

SEEKING MIRACLES IN THE RUBBLE:
ANNA AKHMATOVA, BORIS PASTERNAK,
AND THE ORTHODOX LEGACY IN
STALIN'S TIME

by

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И так близко подходит чудесное
К развалившимся грязным домам,
Никому, никому неизвестное,

Но от века желанное нам.

Anna Akhmatova, 1921

And something miraculous materializes
Among the ruins, the rubble, the grime—
Something none of us, none of us
recognizes,

But has wanted for a long, long time.

(Trans. P. Schmidt)

Прощай, размах крыла расправленный,
Полета вольное упорство,
И образ мира, в слове явленный,

И творчество, и чудотворчество.

Boris Pasternak, 1953

Farewell, the full spread of wings,
The insistence of flight freely taken,
And, captured in words, the image of
things,

Both making and miracle-making.

(Trans. E. Clowes)

HOW the Russian Orthodox Christian heritage survived during the Stalin era remains a subject of considerable interest. Underground literary production played no small role in assuring the continued life of Orthodoxy. To be clear, the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was a total political, social, and cultural revolution that did everything possible to destroy the Orthodox Church and Orthodox faith and to supplant them with similar but secular rituals, saints, and symbols aimed at sanctifying the new Soviet state and its leaders.¹ And what the new leaders failed to destroy, they infiltrated with police agents.



Edith—as far as the pics for Akhmatova and and Pasternak are concerned, we can handle that—perhaps using the images Theo has; but for the artists you reference below in the article, you would need to choose and provide images to us for our consideration

When we speak of the Russian Orthodox legacy, we may mean a variety of things—the trappings and words of the liturgy, the politics of the state church, or archetypes traditional to Russian faith, such as princely saints and holy fools in Christ. We might have in mind the objects and spaces of the Orthodox Church—the fairytale churches with their high onion domes, the untuned bells, or the icons. These various aspects have received significant attention from the scholarly community. This essay focuses on another aspect of the Orthodox legacy, the marvelous religious renaissance among the educated elite and the creative intelligentsia that arose in the thirty years before 1917. In these years, large and growing voluntary associations, religious-philosophical societies, and innovative literary and artistic journals re-embraced the Orthodox heritage in a capacious, generous way, in an effort to render relevant to educated people what many saw as a backward tradition, repressive of intellectual and creative powers.² Indeed, at that time, the centuries-old Orthodox legacy became the deep root of a morally and spiritually grounded modern concept of personhood. Among the greatest voices of this intellectual and cultural flowering were two poets who survived the revolution and its darkest decades—Anna Akhmatova and Boris Pasternak. Both of these remarkable personalities, each in a unique way, sought “miracles,” which are defined here as the intervention of divine force in the wreckage of the everyday, transfiguring the dead things of this world with life and meaning. This essay uses close literary reading to extract how each of them, separately and in poetic conversation with each other, engaged the Orthodox Christian legacy, and what it was precisely that they managed to keep alive.

Before beginning this dramatic tale, some intellectual-historical background will help to set the scene. Who were the Russians who started the process of reanimating Russian Orthodoxy and bringing it into alignment with the concerns of modern personhood? Fyodor Dostoevsky was really the first modern Russian writer and thinker of stature to engage Orthodoxy in a challenging and original way. Though he died in 1881 before the start of the Russian Renaissance, his thinking on moral choice, personhood, and community elicited a powerful response at the turn of the century. The philosopher-mystic Vladimir Solovyov (1853–1900) laid other cornerstones for the religious renaissance, bringing back the gnostic figure of Sophia (Divine Wisdom) as a kind of portal connecting the human with the divine.³ Later philosophers—Berdiaev, Bulgakov, Losev, the Trubetskoi brothers, and others—added in varying degrees to a growing Orthodox philosophy.

At this time artists, such as Mikhail Vrubel, rediscovered icons as beautiful art, training in icon restoration before inventing a dazzling modern mystical aesthetic **[please provide an image and caption]**. Others, such as Natalia Goncharova, isolated from icon painting deep colors and rhythmic lines and shapes **[please provide an image and caption]**. Even the radically minded among them, the avant-garde artist Kazimir Malevich, who reviled the church, challenged but did not fully abandon the religious mindset **[please provide an image and caption]**. In 1915, Malevich's famous black square hung in place of an icon in the “beautiful corner,” what Russians called

the icon corner, of the exhibition hall. In his 1913 cycle, “Me,” the futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky watches Christ jump out of the icon case and into the ugly, though vibrant, urban world:

I see, Christ escaped his icon,
crying, the slush kissed
the wind-blown hem of his tunic.⁴

The mystical revolutionary theology of Symbolist poet Aleksandr Blok emerges in his 1918 apocalyptic poem, “The Twelve.” Here, in the fragmented chaos of revolutionary Russian society, the thuggish revolutionary guards marching through the poem unwittingly become the apostles of a new divine order, led by a snowy Christ crowned with white roses:

bam bam bam!
ack ack ack!

They keep marching on and on
behind them comes that hungry dog
and up ahead
with a flag all blood
unseen in the storm
unafraid of the guns
stepping softly on snow
as if walking on waves
in a crown of white roses
ahead of the rest
walks Jesus Christ⁵

The present discussion treats Akhmatova and Pasternak in tandem because, as will be argued, it was their poetic rivalry that helped keep religious themes and, to a degree, the Orthodox high culture of the Russian Renaissance alive during the deadly 1920s and 1930s, when Orthodox institutions and believers were severely persecuted. Moreover, this rivalry worked creatively toward more than one rival diminishing the other. Poets make their distinctive voices heard, and they develop their own signature styles through creative and sometimes rivalrous dialogue with contemporary poets. This dialogue—hidden in the depths of their poems and invisible to most readers—might directly address the poetic rival, or mention obliquely a specific image strongly identified with that poet. The conversation between Akhmatova and Pasternak has been relatively little studied in the literary commentary, in contrast to more obvious, years-long creative dialogues between, for example, the two great Moscow poets, Pasternak and Marina Tsvetaeva, on one hand, or the two Petersburg poets, Akhmatova and Osip Mandelstam, on the other.

What is the gist of this poetic conversation between Akhmatova and Pasternak? Although Pasternak is supposed to have proposed to Akhmatova—even a number of times—their relationship was relatively distant.⁶ Each a

principal figure in one of Russia's two capital cities, Akhmatova and Pasternak became trusted allies who helped protect one another. They were co-survivors of a hellish time. Respected and admired poetic colleagues, neither was a genuine poetic soulmate of the other. At the end of their lives they became quite fierce competitors, vying for poetic laurels and poetic legacy. What is important about this relationship in the context of the Cunningham Lecture is that it had everything to do with the survival of Orthodox high culture under the Stalin regime.

