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Biographical note

Edward Waysband is an adjunct lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he earned his PhD in Russian and East European Studies. He also teaches at Shalem Academic College. He conducted post-doctoral research at the University of Toronto before returning to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as a Lady Davis Fellow to continue his post-doctoral studies in comparative literature. Edward has held research appointments at the University of Caen-Normandy, the Babeş-Bolyai University, the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Polish Institute of Advanced Studies in Warsaw, the New Europe College – Institute for Advanced Study in Bucharest, and Centre for Advanced Study Sofia. Additionally, he has served as an Associate Professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg and as a Visiting Professor at Transilvania University of Braşov. His primary research

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A GODMOTHER OF RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉ RIGHT-WING TERRORISM: ELIZAVETA SHABELSKAYA-BORK'S *SATANISTS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY* (1911)

Edward Waysband

Abstract

In my research, I analyze how the turn-of-the-century mixture of antisemitism and esoteric interests provided a blueprint for Russian émigré right-wing terrorist activities in 1920s. My case study is Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork's novel *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* (1911) – an enthusiastic reactualization of this novel's material in the twenty-first century points to a line of continuity from its ideological utilization in 1920s and 1930s to Russian post-communist right-wing fundamentalist circles, drawing inspiration from the nationalist antisemitic discourse of the previous century. As a point of departure, I research the ideological, political, and terrorist cooperation between Russian right-wing émigrés and right-wing Germans after World War I, in particular, the organization "Aufbau" (Reconstruction). Further, I contextualize the influence that *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* had on Russian émigré right-wing representatives, in particular on its author's godson, Petr Shabelsky-Bork. I analyze ideological foundations of the novel, paying particular attention to its central theme of the Jewish-Masonic clandestine religion of satanism. Shabelskaya-Bork's ideological foundations can be defined thus as a blend of Russian Orthodox fundamentalism, virulent antisemitism, and the fin-de-siècle ambivalent fascination with non-traditional religious practices.

Keywords: right-wing terrorism, conspiratorial writing, esoterism, antisemitism.

In my research, I analyze how the turn-of-the-century mixture of antisemitism and esoteric interests provided a blueprint for Russian émigré right-wing terrorist activities in the 1920s. As a case study, in this article I examine Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork's novel *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* (1911) – an enthusiastic reactualization of this novel's material in the twenty-first century points to a line of continuity from its ideological utilization in the 1920s and 1930s to Russian post-communist right-wing fundamentalist circles, drawing inspiration from the nationalist antisemitic discourse of the previous century.

In his book, *The Russian Roots of Nazism: White Émigrés and the Making of National Socialism*, Michael Kellogg has analyzed Russian right-wing sources of Nazi ideology. Kellogg has convincingly shown that early National Socialism was based on a synthesis of German and Russian right-radical trends and ideologies. In tracing this process, Kellogg pays special attention to the Russian-German organization "Aufbau: Wirtschafts-politische Vereinigung für den Osten" (Reconstruction: Economic-Political Organization for the East). "Aufbau" was a Munich-based conspiratorial, right-extremist group that opposed the Entente, the Weimar Republic, Jewry, and Bolshevism. It was formed around 1919 and partly financed by Henry Ford. The leading figures of this organization were – first – Baltic Germans, who had been a privileged national-cultural group in tsarist Russia, and – second – Russian émigré rightist radicals. Among representatives of the first group were Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, a close associate of Adolf Hitler in the Nazi Party, killed during the Beer Hall Putsch, and Alfred Rosenberg – the author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (1930) and the head of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories during the Second World War. Key figures of the second group of "Aufbau's" leaders included Vasilii Biskupskii, Fedor Vinberg, Petr Shabelsky-Bork, and Sergei Taboritsky. I shall write about some of them in more detail later. The main contribution of this Russian group to the formation of Nazi ideology was the introduction of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the concept of Judeo-Bolshevism as one of the forms of the nefarious Judeo-Masonic conspiracy.¹ "Aufbau" aimed at overthrowing the governments in Germany and in Soviet Russia and replacing them with authoritarian extreme right-wing regimes.

Kellogg and other cultural historians have discussed the ideological foundations of the "Aufbau" leaders in various degrees of detail but primarily from the perspective of those leaders' unquestionable belief in the authenticity of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (see Laqueur, 1965,

pp. 51–53; Kellogg, 2005, p. 66).² Researchers, however, have paid less attention to other sources that contributed to the firm belief of the White Russians, and by extension their German associates, in an international Jewish conspiracy striving for world rule. One such under-researched source that deserves special attention is the novel *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* by Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork (1855–1917), first serialized in 1911 in the Moscow ultra-nationalist journal *Kolokol* (The Bell) and then published as a book in 1912.

In contrast to the international dissemination and notorious international influence of *The Protocols of Zion* until our days,³ the novel *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* has remained so far only in the Russian political and cultural domain. This novel, however, and its author exerted a significant influence on Russian leaders of “Aufbau” and possibly on its German Baltic representatives, who later made a significant contribution to elaborating the tenets of National Socialism. The novelty of this work in comparison to its ideological counterpart, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, is its emphasis on the esoteric dimension of the Jewish conspiracy, in particular regarding its connection with the purported religion of satanism. I shall discuss these aspects of the novel later.

First, I shall elaborate on Russian “Aufbau” members’ terrorist activities, which were directed against Russian and German liberal leaders. In these undertakings, “Aufbau” collaborated with “Organization C,” an ultra-nationalist terrorist union based in Munich and headed by Hermann Ehrhardt, who in the early 1920s competed with Hitler for leadership of German ultra-nationalists (see Kellogg, 2005, p. 170). “Aufbau” and “Organization C” colluded in the assassination of Walther Rathenau, the foreign minister of Weimar Germany. Russian representatives of “Aufbau” plotted also to assassinate Pavel Miliukov, a leader of the Constitutional Democratic party (Cadets), which had been a major liberal party in Russia, known for its support of Jewish emancipation. In fact, the party’s right-wing adversaries maintained that it was a Jewish party (see Rogger, 1986, p. 20). On March 28th, 1922, after Miliukov’s lecture in Berlin, Petr Shabelsky-Bork fired at him. Miliukov’s party colleague Vladimir Dmitrievich Nabokov knocked the gun out of Shabelsky-Bork’s hand. Then another assailant, Sergei Taboritsky killed Nabokov, while Miliukov was unharmed. Vladimir Dmitrievich Nabokov was the father of the famous Russian-American writer Vladimir Nabokov. Shabelsky-Bork and Taboritsky were arrested and received long-term prison sentences (12 and 14 years respectively). They were, however, freed after five years for good

behavior. When Hitler took power, they both received positions in the Department of the Affairs of the Russian emigration (see Zubarev, 2007, pp. 127–129; Obatnin, 2022, pp. 164–169).

