, page 5 -6
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, page 8
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, page 10
- ⁵² W F Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (Sutton Publishing, Phoenix Mill, 1999) page 309 - 311
- ⁵³ John Bushnell, *op. cit.*, page 6
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, page 186
- ⁵⁵ Alain Corbin, *op. cit.*, page 293
- ⁵⁶ Roland Barthes, *L'empire des Signes* (Albert Skira, Paris, 1970) page 18 - 'A l'étranger, quel repos! J'y suis protégé contre la bêtise, la vulgarité, la vanité, la mondanité, la nationalité, la normalité. La langue inconnue, dont je saisis pourtant la respiration, l'aération émotive, en un mot la pure signification, forme autour de moi, au fur et à mesure que je me déplace, un léger vertige, m'entraîne dans son vide artificiel ... je vis dans l'interstice, débarrassé de tout sens plein'.
- ⁵⁷ Jacques Lacan, 'Agency of the Letter in the Unconscious' in *Écrits* (W W Norton and Company, New York, 1977) page 148
- ⁵⁸ James Elkins, *What Painting Is* (Routledge, New York, 1999) page 1
- ⁵⁹ Edward V. Williams, *op. cit.*, page 124
- ⁶⁰ W F Ryan, *op. cit.*, page 240-241
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- ⁶³ Dorothy Galton, *op. cit.*, page 58
- ⁶⁴ *Great Book of Needs, Vol. II: The Sanctification of the Temple and Other Ecclesiastical and Liturgical Blessings, expanded and supplemented edition, translated from the Church Slavonic with notes by St. Tikhon's Monastery* (South Canaan, Pennsylvania: 1998) page 183 - 192 (Source: <http://www.russianbells.com/bless/bless3.html>)
- ⁶⁵ T B Shashkina, 'Modular method of the bell founding craft' in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 216 - 218 (Original Translations)
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- ⁶⁷ B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*
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- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, page 231
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, page 232
- ⁷² Vladimir Il'in, 'Esteticheskii i Liturgicheskii Smysl Kolokol'nogo Zvona' in *Pravoslavnyi Kolokol'nyi Zvon: Teoriia i Praktika* (2002) page 65 - 72. Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru>
- ⁷³ T B Shashkina, *op. cit.*, page 233 - 234 (Original Translation)
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, page 254
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, page 238
- ⁷⁶ N Findeizen, 'Outline of the history of music in Russia from ancient times to the end of XVIII Century', quoted in T B Shashkina, 'Bell Bronze', page 239
- ⁷⁷ V F Potechin, 'On the silver content of harness bells', in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 214- 215
- ⁷⁸ T B Shashkina, *op. cit.*, page 240
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, page 240
- ⁸⁰ Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1972) page 91
- ⁸¹ Manuel DeLanda, *Uniformity and Variability* (<http://www.t0.or.at/delanda/matterdl.htm>)
- ⁸² A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 156 (Original Translation)
- ⁸³ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (University of Minnesota Press, 1980) page 409, quoted in Manuel DeLanda, *Uniformity and Variability*, <http://www.t0.or.at/delanda/matterdl.htm>
- ⁸⁴ Gilles Deleuze, *Seminar Session at Vincennes, 27 February, 1979*, Timothy Murphy (Translation/ Transcription from tape. Source: <http://www.imagnet.fr/deleuze/TXT/ENG/270279.html>)
- ⁸⁵ <http://russianbells.com>
- ⁸⁶ <http://russianbells.com>
- ⁸⁷ Edward V. Williams, *op. cit.*, page 103 -104
- ⁸⁸ Tamsin Lorraine, *Irigaray and Deleuze*, page 168
- ⁸⁹ Ken Wilbur, *The Eye of Spirit: An Integral Vision for a World Gone Slightly Mad* (Shambhala Publications, Boston, 1997) page 284
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, page 296
- ⁹¹ Mic Hunter and Jim Struve, *The Ethical Use of Touch in Psychotherapy* (Sage Publications, London, 1998) page 18 - 19
- ⁹² In her analysis of temporality in *Time and Sense: Proust and the Experience of Literature* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1996) page