A brief review of the two poets' biographies shows several parallels in the quite different trajectories of their careers. They were born within months of each other, Akhmatova in June 1889 and Pasternak in February 1890. Both were allegedly Orthodox Christians. Akhmatova was baptized in the Orthodox Church and, even after the revolution, was broadly acknowledged to be "the last and only poet of Orthodoxy."⁷ Even in the 1920s, when it was risky to do so, Akhmatova occasionally went to church. And when Stalin died in early March of 1953, Akhmatova made a personal pilgrimage in spring 1953 to Russia's holiest shrine at St. Sergei-Trinity Monastery.⁸

Pasternak's situation was more complicated. He was born into the family of one of Russia's leading prerevolutionary painters, Leonid Pasternak, and one of its most talented young pianists, Rosalia Kaufmann. Jewish, from the Pale of Settlement, they resisted the normal path of forced conversion to Orthodox Christianity as a condition for living in the capital cities.⁹ They kept their distance from all religion. Nevertheless, Pasternak claimed in a letter from 1959 that he was baptized early on by his nurse, though recent biographies on Pasternak have found no evidence to corroborate that claim.¹⁰ Though familiar with Scripture and the Orthodox liturgy, Pasternak certainly developed a strong interest in Christianity only later, after World War II.¹¹

Although the two poets occasionally converge in a style marked by a tendency to write in fresh, conversational language about everyday subjects, their poetic projects diverge in many points. The young Akhmatova came from the classical Russian and European traditions. In contrast, Pasternak started his career in close proximity to the poets of the avantgarde, who threw the classics "from the ship of modernity."¹² He was particularly taken with Mayakovsky, though he avoided the "in-your-face" irreverence of Mayakovsky.

In her early poetry, Akhmatova's themes are private life and love relationships. As the first Russian woman to develop the large following of a poetic celebrity, her lyrics make a distinctive woman's voice really audible to a wide audience. No longer merely the male poet's muse, Akhmatova's poetic persona of the beloved knows her own mind, speaks for herself, and responds with wit and passion to the male other. Pasternak focuses less directly on human relationships than on embracing and transfiguring the objects of everyday life. Ecstasy at the ordinary things of life illuminates Pasternak's verse. Weather, rain, sun, window frames, or a train schedule—each of these things can become an active, energetic being, enlivening both natural and built environments.

As mature poets, both Akhmatova and Pasternak would agree with a view of lyrical art as the creation of the "miraculous": the inspired

transformation of the ordinary things of this world through a singular voice and poetic persona that allows the reader or listener to perceive the everyday in a fresh way. The goal of poetry for both of them is to transform the quotidian and to see and let others see its daily miracles. Although from her earliest poetry on, Akhmatova's poetic idiom was imbued with references to Orthodox life, Pasternak would begin to immerse himself in the Christian tradition only at the end of the 1920s. Then, he would actively compete with Akhmatova for the status of the moral voice of his epoch, building his authority in part on an appropriation of crucial Christian themes absorbed from Akhmatova as well as other poets of the Russian Renaissance.

The use of biblical themes and archetypes by both poets would eventually contribute to their relegation by the state to the status of "inner exile," surviving through literary translation, though still writing poetry "for the drawer" (not for publication), and at great risk to their lives.¹³ In an effort to withstand tyranny and create literary monuments that would outlast the tyrants themselves, and despite political repression, both poets employed forbidden biblical archetypes in order to infuse their poetic voices with subtle but powerful authority. Akhmatova developed this strategy quite a bit earlier than Pasternak. Pasternak adopted it, partly in response to Akhmatova.

The typical interpretive argument about Pasternak's engagement with the Orthodox heritage and Scripture stresses the strong influence of another of the four great poets of this generation, Marina Tsvetaeva. Though after 1921 Tsvetaeva lived in exile in Europe, Pasternak carried on what can euphemistically be called a creatively passionate relationship with her in letters and poems throughout the mid-1920s. Tsvetaeva's cycle of three very sensuous poems devoted to Mary Magdalene, written in 1923, show a Christ resurrected through Magdalene's love. These poems made a deep and well-demonstrated impression on Pasternak.¹⁴

The goal of this essay is to show that the much longer-lived but more subtle creative rivalry between Pasternak and Akhmatova was vitally important for the development of Pasternak's art, as well as for sustaining the legacy of the Russian religious renaissance during Stalin's terror. Akhmatova's and Pasternak's poetic conversation converges in two of the poets' greatest works, both written in deepest secret, Akhmatova's cycle, *Requiem*, composed in the late 1930s, and Pasternak's Nobel-prize-winning novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, written in the late 1940s and early 1950s, another period of gathering persecution. This story proceeds in three episodes: 1) Akhmatova's bold poetic "opening the Bible" in the years of a young and virulently anti-religious Soviet society, and Pasternak's overt dismissal of this gesture; 2) Akhmatova's fearless witness to Stalin's terror, which Pasternak seemingly ignored; and finally 3) Akhmatova's late-life quarrel with one of Pasternak's most famous religious poems.¹⁵

Akhmatova reached full poetic maturity in the awful years of the Russian Civil War, especially at the end, when her estranged husband, the poet Nikolai Gumilev, was shot in August 1921 as a White counterrevolutionary. In one of her greatest books, *Anno Domini MCMXXI* (first published in 1922), Akhmatova adopted the role of the poetic chronicler

of her age. The title of this fifth volume of poetry bears a Latin calendar date with numbers written in Roman numerals, linked deliberately to the birth of Christ and acknowledging the dominant nomenclature of the Western calendar and Western history. One of its finest poems, "Prichitanie" (Lamentation), paraphrases lines from Psalm 29:2, "Bow down to the Lord/ In His Holy Court." Here, Akhmatova bids farewell to the objects of Russian religious culture, the icons and bells, as well as its figures, the holy fool, the bishops, and Russian saints. The only figure remaining will be the crucial Orthodox Christian archetype of the Mother of God:

The holy fool sleeps on the porch
A star looks down on him.
And, touched by an angel's wing,
The bell unloosed its tongue.
Not in a terrifying, alarm voice,
But bidding farewell forever.

In contrast to Mayakovsky's irreverent, aggressive Christ, Akhmatova describes the Russian saints emerging from their icon covers and returning to their village homes:

And they come out of the dwelling,
Giving up their ancient icon covers,
The miracle workers and the prelates,
Leaning on crutches.
Serafim—to the Sarov woods
To pasture the village herd,
Anna—to Kashin, not to rule,
To pull prickly flax.