Although Petr Shabelsky-Bork had the same surname as Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork, the author of *Satanists of the Twentieth Century*, they were not relatives. Petr Shabelsky-Bork was born in 1893 as Petr Popov. Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork was his godmother. Petr Shabelsky-Bork contended that Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork adopted him as her child, but this was not true. He officially took her surname only after her death, when he was already living in Germany (see Zubarev, 2007, p. 126). It was a symbolic act of self-adoption by which Petr Shabelsky-Bork manifested his spiritual kinship with Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork and her ideas.⁴ Another member of “Aufbau,” Fedor Vinberg, the former colonel and equerry of Nicholas II’s court, an active member of the far-right movement in pre-revolutionary Russia, in his book *In captivity of “monkeys.” (Notes of a “counter-revolutionary”)* (*V pleny u “obez’ian” [Zapiski “kontrevoliutsionera”]*), based on his diary notes written in the Peter and Paul Fortress, as well as in the Kresy prison in revolutionary Petrograd, notes that in the prison he shared the cell with Petr Popov. According to Vinberg, Popov told him about the strong influence on him of his godmother Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork (Vinberg, 1918, pp. 36–37).

Who, then, was this woman who was the godmother and spiritual stepmother of Petr Shabelsky-Bork? She was born in the Kharkiv region of the Russian empire in 1855. She led an adventurous life of an unsuccessful actress, journalist, writer, and entrepreneur. She forged checks to solve her financial problems. Rumors say that Shabelskaya was not imprisoned because she was an agent of the secret police. She was married to the psychiatrist Aleksei Bork, who, from 1896, cured her of alcoholism and drug addiction, mainly by hypnosis. The theme of hypnosis played a prominent role afterwards in her novel *Satanists of the Twentieth Century*. Bork participated in the establishment of the rightist nationalist party “The Union of the Russian People,” the most important of the ultra-nationalist Black-Hundreds political organizations in the Russian Empire between 1905–1917.⁵ With a police department subsidy, Shabelskaya-Bork edited the Black-Hundreds newspaper *Svoboda i poriadok* (Liberty and Order), publishing numerous antisemitic articles there. Apart from this newspaper, Shabelskaya-Bork and her husband published in a number of right-wing, antisemitic periodicals of the 1910s (*Kolokol*, *Strela*, and *Russkoe znamia*). She likewise inundated high-ranking officials of the internal affairs ministry

with her letters on how to save Russia from domestic and foreign enemies. In 1909, she asked to be provided with a gun, claiming that her right-wing views made her a target of the revolutionary terror. According to the police report, she was provided with a gun and five bullets (see Makarova, 2007; Zubarev, 2007).

After Taboritsky and Petr Shabelsky-Bork's terrorist attack, the famous Russian writer and columnist Alexander Amfiteatrov, who did not know them personally but knew well the latter's assumed mother and father in the 1890s, tried to explain their "son's" actions by his "harsh heredity" [*tiazhkaia nasledstvennost'*] in the eponymous article published in the Russian émigré newspaper *Za svobody* in 1922. This article provides a biographical and psychological background for Shabelskaya-Bork's conspiratorial writing. According to Amfiteatrov, the tragedy of her life was that despite her fascination with theater and eagerness to become an actress, "mother nature laughed at her, depriving her of theatrical talent [...]. But the very consciousness of her remarkable personality armed her, like a true tragic loser, with enormous ambition" – she dreamed of European fame, of the Russian Sarah Bernhardt (Amfiteatrov, 2004, p. 66). A writer whose numerous works display a penchant for naturalism, Amfiteatrov employs the paradigm of degeneration to explicate "hereditary" features of Petr Shabelsky-Bork's actions. Along with Shabelskaya's "remarkable personality," "[h]ysteria, morphine and port wine made her one of the wildest women that Russian intelligent society has ever produced, with all the deplorable abundance of unbalanced people in it. Even in Dostoevsky's harsh gallery of women there was no such bizarre and *dangerous* figure" (ibid., p. 68; the italics are Amfiteatrov's).⁶ Mentioning Aleksei Bork's riotous lifestyle⁷ and the heavy toll of his work in a psychiatric hospital on his mental stability, Amfiteatrov concludes:

Those were the parents of Shabelsky-Bork, the murderer of V. D. Nabokov. He was born when they were already at an advanced age. His mother was hysterical, almost clinically unstable. His father was a neuropath and a "medium." His mother was an alcoholic and a morphine addict. His father was a "champagnolic." His mother's life was a continuous chain of violent excesses that repeatedly slipped along the edge of criminal activity. His father's life was a heavy melancholic fog, saturated in addition by constant toxic and contagious communication with the mentally ill. What other fruit can be expected from such a union, except for a sullen and dangerous degenerate, whose debauched will depends least of all on himself, and the inevitable hereditary imbalance represents the most convenient field for

processing by any clever schemer who is willing to use this diseased will for his criminal purposes, directing it on the path of excesses – scandals, violence, a murder? (Amfiteatrov, 2004, p. 72).