167, Julia Kristeva finds this continuity between Word and flesh, spirit and body, Absolute and relative, through the 'infinite sensation of embodied time'. Moments of bodily differentiation (such as the movement from the Womb, the Lacanian mirror stage, the Oedipal relationship, death) become infinite movements of differentiating repetition that not only happen in time, but are bound together by the temporal body. Kristeva writes:

Whether we are lost in time, or losing our lives without discovering anything in death, we are made of the same substance as time because it defines the boundaries of our speech. Speaking about time while time passes is a problem that circles in on itself, producing a painful cyclical motion in which the problem disappears in order to attain a rapture beyond words – and beyond time.

⁹³ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1962) page 422

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, page 431

⁹⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1989) page 28 - 29 – A consideration of the idea of spirit (*Geist*) in Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit*, in particular, his 'avoidance' of the term 'spirit'.

⁹⁶ Wendell Westcott, *Bells and their Music* (Michigan State University, <http://www.msu.edu/~carillon/batmbook/>, 1998)

⁹⁷ I Aldoshina and A Nicanorov, *The Investigation of Acoustical Characteristics of Russian Bells* (Audio Engineering Society, New York, 2000) Source: <http://www.russianbells.com/acoustics/NICANOROV-Acoustics.pdf>

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, page 13

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|--|-----------|-----|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---|-----|------|------|------|------|
| Hertz | 125 | 250 | 410 | 565 | 635 | 750 | 875 | 1087 | 1125 | 1737 | 2387 |
| Note Name | B | B | G# | C# | D# | F# | A | C# | C# | A | D |
| Difference [in cents] from 'concert pitch' | +21 | +21 | -22 | +33 | +35 | +23 | -1 | -34 | +25 | -23 | +27 |
| Partial* | Undertone | Hum | - | Fundamental | Strikenote | Tierce, Quint and upper partials | | | | | |
| Interval* above basic | | Oct | Maj/min 6 th | Aug 9 th | Aug 10 th | 5 th , Min 9 th , Aug 9 th , Min 3 rd | | | | | |

* The sound morphology rather than the pitch determines the identity of the partial – these partials have been identified according to typical intervallic relationships between partials for un-tuned bells. The intervals are not exact, sometimes creating minor/ major ambiguities.

¹⁰⁰ Diana Deutsch, 'Paradoxes of musical pitch', in *Scientific American*, Aug 1992 pages 88 – 95 (cited in

http://www.noah.org/science/audio_paradox.html)

¹⁰¹ I Aldoshina and A Nicanorov, *op. cit.*, page 4 -5

¹⁰² Professor Ernst Terhardt, *Strike Note of Bells*,

<http://www.russianbells.com/acoustics/strike.html> & <http://www.mmk.e-technik.tu-muenchen.de/persons/ter.html>

¹⁰³ Edward V. Williams, *op. cit.*, page 99 - 100

¹⁰⁴ Society for Old Russian Musical Culture ODMK, *The Bells of the Cathedral of Christ our Saviour*, <http://www.odmkbells.ru/bells/nunbn-2.html>

¹⁰⁵ V V Lokhanskii, 'Russian Bell Peals' in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 24