The figure of the Mother of God offers a transition to Akhmatova's ensuing biblical poems that bring alive three Old Testament women characters:

The Mother of God sees them off,
Wraps her son in a scarf,
An old beggar's one
Dropped by the Lord's porch.¹⁶

In "Lamentation" we see that Akhmatova is already moving from her earlier conscribed role as "poet of the private chamber" into the public sphere.¹⁷ This milestone is best captured in "Lot's Wife," written in 1922–24, in which Akhmatova foregrounds the wife. Lot's wife is pictured following her husband and an angel away from Sodom, when she starts to feel anxious:

But uneasiness shadowed his wife and spoke to her:
"It's not too late, you can look back still
At the red towers of Sodom, the place that bore you,

The square in which you sang, the spinning-shed,
 At the empty windows of that upper story
 Where children blessed your happy marriage-bed.”

The poet then speaks up for this minor, almost non-existent, Old Testament figure:

Who mourns one woman in a holocaust?
 Surely her death has no significance?
 Yet in my heart she never will be lost,
 She who gave up her life to steal one glance.¹⁸

“Lot’s Wife” is often read as an allegory for Akhmatova’s sorrow at the loss of her vanished world of St. Petersburg, in which, as she would put it in *Requiem*, she was the “merry sinner.” More importantly, Akhmatova infuses the single famous line from Genesis 19:26 (“But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt”) with the pain of losing a beloved and happy home. The poem’s real strength comes from Akhmatova’s complex reading of the lesson of Luke 17:32-33, which derives from the story of Lot’s wife: “Remember Lot’s wife. Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it.” As a poet sympathetic to the suffering of Lot’s wife, Akhmatova is at once saving and losing her own life. On one hand, she refuses to “save” herself by leaving Russia—in contrast to Lot and his wife, who did leave Sodom—to live a more secure life abroad. On the other, she mourns the loss of her cultural home in prerevolutionary St. Petersburg and preserves it in memory in a poem that is now a classic of Russian poetry. It is worth pointing out parenthetically that after 1917 and until the 1950s, Akhmatova had no actual home of her own but camped out with various friends, spouses, and lovers.¹⁹ **In thereby “losing” her life, Akhmatova preserved it in the annals of poetry. [we altered this slightly—“thus” didn’t quite work—please advise]**

To convey the impression these poems made on the people who heard them at a time when Scripture was forced inexorably into oblivion, we recall the words of the memoirist and friend to both Akhmatova and Pasternak, Lidiya Chukovskaya. The Bible, she wrote in her memoirs, was “dead to me—but Akhmatova’s ‘Biblical Verses’: ‘Lot’s Wife’...resurrect the Bible [*Bibliiu voskreshaiut*].”²⁰ In contrast, in 1924, when the poems appeared, the not very approving Formalist critic, Iurii Tynianov, wrote that in these poems, “the Bible, which used to lie on her table, an accessory to the room, has become the source of her imagery.”²¹ In his view, Akhmatova’s poetry thereby became tendentious and flat.

Publishing these poems was a bold move on Akhmatova’s part, a gesture of non-acceptance made to a regime that increasingly demanded unerring fealty. It was partly this open animation of biblical figures that made Akhmatova suspect in the eyes of the Bolshevik authorities, an act for which she would be condemned to public silence for nearly two decades. After a 1924 resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party not to

arrest Akhmatova but also not to publish her, Akhmatova “threw herself into reading, or to be more exact, into the study of the Bible, the ancients, Dante, Shakespeare, French and English poets of the 19th century, and contemporary European and American literature.”²² Out of this long silence and serious study would come an altered Akhmatova, no longer the “nun who crosses herself as she kisses her beloved,” but the moral voice of her people and witness to the horrors of her time.²³ Hers became “people’s poetry” without ever becoming officially accepted, and certainly had much greater truth value because it was never officially accepted.²⁴

Pasternak’s journey to the status of national poet passed by another route—first embracing the revolution, until he began to reflect on the misfortune sown by the new regime. He shot to fame in 1922 with the appearance of his first book of poems, *My Sister Life*. Iurii Tynianov, who had disliked Akhmatova’s biblical poems, hailed Pasternak for giving Russians a new “literary thing”; in these poems, Tynianov wrote, a “downpour starts to be verse” and the “thing comes alive.”²⁵ Although Pasternak’s would later become a powerful dissenting voice, in part through engaging the perspective offered by the modern Orthodoxy of the Russian religious renaissance and the new biblical themes of Tsvetaeva and Akhmatova, his was a voice of ecstasy, celebrating the chaotic forces of life.

The memoirist Nadezhda Mandelshtam saw Pasternak’s poetry as a “type of revelation” filled with the “great joy of recognition” (*velikaia radost’ uznvaniia*).²⁶ Later in life, Pasternak would characterize poetry as a form of miracle working. As he wrote in the *Doctor Zhivago* poem, “August” (1953), poetry “captured in words, the image of things,” an act that was “both making and miracle-making.”²⁷ Pasternak’s “miracle” vocabulary intersects with Akhmatova’s, who, in her poem “Disaster” (“Vse raskhishcheno, predano, prodano,” 1921), and well before, sought miracles and celebrated miracle workers.

There is no textual or biographical evidence that Orthodox culture, or indeed any religious culture, was important to Pasternak before 1929. *My Sister Life*, written well before the biblical poems of Tsvetaeva and Akhmatova, uses at most a few peripheral religious images, for “the schedule of train you scan in transit/ seems grander than the Holy Script,” or “the storm burned the lilac like a priest,” or “The steppe’s as pure as before the Fall:/ wrapped in the universe like a parachute,/ like an apparition, rising.”²⁸ Only in 1929 did Pasternak show any deeper interest in sacred text, in a poem titled “To Anna Akhmatova.” At the end of the poem he both cites and resists Akhmatova’s identity with Lot’s wife:

I see your form and gaze
 Instilled in me less through the pillar of salt,
 With which five years ago you nailed
 To a rhythm the fright at looking back,

But coming from your early books
 Where bits of intent prose grew strong,

Everywhere like the conductor of a spark,
It compels events to pulse with truth.²⁹

