

Karen Evans-Romaine

Boris Paternak and the Tradition of German Romanticism

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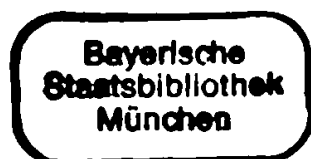
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and the Tradition
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FOREWORD

This book was successfully defended as my doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan in May 1996. I have made some minor revisions for its publication here.

I would like to express my gratitude to Peter Rehder for accepting my dissertation for publication in the *Slavistische Beiträge* series, and to Igor P. Smirnov for recommending the manuscript for publication in this series.

Portions of this book have either been published or are in press in Russia as articles, all in Russian. They are the following:

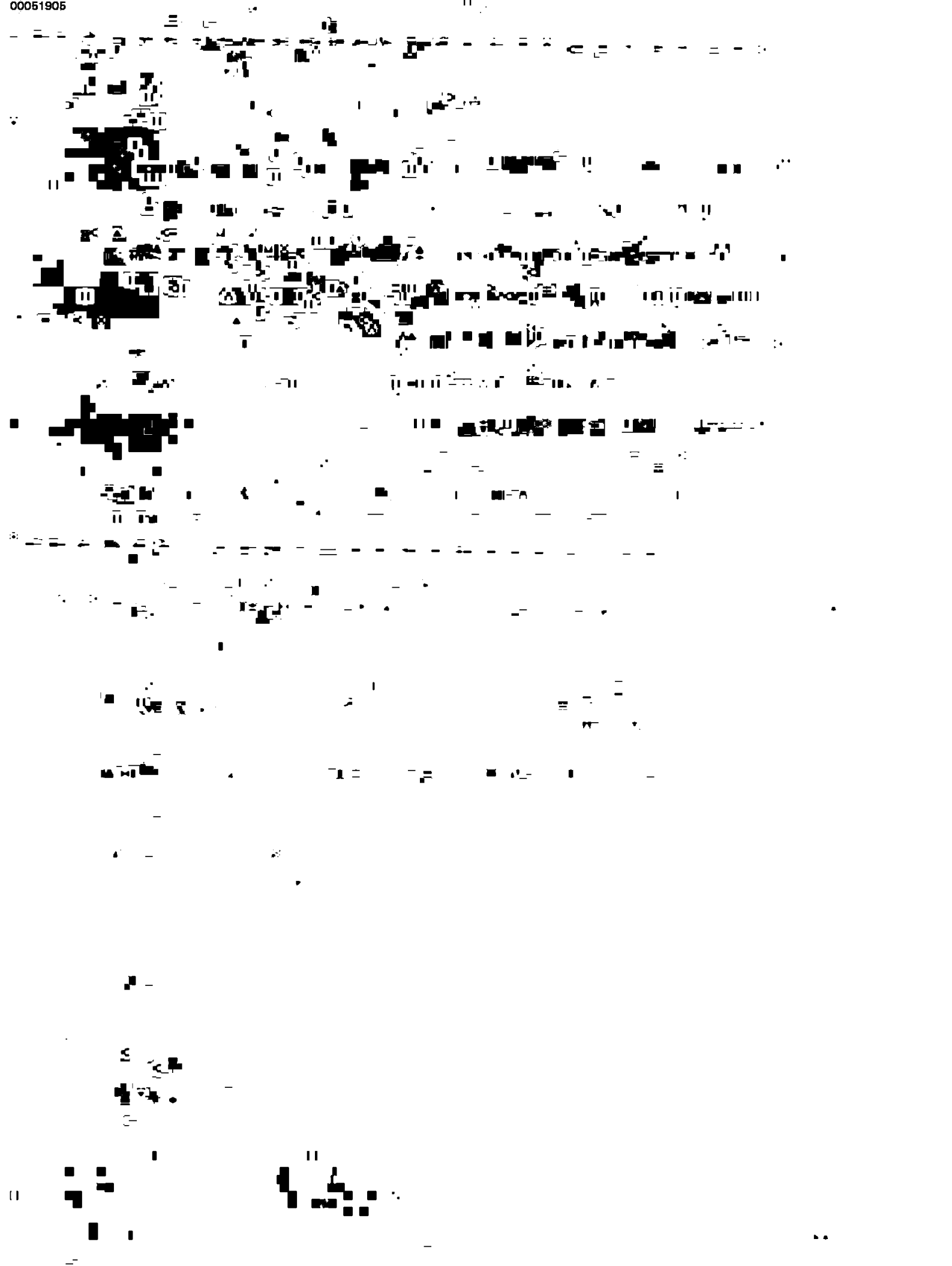
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“Стихотворение Пастернака ‘Венеция’ и традиции немецкого романтизма”, *Литературный текст: Проблемы и методы исследования* (Тверь: Тверской государственный университет, 1997)

“Заметки об источниках стихотворения Пастернака ‘Зеркало’”, *Шестой-седьмой Тыняновский сборник* (Москва, 1997)

I am grateful to Professor Rehder, and to the editors of these journals and collections, for allowing the republication of these articles as a part of this book.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I conducted most of the research for this study at the University of Michigan library, the Library of Congress, and the Russian State (formerly Lenin) Library. In addition, I gathered many essential materials at the Widener Library of Harvard University. I also conducted research at the Russian State Library of Foreign Literature and at the library of the Institute for Scholarly Information in the Social Sciences (Institut nauchnoj informacii po obshchestvennym naukam, INION) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Finally, I examined materials in the archive of Sergej Bobrov at the Russian State Archive for Literature and Art (RGALI).

I would like to thank the many staff members at these libraries who guided me in my seemingly endless search for necessary materials. Special thanks go to the Widener Library and its staff for allowing me to make use of the rich collection at Harvard University as a guest. The staff at the Russian State Library were most courteous and helpful, despite the difficult conditions in which all Russian libraries work today. I would also like to extend particular thanks to Natalia Borisovna Volkova, the Director of RGALI, for her kind interest in my work and her helpful advice.

I am indebted to Evgenij Borisovich Pasternak for answering my written queries on the subject of Boris Pasternak's reception of German Romantic literature in a detailed letter. I received much helpful guidance from others in Moscow as well. Konstantin Polivanov pointed me toward newly published materials crucial to my research and encouraged me in my work. Kirill Postoutenko provided me with copies of rare materials to which I would not otherwise have had access and suggested that I examine the Bobrov archive for materials on Pasternak's professional relations with Bobrov and Petnikov. Irina Stepanovna Prikhod'ko read the middle chapters of my dissertation at its final stages and provided many useful comments and a number of helpful materials; her encouragement of my work provided me with needed inspiration. Aleksandr Pavlovich Chudakov and

Marietta Omarovna Chudakova have been extremely supportive of my work; I can only hope to be deserving of their confidence.

I would like to thank all the members of my dissertation committee, under whose supervision I had the honor to work—Professors Omry Ronen, Bogdana Carpenter, Assya Humesky, and Hermann Weiss—for careful readings, thorough and enlightening comments, practical advice, and stimulating discussion. Professor Weiss first introduced me to the work of Novalis and was an endless source of knowledge on German Romanticism and work with the critical texts. I would not have come to, or stayed with, this challenging topic at all, were it not for the encouragement of my advisor, Professor Omry Ronen. He was the ideal mentor throughout my graduate years, always inspiring profound interest in the material at hand and always demanding the highest standards of scholarship in analyzing it. My admiration for his work and my debt of gratitude to him for his guidance are greater than I can express. I am proud to be his student.

I am deeply indebted to all of these people for their help in this study; nevertheless, I, of course, am entirely responsible for any flaws in it.

I am grateful to the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan for providing me with both the encouragement and the financial support which enabled me to pursue my research without distraction.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and spouse for their support. They helped me in countless ways with admirable patience.

It is to my mother and model, Dr. Ada Romaine Davis, that I would like to dedicate this study. Her strength, courage, diligence, and common sense will always be my guide.

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NOTE ON THE TRANSLITERATION

For technical reasons, I was unable to produce the diacritics necessary in order to adhere to the standard transliteration system used in American Slavic studies. I therefore compromised and adopted something of a hybrid system. The system throughout the dissertation follows the American standard for Slavic studies, with the exception of letters requiring diacritics. For example, the sound rendered in the Library of Congress system as “kh” is here rendered “x”. The sound spelled as “ts” in the Library of Congress system is here rendered “c”. The nominative masculine adjectival ending is rendered “ij”, the feminine “aja”, the neuter “oe”. The only exceptions from the American Slavic studies standard are the transliterations of the letters “zh”, “ch”, “sh”, and “sheh”, without the diacritic marks. All proper names, whether commonly known by a different spelling or not, are spelled using the transliteration system I have outlined here.