Amfiteatrov thus builds up a consistent narrative based on naturalistic assumptions that deterministically deprive Shabelsky-Bork of free will, making him a passive agent of biological, hereditary forces. The vocabulary used, that descends directly from medicine, might be partly seen as a protective mechanism on the part of the Russian post-revolutionary emigration to de-politicize the international terrorist activities of some of its members.⁸ Amfiteatrov likewise discusses through the lens of psychopathology the possible influence of Shabelskaya-Bork's virulent antisemitism evident in her writing on her "son"'s extremist views and activities:

The absurdity of delusional visions and words, as if taken from a journal published in a psychiatric intensive care unit. The persecution mania is in full swing. It is written by a woman suffering from a hallucination in whom morphine has completely paralyzed the work of the detention centers [in the brain], and who, in struggle with the relentlessly besieging ghosts, is exhausted from despair and *bloodthirstily* attacks them. (*ibid.*, p. 75; italics are Amfiteatrov's)

This pathologizing of Shabelskaya-Bork's antisemitic conspiratorial writing anticipates in a way Norman Cohn's examination of antisemitism as a case study of "collective psychopathology." In the 1969 edition of his *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, he writes that "the drive to exterminate the Jews sprang from demonological superstitions inherited from the Middle Ages"; embodied likewise in the modern myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy, this drive is "a matter of unconscious negative projections, *i.e.*, of the mental mechanism by which human beings read into the behaviour of others the anarchic tendencies which they fear to recognize in themselves" (Cohn, 1969, p. 15, 256). Cohn admits that his idea about projecting on the Jews one's repressed death wishes as on a hated father-figure draws upon Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* (*ibid.* 257). Yet, the influence of *The Protocols* and (to a lesser extent) Shabelskaya-Bork's writing goes beyond individual idiosyncrasies, however bizarre they were. The explanatory power of Amfiteatrov's and

Cohn's clinical approach seems, thus, insufficient, if not inadequate, when we deal with large-scale sociopsychological phenomena such as antisemitic conspiratorial thinking and its influence on various extremist and violent activities. Characteristically, both authors eventually dropped their initial straightforward clinical and biological assumptions, even if prompted by different motives. In the 1981 edition of his book, Cohn omits "Conclusion: A case-study in collective psychopathology" of his 1969 and 1970 editions, which provided the psychoanalytical reading of *The Protocols*, explaining that, "given the increasing sophistication of psychoanalytical thinking, [his] interpretation now appears somewhat primitive" (Cohn, 1981, p. 11). In the concluding, "P.S.," section of his article, Amfiteatrov writes that it had already been sent out when one of his acquaintances expressed doubt, based on mere chronological comparisons, about Amfiteatrov's belief that Shabelsky-Bork was the "natural" son of Shabelskaya-Bork. Amfiteatrov understands that in this case his naturalistic explication of Petr Shabelsky-Bork's hereditary "degeneration" does not hold:

If this doubt is justified, then, of course, the part of my article that assumes Petr Shabelsky-Bork's *psychophysiological* inheritance from Elizaveta Shabelskaya and Dr. Bork is invalid. I believe it is unfortunate for the future protection of the criminal: after all, in this case he loses an important mitigating circumstance. Yet, the second part of my article about the *political* heredity, *i.e.*, about the indoctrination of the upbringing and environment in which this madman developed and carried out his readiness to monarchical terror, does not lose its significance at all from the transformation of a natural son into an adopted one. (Amfiteatrov, 2004, p. 77–78; italics are Amfiteatrov's)

As we know now, Petr Shabelsky-Bork was neither "natural," nor "adopted," but Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork's "self-adopted" son after her death. In this case, Amfiteatrov's switch from the "hereditary" to "adoptive family" explanatory framework does not hold either. Yet, he is right speaking of "the *political* heredity" – Shabelskaya-Bork's political views became instrumental for the "Aufbau's" leaders, and found its symbolic expression in Petr Popov's act of self-adoption. Such "heredity" goes beyond the psychopathological approach and demands broader interdisciplinary analysis of the antisemitic conspiratorial thinking in Russia and in the West in the modern era, as well as how this "false consciousness" was translated into radical activism in the age of mass

politics. As Peter Worsley has shown in his classical investigation of “cargo” cults, it is conceptually and methodologically inappropriate to consider them in terms of “abnormal psychology” (Worsley, 1957, p. 242). “Absurd as they may seem when considered as rational solutions,” they appear less absurd if considered as an attempt to grasp new social conditions and relations by traditional explanatory means prevalent in a given culture (*ibid.*, pp. 243–244). Russia’s accelerated modernization starting from Alexander II’s “Great reforms” created a fertile soil for various frustrated social elements to see Jews as malicious agents of modernity that undermine traditional social institutions and values (see Laqueur 1965, pp. 44–45; Kenez, 1992, pp. 309–310; Goldin, 2010).

In 1911, Aleksei Bork published his only theoretical work, the brochure *The International Judeo-Masonic Intrigue* (*Mezhdunarodnaia zhidomasonskaia intriga*). The title of this book summarizes its content. Along with *The Protocols of Zion*, this brochure seems to be one of the ideological foundations of Shabelskaya-Bork’s novel *Satanists of the Twentieth Century*. The plot of the novel is very simple. The extremely talented Russian actress, Olga Belskaya, easily succeeds in conquering the German stage. Olga’s image must be seen as the wishful projection of a failed actress, Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork.⁹ Olga Belskaya attracts the attention of the Freemasons, Lord Jenner and Lord Javid Moore, who come from England and conspire to recruit Olga, with her beauty and talent, for their malicious purposes. Olga, however, does not give in to their various crafty traps, mainly because she naturally fears and is disgusted by Jews, who are widely represented among Freemasons. Her friend, a German professor, explains to her who Masons really are. In his book *The History of the Order of Templars*, he maintains that Freemasonry is merely a cover for the criminal activities of Jews seeking world domination.

The English background of the key representatives of the Judeo-Masonic clandestine society in the novel fits with England’s particular role in the Russian conspiratorial imagination, as a country that actively conspired against Russia, starting from the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish war and exacerbating at the turn of the century (see Sergeev, 2011; Dolinin, 2019). Shabelskaya-Bork and other “fighters” against the Judeo-Masonic intrigue were convinced that it served as a hidden incentive behind England’s anti-Russian politics. The phrase “‘fatal’ Englishmen,” repeatedly used in

the novel, therefore, euphemistically hints at the “real” nature of these apparently respectful noblemen. The reader may wonder what motivates these high ranking Judeo-Masons to pursue the unknown Russian actress. The answer may be found in Sergei Nilus’ book *The Great within the Small and Antichrist, an Imminent Political Possibility. Notes of an Orthodox Believer* (*Velikoe v malom i Antikhrisť, kak blizkaia politicheskaia vozmozhnost’*. *Zapiski pravoslavnogo*).¹⁰ Nilus argues that Jewish Masons are especially keen to recruit young, beautiful women to use them for luring the important cadre into their “Jewish Masons’” net (see Nilus, 1911, p. 544). Shabelskaya-Bork puts this belief into action. This is only one example of her dramatization of *The Protocols* and of its auxiliary literature such as Nilus’. Further on, we shall see other examples.