In this poem, Pasternak does not agree with Akhmatova as fitting the figure of Lot's wife, who turns to salt, looking back nostalgically at her beloved home. He rather makes Akhmatova a bit like himself, a poet of the everyday prose of life, transformed and enlivened. To this poem, which she did not like but gave permission to publish, Akhmatova responded with a photo of herself with the inscription: "To Boris Pasternak, a miraculous poet and the most alive person in the USSR. Anna Akhmatova."³⁰ It is worth pointing out here that Akhmatova in this inscription also creates Pasternak somewhat in her own image. Words connected with "miracle," for example, "miraculous" or "miracle worker," are much more part of the vocabulary of her early work than that of the early Pasternak.³¹

Further corroboration of the year 1929 as the year of Pasternak's "opening the Bible" and of Tsvetaeva and Akhmatova as two probable sources comes in his early poetic-philosophical autobiography, *Safe Passage*, also written in 1929. For the first time, he accorded a measure of truth value to the Bible: "I understood...that the Bible is less a book with a fixed text than the notebook of humanity, and like everything everlasting, it is vital not if it is forced but when it embraces similar experiences."³² For the first time, Scripture gains inner meaning and significance in Pasternak's writing. Though he claims this insight came to him in 1912 as a student visiting Venice and its collections of religious art, we must ask whether this thought did not really come to him much later and more forcefully, in the early 1920s through Tsvetaeva's Magdalene cycle and Akhmatova's biblical verse. The evidence would be in Pasternak's poetry and its response, not to Venetian art, but to the two poets and their archetypes, Tsvetaeva's Magdalene as lover offering salvific love and Akhmatova's Lot's wife and Mary Mother of God.

These somewhat modest literary interactions mark the first groundbreaking of Akhmatova's and Pasternak's creative rivalry. In the next stage the stakes will be much higher, as the poets assert themselves as the witnesses of a horrific age and the voices of a wronged people. It would be in the deeply hidden literary underground of the 1930s that the courageous Akhmatova again invoked absolutely forbidden Scripture on the occasion of her son's arrest in 1935 and the onset of Stalin's sustained persecutions of the Great Terror. In these years, a poem was written once on paper, memorized by trusted people and archived in memory. The paper was then burned and the poem written down again much later, when it was safe to do so.

In her cycle, *Requiem* (1935–40), Akhmatova bears witness to the evisceration of her beloved city, Leningrad, the terrible suffering of its best people, and the time when "innocent Russia writhed/ Under bloody boots/ And under the tires of the Black Marias."³³ Religious imagery creates deep historical and mythical resonance, as Akhmatova immortalizes the relationship between mother and son. The cycle invokes various cultural scenarios, but none more than Russian Orthodox spirituality. The first of the ten central poems, "They led you away at dawn," speaks of Akhmatova's son kissing the

icon as he leaves: "On your lips was the icon's chill."³⁴ By the fourth poem, we learn that the prison, to which she and thousands of other women go in hope of hearing news and delivering packages, is called "Kresty" (Crosses), already setting the stage for a crucifixion story (even though, happily, her son did live and was eventually released). In the sixth poem she speaks of the Leningrad white nights, discussing her son's awaited death and a "lofty cross," obviously elevating him to the position of a Christ figure.

The tenth and final poem of the main body of *Requiem*, "Crucifixion," is the climax of the cycle. Here, Akhmatova's voice expresses a woman, a mother, who has no power but to weep, witness, and remember. The title, "Crucifixion," speaks to Christ's death, but is really more about the experience of Mary, the Mother of God. As Akhmatova pictures Christ before the Crucifixion, in him divine nature is about to be revealed: "A choir of angels sang the praises of that momentous hour./ And the heavens dissolved in fire."³⁵ To his Father, Christ cries, "Why hast Thou forsaken me!" (Matt 27:46), while to his mother, in Akhmatova's significant distortion of Scripture, he says, "Oh, do not weep for Me..." (Luke 23:28). One suggests a challenge to a greater (paternal) power, while the other suggests possibly bravery in the face of (maternal) lamenting love. The actual citation comes from the passage in Luke 23:28, in which, having been sentenced to death, Jesus exhorts a group of lamenting women to weep not for him but for themselves and their world gone wrong. Although the biblical passage is not about Mary, Akhmatova makes it so, while also implying that this world, the world of Stalin's making, is a Russia gone terribly wrong.

The second poem of "Crucifixion" focuses on three people close to Jesus—one is Magdalene, who "beat her breast and sobbed," acting out her passion; the second is the disciple; and, in Akhmatova's rendition, the third is the Mother of God, who stands alone: "where the silent Mother stood, there/ No one glanced and no one would have dared."³⁶ Again, Akhmatova significantly distorts Scripture in order to enhance the figure of Mary. In John 19:27, Jesus exhorts his disciple to view his (Jesus's) mother as if Mary were the disciple's own mother. The disciple takes Mary into his house henceforth. But Akhmatova empowers the Mother of God by setting her apart and alone, seemingly unloved and ignored. Her mourning is unbearable for other people to countenance, but thereby all the more unforgettable.³⁷ Unavoidably, in the associative, coded language of poetry, Akhmatova's Mother of God is clearly vying with Tsvetaeva's Magdalene of 1923, who resonates in the demonstrably dramatic figure of Akhmatova's Magdalene.

In the final poem of the cycle's epilogue, Akhmatova solidifies her own affinity for the Mother of God through a particularly Russian image of Mary as protector of all believers who covers them with her mantle. With this image she also reenforces herself as a national poet, whose voice will protect people who no longer have a voice or a self:

I have woven a wide mantle for them
From their meager, overheard words.

I will remember them always and everywhere
I will never forget them no matter what comes.³⁸

Requiem is indeed meant to be a mantle of words to preserve the memory of the Great Terror, a mantle which in turn can protect Russians from ever suffering this awful fate again.

In this final poem, Akhmatova rises above the poetic rivalry with Tsvetaeva, placing the *Requiem* cycle in an ancient tradition of monument poems that dates back to Horace, and in Russia starts in the eighteenth century and moves forward through Pushkin. Here, too, Akhmatova establishes herself as the moral voice of her nation, by suggesting that the monument be placed by the door of Kresty Prison, or in the logic of myth, by the “Cross,” to honor Russia’s mothers in their effort to withstand the injustice of the Stalinist state:

if ever in this country
They decide to erect a monument to me,

I consent to that honor
Under these conditions—that it not stand

Near the sea where I was born . . .

But here, where I stood for three hundred hours
Where they never unbolted the doors for me.³⁹

Akhmatova dramatizes the image of the sorrowing mother:

And may the melting snow stream like tears
From my motionless lids of bronze,

And a prison dove coos in the distance,
And the ships of the Neva sail calmly on.⁴⁰

The weeping mother in the end is the final judge of the terror and the wasted existence of the Stalin years.