CHAPTER ONE

PASTERNAK AND GERMAN ROMANTICISM

The question of Pasternak's relationship to Romanticism as a movement and to what he calls "romanticism" is such a thorny one that it has drawn a great deal of critical attention. Pasternak's statements about Romanticism are confusing and somewhat contradictory. The confusion is made worse by Pasternak's clear attachment to his Romantic predecessors, an attachment he acknowledges only selectively, in a manner which changes during the course of his literary career, together with his attitude toward Romanticism and correspondingly his reception of texts from the Romantic era.

The goal of this dissertation is to document Pasternak's reception of literature from three periods within German Romanticism: the early Romanticism of the Jena School's greatest literary representative, Friedrich von Hardenberg, whose pseudonym was Novalis; the "second-generation" Romanticism of E. T. A. Hoffmann; and the end and eventual rejection of German Romanticism, represented by Heinrich Heine. Analysis of Pasternak's reception of texts by these three writers, using the methods of subtextual analysis developed by Taranovsky, Ronen, and Smirnov, reveals that a coherent, if complex, understanding of Romanticism underlies the apparent contradictions in his attitude toward Romanticism.

Though he never mentions Novalis in his work, Pasternak frequently makes use of subtexts from this Jena Circle writer, both directly and indirectly—through quotations and translations by his contemporaries. Much of Pasternak's work reflects an aesthetic typical of the early German Romantics.¹ In *Oxrannaja gramota*, however, Pasternak rejects what he considers the excesses of Romanticism; in his late correspondence he directs his

¹ On this topic see particularly Victor Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics", *Papers on Language and Literature*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1967), 42-56. Pasternak's relationship to Jena Romanticism is discussed to a lesser extent by Guy de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views", *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, 6, 1973, 502-532, as well as in his *Boris Pasternak: His Life and Art* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 339-356.

criticism explicitly toward Hoffmann. Yet Pasternak's image of Hoffmann is shaped by Decadent-era exaggerations of Hoffmann's portraits of the isolated artist: analysis of several Pasternak texts reveals his use of paired subtexts from Hoffmann and the Polish Decadent Przybyszewski. This distortion of Hoffmann is the Romanticism which Pasternak rejects. Pasternak's very rejection of Romanticism has a Romantic-era precedent—in the late- or post-Romantic Heinrich Heine, whom Pasternak tends to quote directly, without intermediary subtexts. Indeed, so much did Pasternak identify with Heine's struggle against Romanticism that he quotes Heine extensively in his autobiographical texts. Articles and translations by other writers and critics in the first two decades of the twentieth century set Pasternak's reception of these three writers in context. They show that Pasternak's dual conception of German Romanticism, with its positive assessment of both poles of the Romantic era—the “classic” Jena Circle Romanticism and the end of Romanticism in Heine—and its distorted image of the middle Romantic Hoffmannian artist, is typical of Pasternak's era.

Pasternak's reception of German Romantic texts can be seen as a paradigm for his attitude toward Romanticism as a whole. His contradictory attitude toward what he describes as “romanticism” reflects the complexities of the Romantic movement itself, as well as the history of the movement's reception in Russia. Indeed, as critics have pointed out, his very use of the term “realism” has Romantic roots.² The intention of this study is to point out subtexts from the three periods of the Romantic era mentioned above, with a focus on the writers mentioned, and through analysis of his reception of these subtexts to show not only the richness of his reception, which can take many different forms on a wide variety of themes, but, more significantly, the underlying consistency in Pasternak's complicated aesthetic system. His use of the term “romantic” is idiosyncratic, but it has its roots in literary history.

² Guy de Mallac, “Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views”, *Boris Pasternak: His Life and Art*.

The choice of specifically German Romanticism is a logical one, if one takes into consideration Pasternak's biography. His Germanophile parents originally wanted to send him to a parochial school and gymnasium in which all courses were taught in German. They refrained from this only because entrance to the Moscow State University required a gold medal from a state gymnasium. Entrance into the Moscow Fifth Gymnasium, in which Pasternak did enroll at the age of ten, required knowledge of German and French.³ In 1906 Pasternak's family spent seven months in Berlin. There the young Pasternak worked on his German and tried to adopt the Berlin dialect. He read German Romantic literature, particularly Jean Paul Richter and E. T. A. Hoffmann. He wrote to his Moscow friend Aleksandr Shikh in German.⁴ Some of his early sketches in prose from about 1910 contain brief passages in German, as we will see in subsequent chapters. He devoted a 1911 essay to Heinrich von Kleist, portions of which will be examined in Chapter Two.⁵ During this period, while he was studying philosophy at Moscow State University, Pasternak attended meetings of the philosophical circle of the Germanophile literary group Musaget in Moscow, visits which he describes in his second autobiographical essay, *Ijudi*

³ E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii* (Moscow: Sovetskij pisatel', 1989), 40; Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography. Vol. 1: 1890-1928* (Cambridge New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 32. Barnes notes Pasternak's age when he entered school as eleven.

⁴ E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 88-90; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 62-67; Barnes, "Some Background Notes on Pasternak's Early Translations, and Two Notes by Pasternak on Hans Sachs and Ben Jonson", in *Aspects of Russia 1850-1970: Poetry, Prose, and Public Opinion*, ed. William Harrison and Avril Pyman (Letchworth: Avebury Publishing Co., 1984) 202; editors' introduction to *Boris Pasternak und Deutschland*, ed. Sergej Dorzweiler et al (Kassel: Brüder Grimm-Museum, 1992), 5-8. See also Aleksandr Pasternak, *Vospominanija* (Munich: Ferdinand Schoeningh, 1983), 191.

⁵ Boris Pasternak, *Sobrane sochinenij v pjati tomach* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1989-92), IV: 675-682. Pasternak texts will be cited from this edition unless otherwise specified. On this essay see E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 141-142; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 114, 150. On Musaget's German orientation, see also "Emilij Medtner och Pasternak", *Boris Pasternak och hans tid* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991), 67-68. Another influence in Pasternak's Germanophile leanings was Sergej Durylin. On Durylin, and on Serdarda and Musaget, see Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 39-60; M. A. Rashkovskaja, "Dve sud'by (Pasternak i Durylin. K istorii vzaimootnoshenij)", "Byt' znamenitym nekrasivo". *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, Vypusk I (Moscow: Nasledie, 1992), 235-244.

i položhenija.⁶ During his university years, Pasternak was planning on writing a doctoral dissertation on Leibniz.⁷ In 1912 Pasternak spent the summer semester studying philosophy with Hermann Cohen and others from the neo-Kantian school at the University in Marburg.⁸ That semester, and his break with philosophy and turn towards a literary career, are described at length in Pasternak's first autobiographical essay, *Oxrannaja gramota*, and quite briefly in *Ljudi i položhenija*.⁹ After his graduation from Moscow State University in philosophy in 1913, Pasternak continued full-time with his literary career.¹⁰ A letter from July 1913 to his friend Konstantin Loks, which will be examined in Chapter Three, shows his continuing and more serious interest in the work of E. T. A. Hoffmann.¹¹ The first several years of Pasternak's literary career saw the impact of Pasternak's friendship with poet Sergej Bobrov, who was very interested in German Romantic literature. During the years of their closest personal and professional contact in the literary circles *Lirika* and then *Centrifuga*, from about 1910-1915, these circles, sometimes at Bobrov's initiative, were engaged in projects to translate works from the German Romantics and writers influential to the Romantics, including Jakob Böhme and

⁶ E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 148; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 121; Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 46-54. On Pasternak's attendance see also the memoirs of Andrej Belyj, *Mezhdru dvux revoljucij* (Leningrad: Izdatel' stvo pisatelej v Leningrade, 1934), 383. Pasternak's description can be found in *Sobranie sochinenij*, IV: 319.

⁷ E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 149. On the Leibniz essay and its impact on Pasternak's subsequent writing, see Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 37-38. Sergej Dorzweiler has also studied Pasternak's interest in Leibniz: Sergej Dorzweiler, "Boris Pasternak und Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz", *Pasternak-Studien. I. Beiträge zum Internationalen Pasternak-Kongress 1991 in Marburg* (Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1993), 25-31; idem, "Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Philosophie", *Boris Pasternak und Deutschland*, 25-37. E. Pasternak and Fleishman point out that Pasternak ended up writing his graduation thesis from Moscow State University not on Leibniz, but rather on Cohen. See E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 179; and Lazar Fleishman, "Nakanune poëzii: Marburg v zhizni i v 'Oxrannoju gramote' Pasternaka", *Pasternak-Studien*, 72.