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, page 5 (Table 1)

| | Frequencies [Herz] | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Bell Weight | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No 1 / 1654 P | 55.2 [A] | 82.8 [E] | 92.5 [F#] | 110.4 [A] | 124 [B] | 130.8 [C] | 147.2 [D] | 165.6 [E] | 196.2 [G] | 248.3 [B] | 261.6 [C] | 331 [E] |
| No 2/ 970 P | 69.3 [D _b] | 103.8 [A _b] | 110.4 [B _{bb}] | 138.6 [D _b] | 147 [D] | 174.4 [F] | 207.7 [A _b] | 220.7 [B _{bb}] | 248.3 [C _b] | | | |
| No 3/ 635 P | 69.3 [D _b] | 116.5 [B _b] | 147.1 [D] | 196.2 [G] | 248.3 [C _b] | 277.2 [D _b] | 348.8 [F] | | | | | |
| No 4/ 323 P | 92.5 [F#] | 138.6 [C#] | 174.4 [E#] | 220.7 [A] | 261.1 [C] | 331 [E] | 392.4 [G] | | | | | |

¹⁰⁸ V N Il'in, *op. cit.* See also Edward V. Williams, *op. cit.*, page 88 - 93

¹⁰⁹ Society for Old Russian Musical Culture ODMK, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1989) page 84 – Heidegger designates spirit as fire, or the 'flaming'.

¹¹¹ Stephen J Pyne, *World Fire: the culture of fire on earth* (Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Ontario, 1995) page 129 –135

¹¹² In his short story of 1845, 'The Bell', Hans Christian Andersen related a tale of two boys who walk a spiritual path in search of the true origin of a tolling sound seemingly emanating from deep within a forest. Despite the weakness and doubts of others who think the sound an illusion, the boys stay true to their faith in the existence of a great bell, sensing that no ordinary bell could sound 'so much like the human heart'. Eventually they find the source of the sound in the form of a cosmic solar altar that welds sea and sky together:

And yonder, where sea and sky meet, stood the sun, like a large shining altar, all melted together in the most glowing colours. And the wood and the sea sang a song of rejoicing, and his heart sang with the rest: all nature was a vast holy church, in which the trees

and the buoyant clouds were the pillars, flowers and grass the velvet carpeting, and heaven itself the large cupola.

Hans Christian Andersen, 'The Bell' from *Fairy Tales*, Project Gutenberg EText, <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext99/hcaft10.txt>

¹¹³ Corey S Powell, 'Stellar bells: quivering stars bare their inner secrets', in *Scientific American*, Nov 1992 v267 n5 page 26

¹¹⁴ Carl G Jung, *Symbols of Transformation* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990)

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, footnote, page 77 - 78

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, page 12

¹¹⁷ Vladimir Nikolaevich Il'in, 'Esteticheskii i Liturgicheskii Smysl Kolokol'nogo Zvona' in *Pravoslavnyi Kolokol'nyi Zvon: Teoriia i Praktika* (2002) page 65 – 72. Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru> (Original Translation) 'The aesthetic, theological and liturgical sense of the (Russian) bell peal', article originally published in *The Path*, Paris, 1931, number 26, pages 114-118; reproduced in Alexander Borisovich Nikanorov (Ed), 'Music of Russian Bells', published in *Russkaia Zemlia* (Russian Earth), Journal of Russian History and Culture, 1999) (source: <http://www.rusland.spb.ru/58-1.htm>)

¹¹⁸ Carl G Jung *op. cit.*, page 45

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, page 67

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, page 88

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, page 89

¹²² *Ibid.*, page 94

¹²³ *Ibid.*, page 121 - 122

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, page 163

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, page 143

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, page 154

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, page 161

¹²⁸ V N Il'in, *op. cit.* page 65 – 72. Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru> (Original Translation)

¹²⁹ V V Kavel'makher, 'Sposoby Kolokol'nogo Zvona i Drevnerusskie Kolokol'ni' in Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 39-78

¹³⁰ 'On Bells and their Ringing', in *Russian Life* Russian language newspaper, San Francisco, April 1983) (Source: <http://www.holy-trinity.org/bells/onbells.html>)

¹³¹ *Bells in the Russian Tradition: Christianity's 'Talking Drums'* (<http://www.russianbells.com/ringing/zvontypes.html>)

¹³² See www.svirskoe.ru/ru/library/ustav/charter_bell.pdf

¹³³ Similar alteration of bell-ringing rubrics at times of death or alarm occurs in most bell-ringing cultures. To mark death in English tradition, the bells are also muffled, as they were throughout the mass spectacle of Diana Spencer's funeral rites.