Requiem intensified the rivalry between Akhmatova and Pasternak. In 1939, Akhmatova read to Pasternak some of the poems from *Requiem*, to which Pasternak allegedly responded, “Now even dying wouldn’t be terrifying.”⁴¹ As a rule, Pasternak was known for not paying much attention to other people’s poetry, and Akhmatova was often irritated that he seemed so ignorant of her work.⁴² In fact, such turns out not to have been the case. Pasternak paid her the highest compliment, again in the secret code of poetic language, competing with her in what he considered to be his most serious work, *Doctor Zhivago*.

Pasternak started working in earnest on his novel in 1946, the year after World War II ended. The significance of the novel for its author is the topic of a letter of 13 October 1946:

This is my first real work. In it I want to give an historical image of Russia of the last 45 years....this thing will be an expression of my views on art, the Gospel, a person's life in history and many other things....The atmosphere of the thing is my Christianity, in its breadth a bit different from Quakers or Tolstoyanism, coming from aspects of the Gospel other than its moral ones.⁴³

What he meant by the "other than moral" aspects of the Gospel was its life-affirming aspects, its passion, and its faith in resurrection.

For first time in his career, Pasternak is realizing the concept of the Bible theorized in his 1929 autobiography as the "notebook of humanity," the living, ever-relevant rethinking and re-adaptation of sacred text. In *Doctor Zhivago*, for the first time, he draws on biblical archetypes that resonate with historical, philosophical, and mythical layers of meaning.

Doctor Zhivago has been called a "montage" of biblical and liturgical texts both visual and verbal, including the name of Zhivago, from Luke 24:5, which means "of the living."⁴⁴ There are a great many links to Orthodox ritual, starting with the structuring of time in the novel through the Orthodox calendar, and ending with long discussions of Orthodox belief in transfiguration through imitating the life of Christ and through human participation in transfiguration of the world to a divine condition, known as Apokatastasis.⁴⁵ The main point, however, is that this unique lyrical-philosophical novel narrates the poet's creative process, resulting in an unparalleled cycle of poems that make up the work's final chapter and which end with nine of the finest religious poems in Russian literary history.

Pasternak's image of Christ emerges in the novel's and Yury Zhivago's own philosophical meditations about history and the historical development of the idea of personhood which harken back to the Orthodox philosophies that emerged during the Russian Renaissance of the prerevolutionary decades.⁴⁶ The figure of Christ particularly emphasizes the idea of resurrection. As he recovers from typhus in the winter of 1918, Yury starts to compose a poem in his head, in which he hears a voice of new life urging him "to wake up." This line is linked in Yury's consciousness with both "hell, dissolution, corruption," on one hand, and "the spring and Mary Magdalene and life," on the other, much as Mary Magdalene was in Tsvetaeva's poems.⁴⁷

The image of Magdalene emerges peripherally, as in Yury's sick deliriums, only later to become the powerful center of Pasternak's idea of resurrection. Much later, the heroine, Lara Guichard, herself a Magdalene figure, adopts a philosophical view of Magdalene as the embodiment of female personhood, becoming morally conscious through moral failure and self-overcoming.

Many critics have discussed the central figures of Christ and Magdalene as they develop in *Doctor Zhivago*. Seemingly missing in the critical commentary are the archetypes associated with Akhmatova. Although

the wife (of Lot) and mother (Theotokos), so important to Akhmatova's poetic identity, would seem to have been ignored here, as is often the case in the world of artistic creativity, a kind of acknowledgment of this rival appears where it is least expected, in the byways and side pages of *Doctor Zhivago*. We know from Pasternak's 1929 poem to Akhmatova that, even in resisting this image, he associated her with Lot's wife. In his novel Pasternak does secretly nod to Akhmatova, while openly ignoring her. The same figure of Lot's wife is mentioned on the pages dealing with the strange, magical days in the summer of 1917, on the western periphery of the Russian Empire when World War I dissolves and revolution breaks out "like a sigh suppressed too long."⁴⁸ During these summer days, Yury Zhivago attends public meetings where everyone has a voice, and all sorts of things, even the most outlandish opinions are aired. One speaker heralds ordinary people speaking their minds as the modern-day equivalent of the story of Balaam's ass, who has seen an angel in the roadway and refuses to move forward. Having incurred the abusive wrath of her owner, the donkey challenges him, asking him why he is beating her (Numbers 22:22-34). The speaker argues that nothing good will come from not listening to these new voices and claims that Balaam's master ended badly by being "turned into a pillar of salt."⁴⁹ Clearly the speaker, a woman, is confusing the story of Balaam's ass with the story of Lot's wife. She is laughed off the podium, just as Pasternak is doing symbolically to Akhmatova. In poetic code, Pasternak is making a signal reference to Akhmatova and, in a sense, putting her in a position of irrelevance, just as he adopts the very position she was also claiming, as the poetic witness to Russia's horrific history. At the same time, he is also ironically making fun of the poetic strategy of finding biblical analogies for Russia's revolutionary events, something he himself will do often as the novel progresses.

Textual evidence suggests that *Doctor Zhivago* might well be viewed as a response to Akhmatova's treatment of the Theotokos, the Mother of God. Although it is certainly not by chance that Yury's mother's name is Maria, mothers in *Doctor Zhivago* are diametrically the opposite to Akhmatova's images. The mother theme receives highly fraught treatment in Pasternak's novel, where mothers are often not devoted to their children, or, if they are, they quickly become background characters. Mothers die or disappear or abandon their children in this novel. The novel starts with the funeral of Yury's natural mother, Maria Nikolaevna Zhivago, whom Yury remembers adoringly and prayerfully, even though she often abandoned him as she took cures in Europe for her failing health. Another mother figure is his adoptive mother, Anna Krueger-Gromeko, who dies early on.

Zhivago himself has difficulty in dealing with his first wife Tonia as a mother, seeing her as an object rather than a human being. He imagines her after giving birth as a mythical "barque that crossed the sea of death to the continent of life with a cargo of new souls," lying at mooring with "strained rigging and planking."⁵⁰ Yury's second wife Lara has one daughter with her first husband Pasha, and another with Yury whom she abandons in the thickets of the Civil War. Yury has a third wife, Marina, with whom he has two children, all of whom he ignores and who fall into the background. Finally,

the Mary of the Zhivago poem, "The Star of the Nativity," is not the stern, stoic mother enduring her son's crucifixion, around whom Akhmatova builds "Requiem," but the young virginal Mary of the birth.