⁸ E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 150-162; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 124-144; Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 27-38. See also Fleishman, "Nakanune poëzii", *Pasternak-Studien*, 59-72.

⁹ Pasternak, *Sobranie sochinenij*, IV: 166-195, 323.

¹⁰ E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak: Materialy dlja biografii*, 179-182; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 148-149; Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 39-83.

Novalis.¹² More will be said on this subject below. Pasternak himself translated works of Kleist, as well as Schiller and Goethe.¹³ In addition, Pasternak began but never completed projects to translate Jean Paul Richter's *Vorschule der Ästhetik*; he was also interested in the aesthetic theories of Friedrich Schlegel.¹⁴ To the end of his life Pasternak continued to correspond in German with colleagues abroad, and to discuss German literature in his correspondence.¹⁵ Thus Pasternak's interest in German Romantic literature was profound and lasted throughout his literary career, although it changed with the years. These changes, and their reflection in his work, will be examined in subsequent chapters.

Critics have turned their attention to Boris Pasternak's relationship with his nineteenth-century Western European antecedents, and with his Russian literary ancestors, since the very beginning of his literary career. This is not in the least surprising, as Pasternak's work reflects the extent to which he writes by the principle of poetic "memory about memory", to quote Andrej Belyj. Jurij Tynjanov, in one of the best known critical responses to Pasternak's first successful book of verse, *Sestra moja zhizn'*, characterizes Pasternak by his "mission" to use nineteenth-century material while standing firmly on twentieth-century cultural ground. Tynjanov makes specific comparisons of Pasternak's

¹² E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 188. The letter is published in Boris Pasternak, "Pis'ma k Konstantinu Loksu", publikacija E. B. i E. V. Pasternak, *Minuvshee*, 13 (Moscow/St. Petersburg: Atheneum/Feniks, 1993), 178.

¹³ Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 232-233; E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 178-195; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 109, 142, 153; Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 54-80; Svetlana Kazakova, "Tvorcheskaja istorija ob'edinemja 'Centrifugi' (Zametki o rannix poetičeskix vzajmosvjazjax B. Pasternaka, N. Aseeva i S. Bobrova)", *Russian Literature*, 27 (1990), 461, 471.

¹³ G. von Klejst, *Sobranie sočinenij v dvux tomax* (Moscow, 1923). Friedrich Schiller, *Marija Stjuart* (Moscow, 1960). Translations from Goethe, including *Faust*, Part I, are in Pasternak, *Sobranie sočinenij*, II: 360-526, 603-614. On the Kleist translations, see E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 216-217, 343; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 176, 187, 273, 338; Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 70-71, 74-75, 109.

¹⁴ See Rima Salys, "'Izmentel'naja edinica ruskoj zhizni': Pushkin in the Work of Boris Pasternak", *Russian Literature*, XIX, 1986, 351. I was informed of Pasternak's Jean Paul translation project and of his interest in the aesthetic theories of Friedrich Schlegel by Evgenij Borisovich Pasternak, in a letter to me from 20 August 1992.

¹⁵ See, for example, Renate Schweitzer, *Freundschaft mit Boris Pasternak* (Vienna: K. Desch, 1963).

poetry to Verlaine and especially to the Russian Romantic poet Afanasij Fet.¹⁶ Osip Mandel'shtam also draws a parallel between Pasternak and Fet in his response to *Sestra moja zhizn'*, pointing out a line extending back to the nineteenth century Russian poet as that of the “znachitel'noe patriarxal'noe javlenie russkoj poëzii Feta”, which he connects to Pasternak's “velichestvennaja domashnjaja russkaja poëzija”.¹⁷

Pasternak's reception of German literature is discussed in the critical literature beginning five years after the publication of *Sestra moja zhizn'*: In 1927, Abram Lezhnev continues the parallel with Fet discussed by critics previously. He calls Pasternak a “poet of the Fet and Tjutchev type and even, if we go back a little further in time, of the German Romantic type”. He makes a more specific, and politically loaded, comparison to the Serapion Brothers, whose love for art partitioned them off from the “true struggle of mankind”.¹⁸

In 1932, Trenin and Xardzhiev echo Tynjanov's statement about the close ties between Pasternak and his literary predecessors. Unlike Tynjanov, they discuss him in the context of the Futurist literary group Centrifuga. Trenin and Xardzhiev specifically mention Novalis and Hoffmann in their assessment of the group's literary models. According to these critics, the Centrifuga poets (Bobrov, Pasternak, Aseev, Bozhidar) are distinguished from their Cubo-Futurist colleagues in not rejecting their cultural heritage and in writing theoretical articles oriented toward Andrej Belyj's Symbolist theories and even

¹⁶ Jurij Tynjanov, “Promezhutok”, in his *Arkhaisty i novatory* (Leningrad: Priboj, 1929), 562-568. Before Tynjanov, Ilja Èrenburg referred to Pasternak's own clear references to German Romantic writers in *Sestra moja zhizn'*, saying that Pasternak was saved from Lenau's sentimentality by Heine's irony. See Èrenburg, *Portrety russkix poëtov* (Berlin, 1922; reprinted Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972; translated in Davie and Livingstone, ed., *Pasternak: Modern Judgements* (London: Macmillan, 1969)).

¹⁷ Osip Mandel'shtam, “Boris Pasternak”, *Rossija*, 6 (February 1923), reprinted in 1928 together with his earlier article on Pasternak, “Vulgata. Zametki o poëzii”, *Russkoe iskusstvo*, 2, 1923, 68-70. The combined publication, entitled “Zametki o poëzii”, was published in Mandel'shtam's collection of critical writings, *O poëzu*, in 1928, and first reprinted in *Sobranie sochinenij v trex tomax*, ed. G. P. Struve and B. A. Filippov, Vol. 2 (Washington-New York: Interlanguage Literary Association, 1971), 260-265; idem, *Sochinenij v dvux tomax* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1990), Vol. II.

¹⁸ A. Lezhnev, “Boris Pasternak”, *Krasnaja nov'*, 8, 1926, 205-219. Reprinted in A. Lezhnev, *Sovremenmki* (Moscow: Sovetskij pisatel', 1927), 32-54.

toward the Romantic theorists Novalis and Hoffmann (whom the authors group together).¹⁹

Not for another thirty years is the issue of Pasternak's relationship to German Romanticism raised again in criticism. Only one article appearing in the 1930s, in the Soviet journal *Zvezda*, discusses Pasternak's relationship to Rilke; that significant literary relationship is also not discussed for another thirty years afterwards.²⁰ Robert Payne writes of Pasternak's debt to Kleist's "Die Marquise von O" in his early story "Apellesova cherta"; Payne also notes Pasternak's enjoyment of German philosophy and literature in general, including his reading of Kant and Hegel, his enjoyment of the poet Richard Dehmel, his fascination with Wagner and antipathy toward Nietzsche, and his profound admiration of Rilke.²¹

In a collection of articles on Pasternak published in Munich in 1962, there are a number of articles on Pasternak's ties to German Romantic and neo-Romantic literature, to Rilke, and to philosophy (primarily German). This collection initiates the second wave of a discussion which had lapsed for three decades, during the period of insignificant and unscholarly criticism in the Soviet Union during the Stalin era and during the decades of virtual ignorance about Pasternak's work among Western scholars. An article in this 1962 collection by Viktor Frank relates Pasternak's faith in art to the aesthetics of German Romanticism, and ultimately to Plato. Frank discusses a Pasternak poem from his third book of verse, *Temy i variacii*, published in 1923: this poem, "Kosyx kartin, letjashchix livmja", and specifically the stanza beginning "No veshchi rvut s sebja lichinu", is interpreted by Frank as an "overcoming of Kant", an expression of the poet's ability to get

¹⁹ V. V. Trenin and N. I. Nardzhiev, "O Borise Pasternake", in *Boris Pasternak. Essays*, ed. Nils Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1976), 11.

²⁰ R. Miller-Budnickaja, "O filosofii iskusstva B. Pasternaka i R. M. Ril'ke", *Zvezda*, 5, 1932, 160-168.