¹³⁴ S V Smolenskii, 'On Bell-ringing in Russia', lecture given at the St Petersburg University, 1906; reproduced in Alexander Borisovich Nikanorov (Ed), 'Music of Russian Bells', published in *Russkaya Zemlya* (Russian Earth), Journal of Russian History and Culture, 1999) (Source: <http://www.rusland.spb.ru/58-1.htm>) Original Translation

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 158

¹³⁷ V Lokhanskii, *op. cit.*, page 26 (Original Translation)

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- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, page 22
- ¹³⁹ S V Smolenskii, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁴⁰ Italian musical term describing the 'far-away-ness' of a sound heard at a distance.
- ¹⁴¹ A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 169 & V V Lokhanskii, 'Russian Bell Peals' in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 18 - 27
- ¹⁴² Arkadii Mikhailovich Pokrovskii, 'On the musical meaning of the peal', in *Music of Russian Bells*, unpublished article, 1922; cited in Alexander Borisovich Nikanorov (Ed), *Music of Russian Bells*, and published in *Russkaya Zemlya (Russian Earth)*, Journal of Russian History and Culture, 1999 (Source: <http://www.rusland.spb.ru/58-1.htm>) (Original Translation)
- ¹⁴³ V V Lokhanskii, *op. cit.*, page 24
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, page 21
- ¹⁴⁵ Prokudin-Gorskii Collection, Library of Congress, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/prokquery.html>
- ¹⁴⁶ L D Blagoveshenskaya, 'The Bell Peal – a musical instrument', in B V Rauschenbach, *op. cit.*, page 28 - 37 (Original Translations)
- ¹⁴⁷ Sergei Mikhailovich, 1863-1944 (photographer) in album: *Views in Central Asia, Russian Empire*, LOT 10338, no. 194. Circa 1905-1915. Forms part of: Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii Collection (Library of Congress). LOT 10338, no. 194
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, LOT 10340, no. 351. 1910. / LOT 10340, no. 351
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- ¹⁵⁰ Irigaray, Luce. *The Forgetting of Air* (Athlone Press, London, 1999)
- ¹⁵¹ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Orion Press, Boston, 1964) page 193
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, page 172 - 173
- ¹⁵³ Dmitrii Sergeevich Likhachev, *Reflections on Russia*, Christina Sever (trans) (Westview Press, Boulder, 1991) page 6 - 10
- ¹⁵⁴ T Livanova, 'Notes and material on the history of Russian musical culture', 1938 manuscript, quoted in L D Blagoveshenskaya, 'The Bell Peal – a musical instrument', in B V Rauschenbach, page 31
- ¹⁵⁵ Roland Barthes, 'The Grain of the Voice', *op. cit.*, page 181-182
- ¹⁵⁶ A F Bondarenko, *op. cit.*, page 171 - 172
- ¹⁵⁷ Society for Old Russian Musical Culture ODMK, *The Bells of the Cathedral of Christ our Saviour*, page 5
- ¹⁵⁸ Vladimir Il'in, 'Esteticheskii i Liturgicheskii Smysl Kolokol'nogo Zvona' in *Pravoslavnyi Kolokol'nyi Zvon: Teoriia i Praktika* (2002) page 65 – 72. Source: <http://www.bellstream.ru>
- ¹⁵⁹ Jacques Attali, *Noise, the Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985)
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, page 32
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, page 81 – 86
- ¹⁶² Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text* (Hill & Wang, New York, 1975)
- ¹⁶³ Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1994) page 19
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, page 21
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, page 128
- ¹⁶⁶ Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Toronto, 1976) page 40

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- ¹⁶⁸ Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, *op. cit.*, page 6
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