Much more powerful than the mother figure is the Magdalene theme of the lover and fallen woman, surrounding Lara's adolescent years and reflected in discourses about Magdalene and in the two Zhivago poems devoted to Magdalene. Indeed, Lara, who is described as a *zastupnitsa* (intercessor) in the Yuriatin part of the novel, combines both Magdalene and Mary Theotokos in her capacious life experience and generous character.⁵¹

Despite an implicit resistance to the images that form Akhmatova's fundamental poetic identity, Pasternak shows that Akhmatova was very much on his mind in the final poem of *Doctor Zhivago*, "The Garden of Gethsemane." Attached to a handwritten copy of the final poem, written in 1950, in which the poet announces himself as the judge of his age, was a dedication to none other than "Anna Andreevna [Akhmatova] [sic]."⁵² Not only does this dedication show that Akhmatova was on Pasternak's mind, but when we examine the text of this final poem of *Doctor Zhivago*, we also confirm that it responds specifically though obliquely to the final monument poem of *Requiem*, in which Akhmatova creates a monument to herself and all the mothers who bore witness to the horrors of the Stalinist tyranny. Pasternak is competing precisely with Akhmatova, even as he is leaving his own mark as the witness and judge of his age.

The proof can be found in the parallel ship and river images at the end of each poem. Akhmatova's epilogue ends with:

And may the melting snow stream like tears
From my motionless lids of bronze,

And a prison dove coos in the distance,
And the ships of the Neva sail calmly on.

In the final lines of "Garden of Gethsemane," Pasternak raises the stakes, answering Akhmatova's Mary by speaking as the Orthodox Christ Pantocrator:

I will descend into the grave, and in three days arise.
And, like the rafts that float along the river,
Like barges in a convoy, coming for my judgment,
The centuries will sail out to me from the darkness.⁵³

The ships on the river that form an ironically peaceful background to Akhmatova's memorial to maternal suffering, now become a crucial image of human history, filled with evil deeds, part of the drama of final judgment. Pasternak has erected his Christ Pantocrator, the Ruler and Judge of All, in clear juxtaposition to Akhmatova's Mother of God and the bronze memorial, who stand resolutely by the site of death (the overlapping sites of the biblical Crucifixion at Stalin's "Crosses" Prison) and never allow us to forget. One rather grandiosely claims authority as the divine Orthodox judge, **while the**

other is merely human, the people's intercessor and protector, who judges [we altered this for clarity] effectively by always keeping alive the memory of injustice, so that people should never have to suffer that murderous fate again.

The final act of the Akhmatova-Pasternak drama played out in the 1950s, when Pasternak had finished his novel, and Akhmatova criticized it for what she saw as an inappropriately self-absorbed image of the public poet. Akhmatova found Pasternak the man, as well as his image of Christ in *Doctor Zhivago*, overly self-centered. She corrected him both in person and through her poetry, in a poem from 1959, entitled "The Reader." Nonetheless, she would find authentic spirituality in other, much more private Pasternak poetry.

After World War II, Akhmatova was endlessly annoyed by Pasternak's disregard for her poetry and gradually became a stern critic of her erstwhile ally. Although by 1956 there was "no continued friendship" between these two monumental poets, **Akhmatova and Pasternak had always trusted each other with their poetry [could you restructure this sentence to incorporate the clarification you provided, i.e., that each trusted the other to not betray them to the police?]**.⁵⁴ Pasternak read the beginning of *Doctor Zhivago* to Akhmatova in 1947. By late 1957, when it was completely finished, Akhmatova had read *Doctor Zhivago* to the end. Irritated by the novel, according to Chukovskaia, she found "completely unprofessional pages," which she sarcastically attributed to Pasternak's late-life lover, Olga Ivinskaia. She reportedly was tempted to "grab a pencil and cross out page after page."⁵⁵ Ignoring the novel's religious-philosophical discourse, she claimed somewhat disingenuously, in my view, that the best passages "in this novel are landscapes . . . I responsibly affirm, there is nothing like them in Russian literature. Not in Turgenev, not in Tolstoi, nowhere. They are ingenious."⁵⁶

Indeed, Pasternak's ubiquitous references to the Gospel in *Doctor Zhivago* and his poetic identification with the Christ figure in the *Doctor Zhivago* poetry appear to have been a major source of irritation to Akhmatova. In a 1947 poem, "To B. Pasternak," written just as Pasternak was starting to share pieces of the novel, she renewed the biblical theme informing their rivalry, relating Moscow at this time after the renewed postwar attacks on literature in 1946 to Gethsemane and the moments before the Crucifixion. Akhmatova talks about the world falling deaf and quiet, following the treachery and anticipating impending death:

So that's it, the final [autumn]! And the frenzy
Falls silent. As if the world had gone deaf.
The powerful old age of the Gospel
And that bitter final breath of Gethsemane.⁵⁷

This poem raises the theme of Gethsemane that would be central to the first of the *Zhivago* poems and one of Pasternak's signature poems, "Hamlet," written in 1949.

Toward the end of the 1950s, Akhmatova wrote a poetic response to "Hamlet," titled "Chitatel'" ("The Reader," 1959). Increasingly, she felt that as one of the leading poets of Russia, Pasternak was too focused on himself. In April 1959, she commented to Chukovskaia that "[Pasternak] is a wonderful person and a divine poet. But the same thing that happened to Gogol, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky happened to him: toward the end of his life he put himself *above* art."⁵⁸ At an infamous dinner in Peredelkino on 21 August 1959, the last time the two poets met, Pasternak refused to sit next to Akhmatova and made fun of her when she recited her new poems.⁵⁹ Akhmatova, in turn, struck back by declaiming "The Reader." "Hamlet" conveys the poet as actor playing Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, in a way that also links the Christ story to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (which Pasternak had been translating):

Night and its murk transfix and pin me,
Staring through thousands of binoculars.
If Thou be willing, Abba, Father,
Remove this cup from me.⁶⁰

In her poem, Akhmatova depicts Pasternak as a self-centered poet who is decidedly not a Christ figure.⁶¹

He should not be very unhappy
And, least of all, secretive. No!
To be clear to contemporary readers
The poet is all wide open.

The footlights stick out underneath him,
All is deathly, and empty, and bright,
The merciless flame of the limelight
Has printed a brand on his brow.

But readers are each like a secret,
A treasure concealed in the earth,
Even the last, fortuitous browser,
Who's been silent throughout his whole life.⁶²

Here, Akhmatova reproaches Pasternak's foregrounding of himself in his poem, "Hamlet," rather than the reader and the subject matter. For her, writing poetry is much less a performance on the part of the poet than it is a gesture of reaching out for contact with another person. A poem is, indeed, a form of dialogue.