²¹ Robert Payne, *The Three Worlds of Boris Pasternak* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961), 51-52, 91.

to the essence of things in themselves.²² Indeed, this passage is key to Pasternak's perception of German Idealism, and of the philosophy of Husserl, the latter of which is not discussed until Fleishman's 1977 study.²³ In the same 1962 collection, Fedor Stepun, the leader of the Musaget philosophical circle, analyzes Pasternak's aesthetic system from the point of view of Pasternak's (and his own) neo-Kantian studies. He sees Pasternak's "obraz cheloveka" as derived from Kant's transcendental subject, Fichte's absolute I, and Hegel's absolute spirit. Even closer to the theme of Pasternak's Romantic roots, Stepun finds the source for Pasternak's notion of the independence of language in Humboldt, Hölderlin, and Novalis, adding that Russian Symbolist and fellow participant in the Musaget circle Vjacheslav Ivanov translated Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*. Stepun adds that Pasternak, unlike his Symbolist predecessors, was never "torn away from reality", as were some of the Western Romantics. This statement, though put in quite general terms, is significant in establishing both that indeed, Pasternak's reception of Jena Romanticism was influenced by and yet quite different from that of the Russian Symbolists, and that the Russian perception of Jena Romanticism at the turn of the century was clearly associated with late- and post-Romantic clichés of early Romantic *Schwärmerei*.²⁴

The first study devoted entirely to Pasternak's literary ties with early German Romanticism was published by Victor Terras in 1967. He classified Pasternak, typologically and historically, as a Romantic and pointed out that the roots for several important aspects of Pasternak's aesthetics lay in the philosophy and aesthetics of Schelling, Schlegel, and particularly Novalis. The points in common discussed by Terras include Pasternak's "pantheism" (a term also used by Stepun); his cosmic view of the universe; his admiration for "details" as connected to each other and to the universe as a

²² V. S. Frank, "Vodjanoj znak (Poëticheskoe mirovozzrenie Pasternaka)" in *Sbornik statej, posvjashchennyx tvorčestvu B. L. Pasternaka* (Munich: Institut für die Erforschung der UdSSR, 1962), 240-252. Reprinted in *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2, 1990, 72-76.

²³ Lazar Fleishman, "K xarakteristike rannego Pasternaka", in his *Stat'i o Pasternake* (Bremen: K-Press, 1977), 4-61.

whole; his idea that nature and art are one, derived from the same source (*sila*, or *Kraft*); the notion of love as the fundamental power of the universe; the notion of art “drawing out” or “seeing” (“herausholen”, “heraussehen”) from nature; the notion of *ostranenie* (*Verfremdung*, or in Romantic terms, “romantisieren”); and the idea of the connection between poetry and music. Terras indicates various sources for Pasternak’s aesthetics in the writings of these three Romantics.²⁵ He has clearly laid the groundwork for more detailed analysis of Pasternak’s reception of Romantic aesthetics in his excellent study. His article nevertheless leaves room for more detailed analysis of Pasternak’s reception of Novalis in terms of networks of subtexts and secondary reception. At the end of his article he notes that he has not attempted to place Pasternak’s interest in Jena School aesthetics in its historical context, to show precisely why Pasternak would turn at the beginning of the twentieth century to what is to Terras essentially a Schellingian aesthetic system. Moreover, Terras’s study does not discuss in detail the techniques of Pasternak’s use of texts from early Romanticism, nor how his use of Romantic subtexts fits into the framework of his reception of twentieth-century aesthetics and philosophy. Pasternak’s reception of Romantic aesthetics was clearly not direct; it was, rather, blended with other literary “influences” and can be seen as part of a complex system.

Some years later, Bodo Zelinsky follows along the lines of Terras’s study, noting parallels between Pasternak’s aesthetics and the poetic world view of Schelling and the

²⁴ Fedor Stepun, “Boris Pasternak”, *Novyj zhurnal*, 56 (1959), 187-206. Reprinted in *Sbornik statej, posvjashchennyx tvorchestvu B. L. Pasternaka*, 45-59; and in *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2, 1990, 65-71.

²⁵ Victor Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics”. Angela Livingstone made brief reference to Friedrich Schlegel in reference to Pasternak in 1964, noting that Pasternak frequently echoes Schlegel’s view that “Die Poesie stellt immer sich selbst dar.” See Livingstone, “Pasternak’s Early Prose”, *AUMLA. Journal of the Australasian Universities’ Language and Literature Association*, 22, 1964, 255. Terras also discusses Pasternak’s reception of Fet in his Romantic poetics. On Pasternak and Fet, see also V. Ja. Buxstah, “Lirika Pasternaka”, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, Vol. 46 (1987), No. 9, 106-112; Peter Alberg Jensen “Boris Pasternak’s ‘Opredelenie poëzii’”, in *Text and Context. Essays to Honor Nils Åke Nilsson* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987), 96-110; V. S. Baevskij, “Lirika Pasternak v istoriko-kul’turnom kontekste”, *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 47 (1988), No. 2, 130-141; idem, *Pasternak – lirik. Osnovy poëticheskoi sistemy* (Smolensk: Trast-Imakom, 1993).

early German Romantics. Points in common include their concepts of the music of nature, the identity of poetry and nature, and the Romantic notion of “Poesie der Poesie”.²⁶

Vladimir Markov, for the first time in the critical literature on Pasternak, discusses the cultural context for Pasternak’s reception of German Romanticism. In his 1968 study of the Russian Futurist movement, Markov shows the significance of Sergej Bobrov and the literary interests of the groups Sedarda, Musaget, Lirika, and Centrifuga for Pasternak’s development as a poet. Markov characterizes Bobrov, the organizer and driving force behind Lirika and subsequently Centrifuga, as a poet of little spontaneity but stunning erudition, whose models come from a tremendous number of Russian and Western European poets, including Novalis and Hoffmann. Markov brings to light Lirika projects to translate, among others, Jakob Böhme and Novalis, as I mentioned earlier in the context of Pasternak’s literary biography. Pasternak’s colleague Petnikov did, in fact, translate Novalis’s *Fragmente*, and published them from his own publishing house, “Liren”, in 1914.²⁷ As the focus of Markov’s study of Centrifuga and its predecessors is historical, rather than analytical, he does not discuss specific manifestations of Novalis’s or other German Romantic influence on Pasternak and his Futurist colleagues. Nevertheless, his study sheds light on the context of Pasternak’s reception of this material.

Renate Döring points out a number of interesting aspects of Pasternak’s relationship to German Idealism and Romanticism in her analysis of his “middle period” verse. She sees the impact of Schelling in Pasternak’s notion of the relationship between the reflection and the reflected. Pasternak’s view of the image as involving the unity of appearance and meaning corresponds, she argues, with Schelling’s definition of the reflection as just as concrete as that which is reflected, the unity of the ideal and the real. Further correspondences to Schelling which she notes include the identity of the poet with nature,

²⁶ Bodo Zelinsky, “Selbstdefinition der Poesie bei Pasternak”, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, Band 38, Heft 2, 1975, 268-278; idem, “Definition der Poesie bei Pasternak”, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, Band 37, Heft 2, 1974, 275-290.

²⁷ Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism*, chapter on Centrifuga.

in which the poet can act as a medium between nature and the verbal expression of that which is visible; nature becomes man's alter ego, his sister. Döring sees Leibniz and Hegel's *Naturlehre* as sources for Pasternak's much discussed concept of "force", *sila*, which unifies the specific with the general. In addition, Döring draws a parallel between the sea and sailing metaphors in Pasternak's poem "Vse naklonenija i zalogi" and the motif of poet as wanderer in Novalis. She also notes the correspondence between Pasternak's concept of Romanticism and nineteenth-century German literary theory, which defined it in contrast to Classicism—this despite, as Döring points out, Pasternak's statement in a letter to Renate Schweitzer that he did not have the particular school in mind in defining Romanticism.²⁸

The first full-scale work devoted to Pasternak's German literary ties was a 1973 dissertation, Erika Freiberger Sheikholeslami's *Der deutsche Einfluss im Werke von Boris Pasternak*.²⁹ Sheikholeslami discusses what she perceives as the main German influences on Pasternak: the philosophical influence of the Marburg School, and the literary influences of Rilke, Heine, Kleist, and Goethe. I will touch on Sheikholeslami's writings on the Marburg School and Rilke in subsequent sections of the literature review. In her section on Kleist, she discusses biographical parallels between Pasternak and Kleist, including moves away from music and philosophy towards literature; the role of coincidence and the unbelievable as more than a structural device in the works of both writers; the indivisibility of form and content in the works of both; their common movement toward realism, which Pasternak calls "realism as tonality" in his essay on Kleist; and the common use in both writers' works of leitmotivic, musically influenced structures. She illustrates this last point through a comparison of Kleist's "Die heilige

²⁸ Renate Döring, *Die Lyrik Pasternaks in den Jahren 1928-1934* (Munich: Otto Sagner [Slavistische Beiträge, Band 64], 1973), 73, 87.