The fact that *The Protocols* has become the most popular and influential antisemitic text up to the present is commonly related to its easy explanations of the challenges of modernity. Steven J. Zipperstein has likewise suggested that this repetitive, long-winded text which, nevertheless, can be summarized in one phrase (the Judeo-Masonic intrigue to achieve world dominance) is not so simplistic. Its *ur-text*, Maurice Joly’s *Dialogue aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu* that was plagiarized by the writers of *The Protocols* developed an elaborate and convincing argument about the possibility of the future totalitarian state. This argument is embedded likewise in *The Protocols*, thus responding to the modern fear of totalitarianism, shared by people on all political spectrums. In addition, *The Protocols*’ resilience lies in its discursive mode – in contrast to other antisemitic tractates popular in their times, such as H. S. Chamberlein’s *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* or Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, *The Protocols* employs a first-person point of view of a presumed Elder who “reveals” his and his kin’s malicious plans. This “personal,” direct speech endows *The Protocols* with an additional degree of credibility (see Zipperstein, 2020). While the unknown speaker in *The Protocols* addresses an unidentified audience in an unknown location, Shabelskaya-Bork personalizes and historically contextualizes her “elders of Zion.” Just as in *The Protocols*, she also endows them with a first-person point of view, so that they readily and verbosely share with one another their nefarious plans. Moreover, while *Satanists*’ omniscient narrator usually renders only Belskaya’s inner thoughts, she (the narrator) can also enter the consciousness of Judeo-Masonic conspirators, going, thus, much deeper than *The Protocols* in revealing their manipulations.

In the central chapter of the novel, "The great Sanhedrin of our time," the meeting place of Jewish Masons serves as an objective correlative of their psyche and as a metaphor of their conspiratorial activities. In the chapter, the acceptance of Prinz Arnulf into Freemasonry is depicted as a seemingly respectable trap for naïve souls who are not aware of its cover-up function. The event takes place in the building in Berlin. While on the first, main floor of the building the ceremony takes place, at the same time in the basement of this building the meeting of the "Sanhedrin" secretly occurs, so that some members of both organizations can easily move from one floor to another. Their maneuvers embody the functioning of conspiratorial thinking, as the honorable member of the official Freemasonry society with its ostensible humanitarian aims moves downstairs and transforms into a member of a clandestine Jewish society for world domination.

One of its members mentions that in six years, in 1902, the Jewish Messiah is supposed to be born (Shabelskaya, 1912, p. 42). The meeting thus takes place around 1896. One of the widespread interpretations of *The Protocols* connects it to the first congress of Zionists in Basel in 1897. Shabelskaya-Bork probably also tries to tie the meeting of the "Sanhedrin" to the congress or to its preparations. Indeed, in her description of the meeting of the clandestine Jewish leadership in this chapter, malicious Jews quote *The Protocols* close to the text. Thus, Lord Javid Moore delivers a report about their "recent achievements," i.e., "the enslavement of the world press, which is almost entirely in our hands, so that at any moment we can not only 'lead' the so-called public opinion of any state, but even force entire nations to look at [things] with our thoughts" (Shabelskaya, 1912, p. 35). In the second protocol, the Elder similarly says that the press "is in our hands" (Nilus, 1911, p. 405). Then in his report Lord Javid Moore summarizes several other topics of *The Protocols* (see Dudakov, 1993, p. 183): the destruction and corruption of school and higher education; the destruction of the French monarchy; the destruction of the institution of marriage; "the enticement of the contemptible gentile women on the fatal road of the notorious 'equality,'" so that they "reject being wives and mothers for the sake of becoming bad officials or mediocre scientists" (Shabelskaya, 1912, p. 35–36). In his article "Harsh heredity," Amfiteatrov wonders how Shabelskaya-Bork, "a domineering and pronounced feminist in her private life, blandly and sentimentally glorified in her articles the idyll of the German bourgeois family, with the ideal of the three 'K' of Emperor Wilhelm II – 'Kinder, Küche, Kirche'" (Amfiteatrov, 2004,

p. 73). One would doubt calling her a “feminist” in her private life. It seems that, just as with her chauvinistic biases, she internalized gender prejudices of her time and negatively projected them onto “the notorious ‘equality,’” i.e., feminist movement – expectedly seeing it as a part of the Judeo-Masonic intrigue.

The Protocols does not refer to a traditional set of anti-Judaic tropes about ritual murder, blood libel, etc. Joly’s secular anti-absolutist impetus is embedded in *The Protocols’* vision of the imminent global totalitarian state ruled by the Jews. Throughout the twentieth (and the beginning of the twenty-first) century, *The Protocols’* various distributors and interpreters, however, have been combining its secular antisemitism with old traditional accusations against the Jews. Accordingly, having enumerated some of *The Protocols’* means for world-domination, Jewish Masons, in Shabelskaya-Bork’s novel, confess that they are adepts of a clandestine religion of satanism and participate in satanic Masses during which they make human sacrifices. Just as in Nilus’ writing, *The Protocols’* idea of the Jewish world dominance merges with an apocalyptic Manichean vision of human history as a struggle between two forces – Christianity and satanism. In this picture, Jews, as well as their gentile accomplices, are conscious or unconscious adherents of the latter. As they cannot lure Olga into their nest, Jews-satanists start to take revenge on her. Only the help of the German emperor, a sincere fan of Olga’s theatrical talents, rescues her from the Jews-satanists’ intrigues.¹¹ While this fictional Russian-German cooperation against a satanist Judeo-Masonic conspiracy did not add to the novel’s popularity during WWI, it might be seen as prophetic by Shabelskaya-Bork’s “godchildren” from “Aufbau.”