Despite the tense and bitter final meeting, Akhmatova was quick to remember another poem, in which, in her view, Pasternak was both at his height as a poet and achieved authentic treatment of the divine. She found in "V bol'nitse" ("In the Hospital," 1957) a truly inward, genuine I-Thou

conversation with God in the moments before the poet's death. The poem ends with this prayer:

“O Lord, how perfect are your deeds,”
Thought the sick man,
“The beds, and people, and walls,
The night of death and the city at night.

“I took a sleeping pill
And I weep, wringing my handkerchief.
O God, anxious tears
Keep me from seeing you.

“The dull light is sweet,
Barely falling on the bed,
Knowing myself and my lot,
Your priceless gift.

“Dying in a hospital bed,
I feel the warmth of your hands.
You hold me, like the work of your hands,
And hide me like a ring in its case.”⁶³

This poem is suffused with a vivifying sense of gratitude. Interestingly, when Pasternak, the poet who wanted to believe so strongly in resurrection, thought that he was on his death bed in 1957, the themes of resurrection and new life that suffuse *Doctor Zhivago* are no longer part of the discourse. Rather, he is glad of his life, fearful of death, and yet able to feel at peace at the end of his life.

In conclusion, what was the miracle in the rubble of the Russian Revolution that Akhmatova and Pasternak helped create? And was it despite or because of their biblically based poetic quarrel? To start with, in the very way that they used language and composed their art, they brought dead objects, images, and stories back to life—in short, they made miracles. “Pasternak, like Akhmatova,” as Chukovskaia put it somewhat crudely, “makes miracles out of garbage.”⁶⁴ And Akhmatova's and Pasternak's art helped assure the survival of the rich religious and philosophical renaissance of an earlier age, which accorded each person both personal voice and moral choice. Through their courage, and perhaps even because of their rivalry and their sometime subtle and sometimes completely unsubtle criticisms of each other's biblical interventions, both poets kept alive the Orthodox tradition and the Bible as “the notebook of humanity.” And that is indeed a miracle.

NOTES

1. For background, see Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Visions and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 101-23; and Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891–1924* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996), 745-51.
2. Major contributions to this topic include Jutta Scherrer, *Die Petersburger religiös-philosophischen Vereinigungen: Die Entwicklung des religiösen Selbstverständnisses ihrer Intelligencija-Mitglieder (1901–1917)* (Berlin-Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1973); Kristiane Burchardi, *Die Moskauer "Religiös-philosophische Vladimir-Solov'ev Gesellschaft" (1905–1918)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998); and J. D. Kornblatt and R. F. Gustafson, eds., *Russian Religious Thought* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).
3. The best English-language treatment of Solovyov's concept of Sophia is Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, *Divine Sophia: The Wisdom Writings of Vladimir Solovyov* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).
4. V. Maiakovskii, *Sochineniia v 3-kh tomakh* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1970), 1:59 (my translation).
5. Aleksandr Blok, "Twelve," *The Stray Dog Café*, trans. Paul Schmidt, ed. Catherine Ciepiela (New York: New York Review of Books, 2007), 53.
6. Anatoly Naiman, "A Guest upon the Earth," trans. I. C. Katz, in *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova* (Somerville, Mass.: Zephyr, 1990), 33.
7. Kornei Chukovskii (1921), "Akhmatova i Maiakovskii" (1921), *Anna Akhmatova: Pro et Contra* (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Russkogo Khristianskogo gumanitarnogo instituta, 2001), 1:210; first discussed in English in Amanda Haight, *Anna Akhmatova: A Poetic Pilgrimage* (New York: Oxford, 1976), 69.
8. Lidia Chukovskaia, *The Akhmatova Journals: Vol. 1, 1938–1941* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2002), 16-17.
9. Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 5.
10. *Ibid.*, 19.
11. Lazar Fleishman, "Boris Pasternak," in *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs*, ed. B. Gasparov et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 3:288-300.
12. "A Slap in the Face of Public Taste," *Russian Futurism through Its Manifestoes, 1912–1928*, ed. A. Lawton (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell, 1988), 51.
13. Nadezhda Mandel'shtam, *Ob Akhmatovoi* (Moscow: Novoe izdatel'stvo, 2007), 209.
14. See, for example, Liza Knapp, "Tsvetaeva's Marine Mary Magdalene," *Slavic and East European Journal* 43, no. 4 (winter 1999): 597-620; and Catherine A. Ciepiela, *The Same Solitude: Boris Pasternak and Marina Tsvetaeva* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell, 2006), 244-45.
15. For a good overview of the personal aspects of the Akhmatova-Pasternak relationship, see Natal'ia Ivanova, "Intersecting Parallel Lines: Boris Pasternak and Anna Akhmatova," *Russian Studies in Literature: A Journal of Translations* 39, no. 1 (winter 2002–2003): 7-32. Ivanova does not deal with poetic and religious themes.

16. Anna Akhmatova, *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 2 vols., bilingual ed., trans. J. Hemschemeyer (Somerville, Mass.: Zephyr, 1990), 1:570-72: I have translated this poem,

Господеви поклонитесь
 Во Святем Дворе Его.
 Спит юродивый на паперти,
 На него глядит звезда.
 И, крылом задетый ангельским,
 Колокол заговорил
 Не набатным, грозным голосом,
 А прощаясь навсегда.
 И выходят из обители,
 Ризы древние отдав,
 Чудотворцы и святители,
 Опираясь на клюки.
 Серафим - в леса Саровские
 Стадо сельское пасти,
 Анна - в Кашин, уж не княжити,
 Лен колючий теребить.
 Провожает Богородица,
 Сына кутает в платок,
 Старой нищенкой оброненный
 У Господнего крыльца.

17. Naiman, "A Guest," 19.

18. Anna Akhmatova, *Selected Poems*, trans. D. M. Thomas (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1985), 55-56.

...
 Но громко жене говорила тревога:
 Не поздно, ты можешь еще посмотреть

 На красные башни родного Содома,
 На площадь, где пела, на двор, где пряла,
 На окна пустые высокого дома,
 Где милому мужу детей родила.

.....

Кто женщину эту оплакивать будет?
 Не меньшей ли мнится она из утрат?
 Лишь сердце мое никогда не забудет
 Отдавшую жизнь за единственный взгляд.