²⁹ Erika Freiberger Sheikholeslami, *Der deutsche Einfluss im Werke von Boris Pasternak* (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1973). Freiberger Sheikholeslami's dissertation is summarized in her article "Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Literatur", *Boris Pasternak und Deutschland*, 39-46. Eliot Mossman has

Cäcilie oder die Gewalt der Musik” and Pasternak’s early “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”, pointing out as well the common motif of the destructive power of music. Most convincing in her analysis is her close examination of language and syntactic structures of the two stories: she effectively demonstrates the degree to which Kleist was a model to Pasternak as a young prose writer, as other critics have shown Rilke to be a model to Pasternak in his early efforts to write verse. Portions of Pasternak’s prose in the “Suboctave Story”, she writes, read practically like a parody of Kleistian breadth and density in narrative prose. Finally, Sheikholeslami points out in general terms the ideological importance of Kleist’s play *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* for Pasternak as a statement on the difficulties of a free-thinking individual in a hostile and inflexible world. She also draws an interesting parallel between Antipov-Strel’nikov in Pasternak’s *Doktor Zhivago* and Kleist’s Michael Kohlhaas as avengers and victims to an idea.

In her study of Pasternak and Heine, Sheikholeslami concentrates on Pasternak’s 1915 story “Apellesova cherta”, whose main character is named Heine. She sees “Florentinische Nächte” as a model, and correctly so; indeed, the Heine story is significant not only for Pasternak’s prose of the period. In addition, Sheikholeslami makes general observations about the nature of Heine’s influence on Pasternak. Common motifs and themes which she detects include the perception of the creative act as a game behind which the artist can hide his true self; the more general idea of life as theatre, which, as she points out, has a long tradition in the history of literature; the creation of a surrogate persona and the ironic self-portrait of the poet; and the theme of banality and triviality. On the formal plane, Sheikholeslami notes Heine’s influence on Pasternak in the development of new poetic forms; however, she does not elaborate on this point. The textual examples in her study are generally limited to “Apellesova cherta” and the Pasternak poem “Mein Liebchen, was willst du noch mehr?” from *Sestra moja zhizn’*, which quotes Heine’s “Du hast

also written of the presence of “Florentinische Nächte” in Pasternak’s story “Apellesova cherta”. See Mossman, “Pasternak’s Short Fiction”, *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, 2, Winter 1972, 279-302.

Diamanten und Perlen".³⁰ Sheikholeslami's study makes a number of important points, but does not document specific instances of textual correspondence other than those discussed here. The topic is tremendously rich and warrants further study.

Sheikholeslami sees Goethe as the primary source for Pasternak's aesthetic system. She contends that Pasternak's concept of a balance between man, nature, and history as a means of healing twentieth-century ills derives from Goethe's immersion of man in nature and his concept of man's healing through nature. As an illustration of the impact of Goethe on Pasternak she compares Varykino in Pasternak's *Doktor Zhivago* to a Goethean Arcadia. She writes as well that Pasternak's concept of force, *sila*, set forth in his first autobiographical essay, *Oxrannaja gramota*, derives from Natorp's concept of substance and ultimately from Goethe's concept of "Dauer im Wechsel".³¹

Olga Raevsky Hughes expands on points first made in 1967 by Terras on Pasternak's underlying links with Romanticism. She points out correctly that when Pasternak distances himself in *Oxrannaja gramota* from the Symbolist world view, derived from that of the German Romantics, he is actually revealing the genealogy of his own poetics. In using the term "realism", she argues, Pasternak is recalling Blok's 1919 essay "O romantizme".³²

A number of critics discussed Pasternak's Romantic genealogy at the 1975 C erisy-la-Salle conference on Pasternak. Among them were Peter France, who pointed out affinities in Pasternak with the English Romantics Shelley, Keats, and particularly

³⁰ Ibid., 130-155.

³¹ Ibid., chapter on Goethe. Other studies on Pasternak's reception of Goethe, which I will not discuss in detail here, include Victor Terras, "Im Walde": Goethe und Boris Pasternak", *Die Welt der Slaven*, Vol. 16 (1971), No. 3, 283-288; Lev Kopelev, "Faustovskij mir Borisa Pasternaka", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de C erisy-la-Salle*, ed. M. Aucouturier (Paris: Revue des  tudes Slaves, 1979), 491-514; V. S. Baevskij, "'Faust' Gete v perevode Pasternaka", *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 49 (1990), No. 4, 341-352; Angela Livingstone, "Pasternak and Faust", *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (October 1990), 353-369; idem, "'Fausta li, Gamleta li': Faustovskie motivy v rannix stixotvorenijax Pasternaka", *Pasternak-Studien*, 91-96. Terras notes subtexts from *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* in Pasternak's poem "V lesu"; Baevskij, besides studying the *Faust* translation, notes that Pasternak quotes Lenau, Heine, and Hoffmann among numerous others in his verse.

Wordsworth.³³ Guy de Mallac argues that Pasternak's aesthetics derive to some degree from Henri Bergson; he points out as well that Pasternak's views on the independence of language derive from the ideas of Herder, Humboldt, Friedrich Schlegel, and Hegel.³⁴ He elaborates on this both in his 1974 article on Pasternak's critical-aesthetic views and in his 1981 biography of Pasternak, pointing out Novalis's "Monolog" as a source for Pasternak's idea of language as self-absorbed and independent.³⁵ Mallac's 1974 article also discusses the literary tradition behind some of Pasternak's seemingly idiosyncratic views, such as his concept of truth and lies in poetry, which will be discussed in Chapter Two of this study.

Elisabeta Nöldeke continues Sheikholeslami's work on the theme of Pasternak and Kleist, as part of her general study of Pasternak's relationship to German literature and culture. Nöldcke discusses formal similarities in the prose style of Pasternak and Kleist and the fundamental role of coincidence in the works of both writers. She adds that both writers use the technique of reference to an unspecified source ("Govorjat..." in Pasternak's "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", and "Man erzählte..." in Kleist). She also discusses Pasternak's translations, including those of Kleist.³⁶

Boris Paramonov continues the discussion of Pasternak's Romantic roots, asserting that it is misleading to view Pasternak's aesthetics within the rubric of neo-Kantianism, as Pasternak rejected Cohen and the Marburg School when he turned to literature as a career, though, as he points out, there are still distinct traces of his philosophical education in his poetry. Paramonov asserts, like other critics, that Pasternak's term "realism" is

³² Olga Raevsky Hughes, *The Lyric World of Boris Pasternak* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

³³ Peter France, "Pasternak et le romantisme", *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de Cérisy-la-Salle*, 83-92. See also Peter France, "Pasternak and the English Romantics", *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (October 1990), 315-325.

³⁴ Guy de Mallac, "Ėstetiĉeskie vozzrenija Pasternaka", *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de Cérisy-la-Salle*, 63-81.

³⁵ Guy de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views"; idem, *Boris Pasternak. His Life and Art*, 353.

³⁶ Elisabeta Nöldeke, *Boris Leonidovich Pasternak und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Kultur* (Dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1985).

misleading, and that the Romanticism which influenced Pasternak was what Paramonov calls “real”, or Jena, Romanticism. Like Terras, he points out the closeness of Pasternak’s aesthetic statements to Schelling, as, for example, in his “Neskol’ko položhenij”. He mentions the closeness of Pasternak to Novalis as well in their views of the power of language to reflect nature and the comparison of life to a work of literature. Paramonov’s points are excellent ones; however, he does not make any detailed analyses of textual examples showing Pasternak’s reception of Jena aesthetics.³⁷

Dása di Simplicio notes German Romantic sources, as well as Rilke, in Pasternak’s effort to reshape his values during his painful Marburg period. In particular, di Simplicio notes the importance of Hoffmann’s insane artists with tragic fates in the development of Pasternak’s image of the artistic genius. The *Künstlerdrama*, di Simplicio notes, is one of the main motifs in Pasternak’s art from early sketches to *Doktor Zhivago*. The deaths of these artists shift from self-destruction in his early work to martyrdom, already evident in the Christ-like hero of “Marburg”. Di Simplicio sees models as well in later German literature: Gottfried Keller, Hauptmann, Kramer, Rilke. The Marburg period in di Simplicio’s assessment gives rise to German-influenced oppositions: genius and mediocrity, genius and the common man, genius and woman’s fate.³⁸ We will explore the first of these oppositions in reference to Pasternak’s reception of Hoffmann in Chapter Three.