In order to prove that satanic sects are active in contemporary Europe, Olga refers to Joris-Karl Huysmans’ 1891 novel, *Là-Bas (Down There)*. Indeed, the main protagonist of this decadent novel, the writer Durtal, starts researching the life of Baron Gilles de Rais, who lived in the fifteenth century and was accused by the Inquisition of satanism and the serial killing of children. Durtal likewise is interested in modern forms of satanism. Ultimately, he attends the Black Mass organized by the malicious satanist, the defrocked clergyman Dokr (see Huysmans, 1972, pp. 242–249). Dokr is based on the image of a real man, Stanislas De Guaita, a mystic and active member of the Rosicrucian Order. The heroine of Shabelskaya-Bork’s novel and Shabelskaya-Bork herself, perhaps intentionally in the latter case, take at face value Huysmans’s description of satanic practices in contemporary France and claim this as evidence of the

spread of satanism over modern Europe. Shabelskaya-Bork's ideological foundations can be defined thus as a mixture of Russian Orthodox fundamentalism, virulent antisemitism, and the fin-de-siècle ambivalent fascination with non-traditional religious practices.

In the discussed chapter about the meeting of the satanic leaders, under transparent disguise or with their own names, Shabelskaya-Bork introduces her contemporaries among these satanic leaders – Jews and non-Jews, representatives of liberal organizations. By so doing, she both historicizes and personalizes *The Protocols*, just like its real authors aimed at discrediting any attempt at the “liberal” modernization of tsarist Russia, presenting such attempts already as a literally “satanic” Judeo-Masonic conspiracy. Among the satanist characters in her other conspiratorial antisemitic novel, *The red and the white* (*Krasnye i chernye*, 1913), one meets Pavel Nikolaevich Sazikov and Naskokov (Shabelskaya, 1913, p. 96, 110), who are transparent doubles of Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov and Nabokov. As we recall, Shabelskaya-Bork's spiritual godchildren would later organize the terrorist attack on these figures. We see here, in a nutshell, an example of how anti-modern and anti-Semitic beliefs and myths provide a dynamic and destructive form of extreme political expression on a broad historical scale. Indeed, the evolution of right-wing activities follows the lines delineated by Miroslav Hroch's *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* in the dynamics of the national movements – with the reservation that we speak about their extremist right-wing variant. According to Hroch, the scholarly interest in the native cultural heritage (Phase A) is subsequently mobilized in the period of “patriotic agitation” (Phase B). Appearing at this stage, nationalist societies then stimulate the rise of a mass national movement among the population (Phase C) (Hroch, 1985, pp. 23–24). While the national movements were interested in building up the “positive” profile of their “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983), drawing on their romanticized past, the writers and journalists of the extremist right-wing flank concentrated more on the negative reflections of these “imagined communities,” in our case on the Jews and Judeo-Masonic conspiracy. Russian representatives of this mindset adopted French religious antisemitism and anti-Masonry along with Chamberlain's racist doctrine, contributing with the forged *Protocols* and later with the Jewish-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy theory.

The application of this line of thought to the sociopolitical situation in Russia in the beginning of the twentieth century and its incorporation into ideological programs of right-wing movements, such as the Black Hundreds, marks the emergence of a full-fledged ultra-nationalist movement (Phase B). During the Russian Civil War (1917–1921), the Black Hundreds perception of the February and October revolutions in Russia as the result of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy was widespread among anti-Communist forces and provided an ideological impetus to the mass anti-Jewish violence in Ukraine and southern Russia (see Budnitskii, 2012, p. 187–189; Kenez, 1992, pp. 309–311).¹² The rise of a mass ultra-nationalist movement during the Russian Civil War, however, did not survive the collision with the emerging Soviet totalitarian state. In other words, the Russian ultra-nationalist agitation energized by the idea of the Jewish-Masonic(-Bolshevik) conspiracy never reached Phase C. Nevertheless, people like Shabelsky-Bork managed to transfer *The Protocols* to Germany, where its key idea about the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy was gratefully integrated into the incipient Nazi doctrine as one of the ideological underpinnings of the mass Nazi movement (Phase C). In the case of *The Protocols* and Shabelskaya-Bork's novel, the defensive, aggressive ideology of Russian identity and Orthodox fundamentalism first targets their adversaries in (semi-)literary texts and then attempts to exterminate them physically as part of their revanchist political program.

I did not find Petr Shabelsky-Bork's direct written comments on his godmother's writing, but his attitude can be reconstructed, apart from his devoted adoption of her surname, from the reaction of his closest and other associates. Her idealization among Russian members of "Aufbau" emerges in her portrait by Vinberg, based apparently on Petr Shabelsky-Bork's reminiscences: "[T]he personal charm of her outstanding mind, great knowledge and responsiveness to every grief of a noble, warm heart were combined with great literary talent and a deep, penetrating patriotic feeling of love for Russia, which filled her whole soul" (Vinberg, 1918, p. 135). This portrait of Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork stands, of course, in a striking contrast to Amfiteatrov's reminiscences quoted above. In his other book, *The Road to Cavalry (Krestnyi put')*, published in Munich in 1922, Vinberg discusses how a Jewish conspiracy seized power in Russia in the form of the Bolshevik revolution. Vinberg lists the most "reliable" authors who have warned humanity of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy:

In England – Houston Stewart Chamberlain; in France – Édouard Drumont; Paul Copin-Albancelli, Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux; in

Germany – Müller von Hausen; in Russia – Dostoevsky (in his *Writer's Diary*, he exclaimed: "The Kikes will destroy Russia"), Shabelskaya-Bork, Nilus, Shmakov, Liutostanskii, Butmi de Katzman, Vagner ("Kot-Murlyka," his novel *The Dark Path* [*Temnyi Put'*]). (Vinberg 1922, p. 223)

In a way, Vinberg enumerates the international representatives of Phase A of extreme right-wing movements. It was his and his colleagues' task to transform their tenets into extreme chauvinistic "agitation" (see Hroch, 1985, pp. 23–24).