19. See Ivanova, "Intersecting Parallel Lines." Ivanova compares Akhmatova and Nabokov, two homeless Russian writers.

20. Lidia Chukovskaia, *Zapiski ob Anne Akhmatovoi*, vol. 2, 1952-62 (Paris: YMCA Press, 1980), 391.

21. Iurii Tynianov, "Promezhutok" (1924), *Poetika: Istoriia literatury: Kino* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), 175.
22. Naiman, "A Guest," 17.
23. Roberta Reeder, *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, introduction, 7.
24. Naiman, "A Guest," 19.
25. Tynianov, *Poetika*, 183.
26. Mandel'shtam, *Ob Akhmatovoi*, 201.
27. Pasternak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 5-i tomakh* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989-1992), 3:526 (henceforth SS5). The original reads: "obraz mira, v slove iavlennyi./ i tvorchestvo, i chudotvorchestvo" (my translation).
28. Boris Pasternak, *My Sister—Life*, trans. M. Rudman with B. Boychuk (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2001), 12, 45, 62.
29. Pasternak, SS5, 1:228 (my translation):

Таким я вижу облик ваш и взгляд.
Он мне внушен не тем столбом из соли,
Которым вы пять лет тому назад
Испуг оглядки к рифме прикололи,

Но, исходяв от ваших первых книг,
Где крепи прозы пристальной крупницы,
Он и во всех, как искры проводник,
Событья былью заставляет биться.

30. V. A. Chernykh, *Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva Anny Akhmatovy, 1889–1966* (Moscow: Indrik, 2008), 259.
31. A vocabulary survey of Pasternak's and Akhmatova's early work up to 1922 shows Akhmatova using words with the root "chud-" (marvel) thirteen times to Pasternak's one time.
32. Pasternak, SS5, 4:208.
33. Akhmatova, *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 2:99.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 2:109:

Хор ангелов великий час восславил,
И небеса расплавились в огне.

36. Ibid., 2:110.
37. Amanda Haight's comment about this Mary is apt: "There is nothing gentle or comforting about this Mary. She is the other half of Christ: the woman who bore Him and who understands that the Crucifixion is the greatest moment in history" (Haight, *Anna Akhmatova*, 100). Akhmatova is "looking at the world through her [Mary's] eyes" (ibid.).
38. Akhmatova, *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova*, 2:113:

Для них соткала я широкий покров

Из бедных, у них же подслушанных слов.

О них вспоминаю всегда и везде,
О них не забуду и в новой беде

39. Ibid., 2:113:

А если когда-нибудь в этой стране
Воздвигнуть задумают памятник мне,

Согласье на это даю торжество,
Но только с условием—не ставить его

Ни около моря, где я родилась . . .

А здесь, где стояла я триста часов
И где для меня не открыли засов.

40. Ibid., 2:113, 115:

И пусть с неподвижных и бронзовых век
Как слезы, струится подтаявший снег,

И голубь тюремный пусть гулит вдали,
И тихо идут по Неве корабли.

41. Lydia Chukovskaia, *The Akhmatova Journals: Vol. 1, 1938–1941* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2002), 45.

42. Mandel'shtam, *Ob Akhmatovoi*, 197.

43. Pasternak, SS5, 3:655.

44. Justin Boertnes, "Khristianskaia tema v romane Pasternaka 'Doktor Zhivago,'" in *Evangel'skii tekst v russkoi literature 18-20 vekov: Tsitata, reministsentsiia, motiv, siuzhet, zhanr*, ed. V. N. Zakharov (Petrozavodsk: Izd-vo Petrozavodskogo un-ta, 1994), 368.

45. Ibid., 367.

46. See Jerome Spencer, " 'Soaked in The Meaning of Love and The Kreutzer Sonata': The Nature of Love in *Doctor Zhivago*," in *Doctor Zhivago: A Critical Companion* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1995), 76-88.

47. *Doctor Zhivago*, 206.

48. Pasternak, SS5, 3:145.

49. Ibid., 3:142.

50. Ibid., 3:106.

51. See Edith Clowes, "Characterization in *Doktor Zhivago*: Lara and Tonia," *Slavic and East European Journal* (fall 1990): 322-31.

52. Pasternak, SS5, 3:732. A handwritten copy with the dedication was given to Akhmatova's good friend, N. A. Ol'shevskaiia.

53. Ibid., 3:540:

Я в гроб сойду и в третий день восстану,
И, как сплавливают по реке плоты,
Ко мне на суд, как баржи каравана,
Столетия поплывут из темноты.

54. Chukovskaia, *Zapiski ob Anne Akhmatovoi*, 168-69.

55. Ibid., 213.

56. Ibid.

57. See <http://ahmatova.niv.ru/ahmatova/stihi/beg-vremeni-7.htm> (accessed 26 June 2010; my translation):

Так вот она, последняя! И ярость
Стихает. Все равно что мир оглох.
Могучая евангельская старость
И тот горчайший гефсиманский вздох.
1947. Фонтанный Дом

58. Chukovskaia, *Zapiski ob Anne Akhmatovoi*, 283.

59. Chernykh, *Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva Anny Akhmatovy*, 583.

60. Pasternak, SS5, 3:511:

На меня наставлен сумрак ночи
Тысячью биноклей на оси.
Если только можно, Авва Отче,
Чашу эту мимо пронеси.

61. Susan Amert, *In a Shattered Mirror: The Later Poetry of Anna Akhmatova* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 21-29. Although Amert views these verses as lacking irony, **it is clear that [we rewrote to eliminate first person]** they are full of irony and criticism of Pasternak's staginess.

62. Anatoly Naiman, *Remembering Anna Akhmatova*, intro. J. Brodsky, trans. W. Rosslyn (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), 53. This translation is by Wendy Rosslyn, 1991, with some of my modifications:

Не должен быть очень несчастным
И, главное, скрытым. О нет! -
Чтобы быть современнику ясным,
Весь настежь распахнут поэт.

И рампа торчит под ногами,
Все мертвенно, пусто, светло,
Лайм-лайта холодное пламя
Его заклеимило чело.

А каждый читатель как тайна,
Как в землю закопанный клад,
Пусть самый последний, случайный,
Всю жизнь промолчавший подряд.
23 июля 1959, Комарово

63. Pasternak, SS5, 2:103 (my translation):

«О господи, как совершенны
Дела твои,— думал больной,—
Постели, и люди, и стены,
Ночь смерти и город ночной.

Я принял снотворного дозу
И плачу, платок теребя.
О боже, волнения слезы
Мешают мне видеть тебя.

Мне сладко при свете неярком,
Чуть падающем на кровать,
Себя и свой жребий подарком
Бесценным твоим сознать.

Кончаясь в больничной постели,
Я чувствую рук твоих жар.
Ты держишь меня, как изделие,
И прячешь, как перстень, в футляр».

64. Chukovskaia, *Zapiski ob Anne Akhmatovoi*, 201.