Beginning mainly with the studies of Lazar Fleishman in the mid-1970s, and particularly since the 1980s, Pasternak criticism has begun to turn away from general discussion of influence and toward more specific documentation of Pasternak’s reception of German Romantic and other literatures, namely, toward the identification of subtexts in

³⁷ Boris Paramonov, “Pasternak protiv romantizma. K pomimaniju problemy”, in *Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture, Volume 1. Boris Pasternak 1890-1990*, ed. Lev Loseff. (Northfield, VT: Russian School of Norwich University, 1991), 11-25.

³⁸ Dása Silhánková di Simplicio, “Genij i drugie. K genealogii ponjatija tvorcheskoj lichnosti u Pasternaka”, *Pasternak-Studien*, 147-153. See also Peter Alberg Jensen, who mentions briefly the

Pasternak from various sources.³⁹ Anna Ljunggren looks not at early German Romanticism, but at Hoffmann as a source for the very early Pasternak in his prose drafts. She points out a subtext from Hoffmann's "Ritter Gluck" in one of Pasternak's fragments on Reliquimini.⁴⁰ I will discuss Ljunggren's work in more detail in Chapter Three.

Jurij Lotman shows Pasternak's Futurist techniques of fragmentation and metonymy for the subversion of a Romantic Heine subtext, "Ich stand in dunkeln Träumen", in his brilliant analysis of Pasternak's poem "Zamestitel'nica". To a great degree, Lotman's study lays the groundwork for future scholarship on the analysis of Pasternak texts.⁴¹

I. P. Smirnov analyses Pasternak's use of subtexts from Nietzsche, Heine, and Rilke in his groundbreaking study of intertextuality in the work of Pasternak. He examines Pasternak's use of Heine's "Ich hab im Traum geweinet" in his poems "Son" and "Avgust". Pasternak perceives the poem together with two Blok poems, according to Smirnov's analysis; Smirnov shows that Pasternak reacts to precisely those aspects of the Heine subtexts to which Blok does not react.⁴²

Aleksandr Zholkovskij notes related Heine and Lermontov subtexts to Pasternak's late poem "Veter" on the theme of the nearby pine and dreams of a faraway palm.⁴³

importance of Hoffmann, Tieck, and Jean Paul to Pasternak's early prose. Jensen, "En digter på jagt efter sit liv – Boris Pasternak og prosaen", *Boris Pasternak och hans tid*, 41-54.

³⁹ For our purposes here, Fleishman's most significant statement on Pasternak and Jena Romanticism is his note that Pasternak's mention of Hegel as the one who called poets backwards prophets was a (conscious or unconscious) metonymic substitution for Schlegel, who made this statement in his fragments. See Lazar Fleishman, "Karakteristike rannego Pasternaka", *Stat'i o Pasternake*, 44. The Schlegel fragment in question is from *Athenäums-Fragmente*, #34. See Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Schriften* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1964).

⁴⁰ Anna Ljunggren, *Juvenilia B. Pasternaka. 6 fragmentov o Relikvimum* (Dissertation, University of Stockholm, 1984), 76, 124-126.

⁴¹ Ju. M. Lotman, "Analiz dvux stixotvorenij", *Tret'ja letnjaja shkola po vtorichnym modelirujushchim sistemam. Tezisy* (Tartu: Uchenye zapiski Tartuskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1968), 210-223.

⁴² Igor' P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta. Elementy intertekstual'nogo analiza s primerami iz tvorcestva B. L. Pasternaka* (Vienna: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 17), 1985, 123-129.

⁴³ Aleksandr Zholkovskij, "Ljubovnaja lodka, uprjazh' dlja Pegasa i poxoronnaja kolybel'naja (Tri stixotvoreniya i tri perioda Pasternaka)", in his *Mir avtora i struktura teksta. Stat'i o russkoj literature* (Tenafly, New Jersey: Ermitazh, 1986).

V. S. Baevskij notes a Hölderlin poem on the theme of Diotima as a subtext to Pasternak's 1931 "Leto" to explain the theme of the tragic resolved in poetry, which is missing in the Plato source. He finds a subtext to Pasternak's poem "Ottepeljami iz magazinov" in a poem by C. F. Meyer, "Fimelicht". Like Terras and de Mallac, Baevskij points out Pasternak's paradoxical relationship to Romanticism, his rejection of the term while following the Romantic tradition in his aesthetics. Baevskij, however, concentrates more on subtexts in specific texts than did the other two scholars. He asserts generally, without elaborating, that Pasternak rejects direct imitation of Romantic poetics and stylistics, while assimilating the spirit of innovation among the great Romantics.⁴⁴

In another thorough analysis of intertextuality in the work of Pasternak, Erika Greber finds subtexts to Pasternak's early prose from a tremendous variety of sources. Like Smirnov, she finds subtexts in Pasternak from Nietzsche, aptly pointing out that the Nietzschean conception of Romanticism stems essentially from late German Romanticism and the French Romanticism of Hugo, as well as from Wagner. She compares Pasternak's conception of Romanticism to Nietzsche's only in as far as both are idiosyncratic and ahistorical. Although Novalis, Hoffmann, and Heine are not the focus of her study, Greber refers to their work. Greber mentions Novalis merely in passing as one of the German Romantics whose theories of androgyny and whose extensive use of the literary fragment left a trace on Pasternak's work in the realms both of content and form.⁴⁵ She mentions Hoffmann as an intertextual signal for the theme of the improviser (from such

⁴⁴ V. S. Baevskij, "Lirika Pasternaka v istoriko-kul'turnom kontekste", *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Seriya literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 47 (1988), No. 3, 130-141; idem, *Boris Pasternak—lirik. Osnovy poeticheskoi sistemy*.

⁴⁵ Erika Greber, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts. Zur frühen Prosa Boris Pasternaks* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1989), 53, 247. A portion of Greber's dissertation, on which the 1989 book is based, is summarized in her article "Boris Pasternak's Prose Fragment 'Tri glavy iz povesti'. The Arrangement of a Philosophical-Musical Subtext", *Studia Filologica, Zeszyt 31/12. Filologia Rosyjska. Poetika Pasternaka* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane wsp w Bydgoszcz, 1990), 123-151. On Pasternak and Nietzsche see also I. N. Bushman, "Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Dichtung. Zweiter Beitrag: Pasternak und Nietzsche", *Sowjetstudien*, 20, 1966, 74-87. See also Vadim Kozovoj, *Poët v katastrofe* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, Moscow: Gnosis, 1994), 69-118. Kozovoj also mentions a

works as “Der Magnetiseur”) behind subtexts from the Russian “Hoffmannists”, particularly Vladimir Odoevskij, in Pasternak’s “Povest’”.⁴⁶ The subtextual presence of Hoffmann is also implied in Greber’s discussion of the tradition of *Nachtdichtung* from which Pasternak works in this story.⁴⁷ Greber mentions Heine in the context of a discussion of Romantic forms and traditions and the push against them.⁴⁸ Her discussion of Nietzsche and Wagner illustrates the important notion that Pasternak’s conception of Romanticism is not direct, but derived from the tradition of subsequent generations.

There have been a few studies of Pasternak and Heine, in addition to those already mentioned. Mikhail Gasparov studies the semantic and intertextual aspects of Pasternak’s metres; this study includes an examination of Pasternak’s use of Heine’s meters in his verse.⁴⁹ Omry Ronen has shown the importance of Heine’s metaphor of poetry as illness, as the pearl is the illness of the oyster, to Pasternak’s notion of poetry as the “Lofty Malady”, in contrast to Novalis’s image of the poet as transcendental doctor.⁵⁰ I will expand on this vitally important theme in Pasternak’s poetics throughout this study.

A number of scholars have discussed the character Heine in Pasternak’s story “Apellesova cherta”, and its relationship to the real Heine. Michel Aucouturier writes of the character Heine as a signal for Pasternak’s turn away from Romanticism (symbolized by Relinquimini) to realism.⁵¹ E. B. and E. V. Pasternak write that Pasternak felt close to Heine all his life. They describe the character Heine in this story as the embodiment of “both the ordinary and the immortal, since he continues his *Reisebilder* in twentieth-century

resemblance between Pasternak’s views on genius and world culture and those of the German Romantics. (Kozovoj, op. cit., 97).