It is worth noting the intellectual context in which Vinberg places Shabelskaya-Bork. Chamberlain was the author of the highly influential book *The Foundation of the Nineteenth Century* (*Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1899), which laid a basis for racialist antisemitic theories of Nazism (Field, 1981, pp. 440–445). Drumont was the author of the pamphlet *Jewish France* (*La France juive*, 1886) that demonized French Jewry. He was a founder of the newspaper *La Libre Parole* and of "The Antisemitic League of France" (*Ligue antisémitique de France*, 1889), which were instrumental in promoting the antisemitic discourse during the Dreyfus Affairs. Copin-Albancelli was among the founders of the anti-Masonic and antisemitic newspapers *À bas les tyrans* (*Down with tyrants*) and *La Bastille* and the author of a number of pamphlets that "exposed" the Judeo-Masonic conspiracies in the political life of France. Gougenot des Mousseaux's anti-Masonic and anti-Jewish views were strongly imbued with his anti-revolutionary Catholicism. His book *Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens* (*The Jew, Judaism and the Judaization of Christian peoples*, 1869) was translated by Alfred Rosenberg into German in 1921. The antisemitic editor and the founder of the "Association against the Presumption of Jewry" (Verband gegen Überhebung des Judentumes), Ludwig Müller von Hausen was the most important *völkisch* German contact with the group of "Aufbau," in particular Vinberg, Shabelsky-Bork, and Taboritsky.

Earlier it was unknown how exactly *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* reached Germany (see Hagemeister, 1998, p. 261). Kellogg's archival research, including Gestapo documents that were preserved after World War II in Soviet archives and were declassified after the demise of the Soviet Union, made clear that it was Shabelsky-Bork who carried a copy of Sergei Nilus' *Great in the small and the Anti-Christ as an imminent political possibility. Notes of an Orthodox believer* that included *The Protocols* to Berlin and gave it to Hausen in 1919 (Kellogg, 2005, p. 65). In the same year, Hausen hired someone to translate *The Protocols* into

German and became its first non-Russian editor and publisher (under the pen name "Gottfried zur Beek") outside Russia (*ibid.*; Cohn, 1981, p. 136). The publication was accompanied by "zur Beek's" foreword, aiming at convincing the German public of *The Protocols'* authenticity. The popularity of *The Protocols* in Germany was immediate – by the end of 1920 it was reprinted four more times and its sales reached 120,000 copies (*ibid.*). According to Hausen's 1921 letter to Carl März, now preserved in a Russian archive, he believed that *The Protocols* were first drafted in Hebrew, then translated into French, and from French into Russian (Kellog, 2005: 66). It is entirely possible that Shabelsky-Bork likewise was the source of this belief.

Returning to Vinberg's list, the phrase "the Kikes will destroy Russia" was ascribed to Dostoevsky by Russian antisemites to legitimize their views, although he never wrote this phrase (see Morson, 1983, p. 311). His 1877 supplement of the *Writer's Diary* includes, however, the article "The Jewish Question," which maintains the existence of "the Kike idea" (*ideia zhidovskaia*) that governs the Jews' dangerous aspiration drive to gain power over Russia and the whole world (Dostoevsky, 1991, p. 353).¹³ Aleksei Shmakov's (1852–1916) writings that shared ideas of racial antisemitism served as a theoretical basis for the far-right political movements in Russia. Ippolit Liutostansky's (1835–1915) writings were notorious for repetitively accusing Jews of ritual killings of Christian children (blood libel). Georgii Butmi-de Katsman (1856–1919) was an antisemitic journalist and one of the first publishers of *The Protocols*.¹⁴ Nikolai Vagner's (pseudonym "Kot-Murlyka," 1829–1907) novel *The Dark Path* (*Temnyi Put'*, 1881–1884; 1890) describes the world Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, anticipating *The Protocols* and Shabelskaya-Bork's novel. This list is evidence of the mixture of semi-scientific speculations and conspiratorial, virulent antisemitic writing that served as an ideological basis for the twentieth century rise of extreme right political movements. The very place of Shabelskaya-Bork among the forefathers of European and Russian antisemitism and Nazism attains both testimonial and iconic meaning. It once more testifies to the respect that the representatives of the conspiratorial "Aufbau" had for her personality and her writing. For them she was both a representative of the past but also a symbolic bridge into the present, as her godson was implementing her vision in his political and terrorist activities. Significantly, Vinberg enumerates both theoreticians and writers as if not differentiating between (pseudo-)scientific and literary modes of writing. In this conspiratorial instrumentalization of the fictitious

discourse, Vinberg actually follows in Shabelskaya-Bork's footsteps, who, as we have seen, referred to Huysmans' novel as a trustworthy source of information. Just as the Russian members of "Aufbau," other representatives of the émigré extremist circles, as we shall see, read Shabelskaya-Bork's novel, endowing it with real-life and, at the same time, prophetic meaning. This naïve epistemological approach made her novel analogous to *The Protocols* whose authenticity they, as well as their German counterparts, did not doubt.

Hausen could read Russian and read regularly the Berlin newspaper *Prizyv* (*The Call*) edited by Vinberg, Shabelsky-Bork, and Taboritsky, translating some of its publications into German. Kellogg found in Hausen's archive an article from a November 1919 edition of *Prizyv* that Hausen had translated into German (Kellogg, 2005, p. 64). Called "Satanisten des XX. Jahrhunderts" in German, the article's Russian title was identical to the title of Shabelskaya-Bork's novel. The anonymous 1919 article reported "ominous rumors" spreading in Moscow:

People who came from Moscow report on the terrible blasphemy allegedly committed recently within the walls of the Kremlin. The so-called black Mass or liturgy of Satan was held there in the presence of Trotsky and other high-ranking Soviet leaders. Those present prayed to the god of Evil for help in defeating their enemies. Thanks to a Latvian Red Army soldier who was on guard duty in the Kremlin, this case became public and made a terrible impression in Moscow. The next day, on Trotsky's orders, the Latvian finished his earthly existence. (Anonymous, 1919, p. 2)

Kellogg does not point out that by its very title and subject-matter this article directly evokes the theme of the Jewish-satanic Mass of Shabelskaya-Bork's eponymous novel. Possibly, her very godson Petr Shabelsky-Bork authored this article, based indeed on some "ominous rumors" from Moscow or on his own imagination. However it might be, this article attests to how Shabelskaya-Bork's novel literally became a blueprint for the conflation of the pre-revolutionary antisemitic tropes and anti-Soviet sentiments. It is a task of further research to discover whether Hausen's translation was published in some German right-wing periodical and whether the theme of a satanic Judeo-Bolshevik Mass engendered by Shabelskaya-Bork found further thematizations in Germany.