⁴⁶ Greber, op. cit., 221, 230, 233.

⁴⁷ Greber, 238.

⁴⁸ Greber, 237-238.

⁴⁹ M. Gasparov, “Semantika metra u rannego Pasternaka”, *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literaturny i jazyka*, Vol. 47 (1988), No. 2, 142-147.

⁵⁰ Omry Ronen, “Pasternak, Zamjatin and Bradshaw”, *Elementa*, Vol. 1 (1993), No. 2, 215-218;

“‘Rossija – Sfinks’. K istorii krylatogo upodoblenija”, *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 17 (1996), 422, 431

⁵¹ “‘Il tratto di Apelle’. Manifeste littéraire du modernisme russe”, *Revue des études slaves*, 47, 1968, 159.

On the etymology of the name Heinrich and its implications for the interpretation of “Apellesova cherta”.

Italy, with its railroads and gaslights, and writes and publishes his 'Posthumous Verses' in the story."⁵² Furthermore, the Pasternaks point out traits of Russian Futurist poet Vladimir Majakovskij—the primary object of Pasternak's perception of and rebellion against the "romantic manner"—in the character Heinrich Heine.⁵³ Elena Pasternak reinforces the link between the images of Majakovskij and of Heinrich Heine which had been described in the Pasternaks' biography. To Elena Pasternak, "A pellesova cherta" is Pasternak's merciless satire of his own recent past and poetics. He depicts the victorious Majakovskij, as Pasternak perceived him in 1914 in comparison to himself, as the conquering Heine in the story. The similarity between Heine and Majakovskij, in Elena Pasternak's interpretation, lies mainly in their bold satires and bared lyricism, their poetry of fury and contempt.⁵⁴ Lazar Fleishman also ties the character Heine in the story to Majakovskij, whose poetry, as Fleishman points out, was frequently called "romantic", with journal articles of the time frequently linking Majakovskij to German Romanticism. Fleishman aptly points out that the choice of the name Heine for the story's main character signals Pasternak's ambivalent relationship to Romanticism, like Heine's. Fleishman writes: "Of special importance to him was the very possibility of the oscillation between the two—romantic and antiromantic—within the same literary system, of the annihilation of the opposite poles within the same person or character."⁵⁵ This point is significant in Pasternak's perception of Heine subtexts, particularly in his autobiographical works, as we will see in Chapter Four of this study.

Baevskij refers to an indirect link between Pasternak and Heine through Fet in his recent study of Pasternak's verse. Baevskij points out subtexts from Blok and Fet to

see Jerzy Faryno, "Knjaginja Stolbunova-Enrici i ee syn Evgraf (Arxeopoëtika 'Doktora Zhivago'. I)", *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 162-163.

⁵² E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 234-235. See also E. B. Pasternak, introduction to Pasternak's "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1977, 253.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁵⁴ Elena Pasternak, "'Ty car' — zhivi odin..." (Boris Pasternak i Vladimir Majakovskij)", *Scando Slavica*, Tomus 38, 1992, 64-76.

⁵⁵ Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 78-79.

Pasternak's 1941 poem "Inej", from his book of verse *Na rannix poezdax*). Without making a direct link between this Pasternak poem and Heine, Baevskij writes that critics perceived as imitations of Heine certain Fet poems similar to the ones which serve as subtexts here ("Shumela polnochnaja v'juga" and "Kakaja xolodnaja osen'!"). The important point to Baevskij is the literary chain involved, from Heine to Fet to Blok and finally to Pasternak. In taking up this literary tradition, Pasternak alters it, as Baevskij shows.⁵⁶ Baevskij finds other subtexts in Pasternak's verse from the German Romantic tradition. Another example is Pasternak's "Vesna v lesu", in which Baevskij finds a Blok subtext ("Po ulicam metel' metet") with its own roots in Goethe's "Der Fischer" and the Zhukovskij translation of the Goethe poem, together with elements of the "Loreley", with its motif of the drowning woman.⁵⁷ Baevskij finds many other examples of Pasternak's reception of the Romantic tradition in verse, including subtexts from Hölderlin, Meyer, Byron, and Verlaine, as well as from Russian Romantics Zhukovskij, Lermontov, Batjushkov, Baratynskij, Tjutchev, and the Symbolists.⁵⁸

Other articles dealing with individual subtexts from German Romanticism include Katherine Tiernan O'Connor's, which discusses the Lenau epigraph to the book of verse,⁵⁹ as does Efim Etkind, who calls the epigraph "programmatic for the entire book".⁶⁰ Jurij Sheglov analyzes Pasternak's use of "middle brow" prose genres, "children's reading", in the construction of *Doktor Zhivago*. Among the models he notes are Ludwig Tieck, Voltaire, Dickens, Scott, Dumas, Hugo, and Conan Doyle; the Tieck example he notes is "Der blonde Eckbert".⁶¹ Renate Döring-Smirnov discusses Pasternak's use of subtexts

⁵⁶ V. S. Baevskij, *B. Pasternak—lirik. Osnovy poëticheskoi sistemy*, 100-101.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 102-106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 140-153.

⁵⁹ Katherine Tiernan O'Connor, "Elena, Helen of Troy, and the Eternal Feminine", in *Boris Pasternak and His Times. Selected Papers from the Second International Symposium on Pasternak*, ed. Lazar Fleishman (Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1989), 212-223.

⁶⁰ Efim Etkind, "Pasternak i Lermontov", in *Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture, Volume 1. Boris Pasternak 1890-1990*, 105-122.

⁶¹ Jurij Sheglov, "O nekotoryx spornyx chertax počtiki pozdnego Pasternaka", in *Norwich Symposia, Vol. 1*, 190-216.

from Schiller and Swinburne of underlying ideological significance to his poem “Vakchanalia” and to *Doktor Zhivago*.⁶²

I have made several references to the scholarship on Pasternak’s philosophical underpinnings. I feel that an elaboration on the literature relevant to the dissertation, if only a brief one, is necessary, as it would be impossible to establish Pasternak’s reception of Romantic literature apart from the philosophy from which that literature worked. As was mentioned above, Pasternak studied philosophy at Moscow State University. His philosophy studies included a summer semester at Marburg University and papers on Leibniz and Natorp.⁶³ The early scholarship on Pasternak, as I have noted above, deals to a great extent with the theme of Pasternak’s neo-Kantian studies. Sheikholeslami sees Pasternak’s concept of “subjectivity” as derived from Natorp’s psychological concept of “individuality”.⁶⁴ V. S. Baevskij looks to Pasternak’s neo-Kantian studies as well as the source for Pasternak’s mask imagery, though he, like Paramonov later, asserts that Pasternak did not in any way develop Kantian or neo-Kantian philosophy in his poetry, since Pasternak abandoned philosophy in his pursuit of a literary career.⁶⁵

Other philosophical sources are discussed in the scholarship as well.

Sheikholeslami sees Goethe as an important philosophical source, as well as the source for Pasternak’s use of mathematical terminology and that of theoretical physics.⁶⁶ Döring sees

⁶² J. Döring-Smirnov, “Ein karnevaleskes Spiel mit fremden Texten. Zur Interpretation von B. Pasternaks Poem *Vakchanalija*”, in *Text. Symbol. Weltmodell. Johannes Holthusen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1987); idem, “Pasternak i nemeckij romantizm (1. ‘Doktor Zhivago’ i ‘Razbojniki’), *Pushkin i Pasternak. Studia Russica Budapestinensia*, 1, 1991, 169-174. The later article also appears in German as “‘Doktor Zhivago’ und Schillers ‘Räuber’”, *Pasternak-Studien*, 33-39.

⁶³ See E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 111-121, 148-162; Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 119-144; Fleishman, *Stat’i o Pasternake*; idem, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 27-38.

⁶⁴ See Sheikholeslami, chapter on Marburg.

⁶⁵ V. S. Baevskij, “Etnograficheskie temy v lirike Borisa Pasternaka”, in *Tipologicheskij analiz literaturnogo proizvedenija. Sbornik trudov* (Kemerovo, 1982), 148-154; “Temy i variacii. Ob istoriko-kul’turnom kontekste poëzii B. Pasternaka”, *Voprosy literatury*, 10, 1987, 30-59.

⁶⁶ See Sheikholeslami, op. cit., chapter on Goethe.