In 1933, Shabelskaya-Bork's novel was serialized in the Riga ultra-right newspaper *Zavtra* (*Tomorrow*), edited by the unscrupulous journalist

Leonard Piragis (1876–1944).¹⁵ Despite various dishonest journalistic and editorial activities (including plagiarism and forgery)¹⁶ for which he was marginalized in the émigré journalistic world, his anti-Jewish conspiratorial convictions seem to be quite sincere. Thus, *Zavtra's* anonymous editorial "For justice, job and bread!" ("Za spravedlivost', raboty i khleb!"), which was apparently authored by him, appeals to the Russians and Latvians to unite against the Judeo-Masonic intrigue (Anonymous 1933: 1). Piragis seemed to find, therefore, a kindred spirit in Shabelskaya-Bork. After serializing her novel in his newspaper, Piragis republished it in 1934 as a book with his introduction "Resurrected from the Buried Alive" ("Voskresshii iz zazhivo pogrebennykh") and comments signed with his usual pseudonym L. Kormchii.¹⁷ In 1936, he likewise published a third part of Shabelskaya-Bork's novel titled *Secrets of Martinique* (*Tainy Martiniki*) that treats the famous eruption of the Mont Pelée volcano in 1902 as the manifestation of God's wrath on the "satanists'" attempt to build up their temple on the island.¹⁸ For Piragis, *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* had a prophetic status (Kormchii, p. 1934, p. 4). In his comments, he constantly reads recent and contemporaneous Russian and European history through the prism of this novel (*ibid.* p. 65). He likewise uses the Nazi terminology of the purity of the Aryan race, thus upgrading Shabelskaya-Bork's novel to up-to-date European realities. In another comment, he upgrades the novel to the context of the Nazi takeover in 1933, presenting the latter as Germany's felicitous escape from Masonry's grip: "Germany, which was threatened with Russia's fate, first emerged from the tenacious grip of Freemasonry, as the author of the *Satanists* foresaw, but not with the help of William the II, who lost the crown because of the Freemasons" (*ibid.*, p. 215). Shabelskaya-Bork's prophesy about the strong anti-Judeo-Masonic union of German emperor and Russian right-wing forces did not come true in its time but became self-fulfilling prophecy in view of the post-revolution cooperation of Russian and German extremists.

In December 1939, Piragis, along with German repatriates, left Latvia for Germany (Abyzov, 1990, p. 298). The Russian authorities were already preparing for the annexation of the Baltic states (which occurred in the summer 1940), and Piragis, who expressed his pro-Nazi sympathies in his newspaper *Tomorrow*, might have justly been worried about his future in Soviet Latvia. Piragis, just as Amfiteatrov's son Valentin Amfiteatrov-Kadashev (see f. 8), was an active contributor to the Russian Nazi newspaper *Novoe slovo* (*A new word*) under various pseudonyms in

1935–1936. There he used to report about Jewish conspiratorial activities in Latvia and worldwide.

Shabelskaya-Bork's novel was not freely circulated in the former Soviet Union. Yet, there is evidence that it was read in some circles and even made its ambivalent way into a Russian literary canon as one of the sources for Mikhail Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita*. In his research on that novel, Mikhail Zolotonosov has convincingly shown that its scene of the initiation at the Satan's ball draws upon Shabelskaya-Bork's scene of the Masonic initiation that has no parallels in descriptions of Masonic organizations' rites but was rather a product of Shabelskaya-Bork's imagination (Zolotonosov, 1995, p. 79).¹⁹

In the re-actualization of Shabelskaya-Bork's novel in post-Soviet Russia, a prominent place belongs to the famous painter Ilya Glazunov. His collage style of painting presents a nostalgic vision of Russia's past ruined by some vague malicious forces. His reference to Shabelskaya-Bork's novel, however, clarifies the nature of these forces. In his 1997 interview he says:

Now [Kazimierz] Waliszewski's historical novels are being republished. He is an evil Pole who hated Russia. What does he teach? The same as the Marquis de Custine... Let's better republish Shabelskaya's book *Satanists of the XX century*... In the 1920s, people were executed by shooting, for Shabelskaya's book.²⁰ Critics and analysts should have already studied all the lessons of the twentieth century. What processes have proved destructive for Russian statehood, economy, and culture?... (see Bondarenko, 1997, p. 147)

Evocative of Kormchii's "resurrection" of the novel "from the dead," its "promotion" by Glazunov was used as a blurb for its post-Soviet republishings and has been widely cited on the internet. Apart from their post-Soviet use, Glazunov's words shed light on still under-researched ideological sources of nationalist and proto-Nazi movements of the post-WWII USSR that, in their turn, became semi-official in post-Soviet Russia. In one of the most concise investigations of such movements to date, Nikolai Mitrokhin writes about Glazunov's unique role in these circles, as he was both an officially recognized highly fashionable Soviet painter and retained the reputation of an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist (Mitrokhin, 2003, p. 207–210, 344–350).

In post-Soviet Russia, the re-publication of the 1934 edition of Shabelskaya-Bork's novel, *i.e.*, the re-publication with Kormchii's proto-Nazi comments, was provided with the foreword entitled "A scroll" ("Skrizhal'") written by the extreme Russian nationalist Igor' D'iakov. In his foreword, D'iakov presents Shabelskaya-Bork's novel as a fulfilled prophecy and at the same time a warning against a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy that aims at destroying Russia (D'iakov, 2000).²¹ Just as *The Protocols*, *Satanists of the Twentieth Century* can be considered as fake news *avant la lettre*, before this term became ubiquitous. If in the twentieth century, Shabelskaya-Bork's book inspired Russian émigré terrorism, it is still an open-ended question what influence it will have on today's readers. Let's live and see.

Endnotes

- ¹ *The Protocols* was a forgery, purporting to portray an international Jewish conspiracy for world domination. It largely plagiarized Maurice Joly's political satire *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* (*Dialogue aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu*, 1864) that was directed against the regime of Napoleon III and did not mention the Jews. *The Protocols* was first published by Pavel Krushevan in Saint Petersburg's right-wing newspaper *Znamia* (The Banner) in 1903. Four months earlier, Krushevan was one of the key instigators of the Kishinev pogrom. In 1905 and till the revolution of 1917, *The Protocols* was republished multiple times by Sergei Nilus, a religious writer with strong antisemitic inclinations. Nilus used to republish *The Protocols* as part of his books and interpreted it as confirmation of his eschatological views, based on French anti-Masonic and anti-Jewish literature, about "the triumph of the leaders of Talmudic Israel over the world that has renounced Christ" (Nilus, 1917, p. 175). *The Protocols* was translated into major European languages around the 1920s and became an immediate international sensation (see Michelis, 2004; Hagemeister, 2008).
- ² Hitler mentions *The Protocols* in *Mein Kampf* as a trustworthy source about the nature of the Jewish people and their ultimate goals (see Kellogg, 2005, pp. 75–76).
- ³ After the Second World War, in the West the *Protocols* became marginalized in the public and political domain, while reappearing in conspiracy theories. They, however, were endorsed as authentic by a number of Arab and Muslim leaders and has nowadays received a prominent place in the anti-Jewish, anti-Israeli, and anti-American discourse in the Middle East (see Lewis, 1986, pp. 199, 208–217; Webman, 2011; Rahimiyan, 2011; Marcus and Crook, 2012).
- ⁴ A legend that Shabelskaya-Bork was Shabelsky-Bork's real mother has survived till our days and appeared in otherwise trustworthy sources (see Cohn, 1981, p. 127; Dudakov, 1993, p. 181; Zolotonosov, 1995, p. 78, Glushanok, 2000, p. 820).
- ⁵ The Black Hundreds was a Russian ultra-nationalistic, reactionary movement in the early 20th century (see Rogger, 1986, pp. 198–199; Laqueur, 1993).
- ⁶ Notwithstanding the sensationalist tint of Amfiteatrov's accounts, they are borne out by other sources (apart of Elizaveta Shabelskaya-Bork and Petr Shabelsky-Bork's kinship), including recently published archival materials. Thus, the 1902 protocol of the Police Department that gives an account of the bankruptcy of Shabelskaya's theatrical enterprise likewise mentions her "suffering from alcoholism and morphinomania" (see Zubarev, 2007, p. 122). She confesses likewise in drug addiction in her correspondence (see Makarova, 2007, p. 106).

- 7 Amfiteatrov uses the neologism “champagnolic,” [*shampin’olik*] coined by the psychiatrist B. V. Tomashevskii, to define Bork’s addiction to champagne (Amfiteatrov, 2004, p. 71).
- 8 The literary and ideological career of his own son, Vladimir Amfiteatrov-Kadeshev (1882–1942), provides a paradoxical twist to Amfiteatrov’s adherence to “hereditary” thinking. A secondary modernist writer at the beginning of his literary career, in the second half of 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, he became a major contributor to the Nazi Russian newspaper *Novoe Slovo* (*A New Word*) published in Berlin in 1933–1944. Here he wrote on political and cultural issues in line with the newspaper’s Nazi guidelines and in complete defiance of his father’s liberal and democratic views.
- 9 Gennadii Obatnin pointed out that Olga Belskaya’s surname is a shortened version of Shabelskaya-Bork’s (Obatnin, 2022, p. 172).
- 10 This book was first published in 1903. Its later editions included *The Protocols* as a part.
- 11 Shabelskaya-Bork’s novel can thus be seen as a reversal of the pattern of George du Maurier’s famous novel *Trilby* (1894), where the eponymous heroine is seduced, exploited, and made into a famous singer by the stereotypical malicious Jew, Svengali.
- 12 Scholars estimate that in the most intensive period of the Russian Civil War (1918–1920) between 100,000 to 200,000 Jews were killed and many more wounded in Ukraine and southern Russia (see Budnitskii, 2012, p. 217; Klier and Lambroza, 1992, p. 292; Bemporad and Chopard, 2019, p. xiv).
- 13 Dostoevsky’s views on Jews generated two main critical traditions: the one that accuses him of antisemitism, the other that considers his attitude towards Jews as a dialectic moment in his polyphonic vision of humanity (see Vassena, 2006, p. 46).
- 14 Steven Zipperstein has convincingly suggested that *The Protocols’* first publisher Pavel Krushevan and his close friend Georgii Butmi “were likely the first authors of the document” (see Zipperstein, 2020, 94). One of the key incentives for its writing was the strong international indignation upon the first news about the 1903 Kishinev pogrom, which confirmed to Krushevan and Butmi the existence of the Jewish world-conspiracy. If this is the case, *The Protocols* can be seen as an all too successful example of victim blaming.
- 15 See publications on Piragis’ problematic writing and editorial career (Abyzov and Timenchik, 2016; Hellman, 2013).
- 16 Thus, for instance, in 1921 he forged and published a poem presumably written by the famous Russian poet Alexander Blok (who died in the same year), in which the poet expresses his deep repentance for his former fascination with the Bolshevik revolution (see Abyzov and Timenchik, 2016; Hellman, 2013, pp. 36–37, 39).
- 17 *Kormchii* means a “helmsman” in Russian.

- ¹⁸ As I have mentioned earlier, in *Satanists of the Twentieth Century*, Jews-satanists predict the birth of their Messiah in 1902, which becomes the key topic of *Secrets of Martinique*.
- ¹⁹ Zolotonosov has likewise suggested that the first chapter of Bulgakov's novel, called "Never Talk to Strangers," where the heroes "inadvertently" encounter Woland, parallels the beginning of Shabelskaya-Bork's novel, where malicious representatives of the Judeo-Masonic intrigue become – seemingly "inadvertently" – acquainted with Olga Belskaya (see Zolotonosov, 1995, p. 79).
- ²⁰ I have not found any evidence that people were arrested and executed for keeping this book in Soviet Russia in the 1920s. Yes, it seems possible that Glazunov's conspiratorial imagination made the participation of Shabelskaya-Bork's "son" in the killing of V. D. Nabokov into the conviction that people were executed for keeping this book.
- ²¹ See likewise priest-monk Serafim's claim that in writing her book, Shabelskaya-Bork "used reliable facts and witnesses from so called 'primary sources.'" Following Kormchii, Serafim claims that Shabelskaya-Bork's book was a fulfilled prophecy about the conquest of Russia by the Judeo-Masonic sect (Serafim, 2016).

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