Leibniz, rather, as the source for this kind of language.⁶⁷ Pasternak's studies of Leibniz and his influence on Pasternak's writing, particularly his notion of monad-like particles of existence and of the universality of all things, have been the focus of articles by Sergej Dorzweiler, and have been mentioned by others.⁶⁸

Vjach. Vs. Ivanov emphasizes in a brief article on *Sestra moja zhizn'* that one can read philosophy between the lines of every poem in this book, particularly Dilthey's philosophy of life, with roots in the Russian tradition embodied in Blok. Ivanov traces the poetic cult of woman in Pasternak to the European tradition through Blok and Vladimir Solov'ev, back to early German Romanticism, Dante, the Gnostics, and Plato.⁶⁹

Lazar Fleishman sees in the philosophy of Husserl the roots of salient aspects of Pasternak's poetic system, including the erasure of the poetic I, the definition of art as symbolic through its definition of "free subjectivity", the theatrical function of the word and the "theory of poetic relativity" in which the poet becomes merely the prompter, the arbitrariness of naming, and the elimination of the evaluative function of the word.⁷⁰ Fleishman adds that Rilke may have been an additional source of phenomenological thinking for Pasternak, citing Käte Hamburger's 1966 study on Rilke and Husserlian phenomenology.⁷¹ He notes in addition in his analysis of Pasternak's 1913 paper

⁶⁷ See Döring, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ Sergej Dorzweiler, "Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Philosophie"; *idem.*, "Boris Pasternak und Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz". See also Darlene Reddaway, "Pasternak, Spengler, and Quantum Mechanics: Constants, Variables, and Chains of Equations", *Russian Literature*, XXXI (1992), 37-70; Guy de Mallac, "Zhivago versus Prometheus", *Books Abroad*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 1970), 228. On Pasternak and quantum physics, see also Valentin Belenchikov, "Reminiscencii teorii otnocitel'nosti Ejnshtejna v romane B. I. Pasternaka 'Doktor Zhivago'", *Pasternak-Studien*, 13-24; Lazar Fleishman, "K xarakteristike rannego Pasternaka", *Stat'i o Pasternake*, 37.

⁶⁹ Vjach. Vs. Ivanov, "O knige Pasternaka 'Sestra moja zhizn'" [Fragment], in *Russian Literature and History: in Honour of Professor I. Serman*, ed. Wolf Moskovich et al (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1989), 83-89. See also Ivanov, "O teme zhenshchiny u Pasternaka", *Pasternakovskie chteniya*, 43-54. On Pasternak and Dilthey, see also Fleishman, "Nakanune poëzii: Marburg v zhizni i v 'Oxrannoj gramote' Pasternaka", 60.

⁷⁰ Lazar Fleishman, "K xarakteristike rannego Pasternaka", in his *Stat'i o Pasternake* (Bremen: K-Press, 1977), 4-61.

⁷¹ Käte Hamburger, "Die phänomenologische Struktur der Dichtung Rilkes", in *Philosophie der Dichter. Novalis, Schiller, Rilke* (Stuttgart, 1966), 179-275. In this same collection is her study "Novalis und die

“Simvolizm i bessmertie” that the original source for Pasternak’s notion of “bezumie bez bezumnogo” lies in the German Romantic cult of insanity.⁷² The seeds of this cult might well be found in the early Romantic concept of fantasy, “freies Nachdenken”, which frees the poet to create innovative forms. Ivanov elaborates on Fleishman’s analysis in his study of Pasternak and Formalism. He notes the popularity of Husserl in Moscow University circles at the time of Pasternak’s paper. He sees the mark of Husserlian philosophy in Pasternak’s “Neskol’ko polozhenij” and in his “mirror” poems, adding that the image of the mirror is also important in Rilke, a part of Rilke’s poetics of the thing, significant for Pasternak. Ivanov adds that Belyj’s 1910 *Simvolizm*, with which Pasternak was most likely familiar, was the only study at the time which examined Symbolism as a world view with reference to Marburg neo-Kantianism.

A number of scholars see the roots of significant aspects of Pasternak’s poetics in the philosophy of Bergson, namely the concept of *durée* in Pasternak’s concept of time as a universally binding force, flowing constantly but unevenly, and the concept of *élan vital* in Pasternak’s animism.⁷³

Mathematik”, in which she relates the poetics of Novalis to neo-Kantian philosophy (op. cit., 11-82); this indicates a further possible link between Pasternak’s and Novalis’s poetic systems.

⁷² Fleishman, “Karakteristike rannego Pasternaka”, *Russian Literature*, 12, 1975, 88. See also Angela Livingstone’s introduction to *Boris Pasternak and Creativity*, trans. and ed. Livingstone (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22. Erika Greber and Elena Coler continue this link to Nietzsche’s depiction of the insane artist. See Greber, op. cit., and Coler, ‘Infection’, *Symbolism and Immortality in Pasternak’s Poetics* (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 65.

⁷³ See, for example, Guy de Mallac, “Pour une esthétique pasternakienne”, *Problèmes soviétiques*, 7, 1964, 103-123; idem, “Esteticheskie vozzrenija Pasternaka”, in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de Cérisy-la-Salle*; idem, “Pasternak’s Critical-Aesthetic Views”; Victor Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Time”, *Canadian Slavic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1968), 264-270; Irene Masing-Delic, “Bersons ‘Schöpferische Entwicklung’ und Pasternaks ‘Doktor Schiwago’”, in *Literatur- und Sprachentwicklung in Osteuropa im 20. Jahrhundert. Ausgewählte Beiträge zum Zweiten Weltkongress für Sowjet- und Osteuropastudien*, ed. E. Reißner (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1982), 112-130; Boris Gasparov, “Vremennoj kontrapunkt kak formoobrazujushchij princip romana Pasternaka ‘Doktor Zhivago’”, in *Boris Pasternak and His Times. Selected Papers from the Second International Symposium on Pasternak* (Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialities, 1989), 315-358.

References have been made to Pasternak's reception of Hegel as well, for example, his ideas of the historical role of Christianity in creating modern man.⁷⁴ Schelling is also mentioned in the literature as a source for Pasternak's poetics. Zander refers to the importance of Schelling and Hegel in Pasternak's novel; she, like Ivanov later, also mentions Pasternak's continuation of the philosophical tradition of the eternal feminine in works of Goethe, Novalis, Vladimir Solov'ev, the last of which goes back to Dostoevskij and ultimately to Plato.⁷⁵ Terras, in the 1967 article mentioned above, considers Pasternak's aesthetics "Schellingian".⁷⁶ Boris Gasparov notes that Pasternak follows Schellingian ideas of art as the highest form of perception, and of the artist's messianic role to overcome the tragic gap between the human consciousness and the world around. According to Gasparov, Pasternak does not accept Schellingian notions of synthesis, however; the Pasternakian artist fulfills his mission not through synthesis, but through breaks, rejection, departures from previous states, which then become immortal by leaving traces on the mortal artist's work.⁷⁷

I. P. Smirnov analyzes various philosophical references in *Doktor Zhivago*. Pasternak, according to Smirnov, opposes the Schellingian identity of subject and object to Max Stirner's absolutization of subject and object; Pasternak, according to Smirnov, subverts the latter philosophy by transforming the Nihilist Stirner's idea "Alles spukt" into Pamfil Palyx's hallucinations. (Zhivago had been meditating about the Schellingian concept of identity prior to his meeting with Palyx.) This is one of a series of specific

⁷⁴ Stuart Hampshire, "Doctor Zhivago: As From a Lost Culture", *Encounter*, Vol. 9 (1958), No. 5, 5; Barry Scherr, "Pasternak, Hegel, and Christianity: Religion in 'Doktor Zhivago'", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1990. Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture*, 26-39.

⁷⁵ L. A. Zander, "Filosofskie temy v romane Pasternaka 'Doktor Zhivago'". Part I, *Vestnik RSKhD*, 52, 1959, 36-44. Part II, *Vestnik RSKhD*, 53, 1959, 37-48.

⁷⁶ Victor Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics".

⁷⁷ Boris Gasparov, "'Gradus ad Parnassum' (Samosovershenstvovanie kak kategorija tvorcheskogo mira Pasternaka)", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 110-135. Dorzweiler also notes Pasternak's closeness to Schelling in "Boris Pasternak und Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz", 30-31.

references to philosophical views in the form of riddles which Smirnov detects in Pasternak's novel.⁷⁸

Finally, as I will be referring to Pasternak's reception of Novalis through Rilke in some cases, it would be helpful to discuss the literature on Pasternak and Rilke, which, due to Pasternak's oft-expressed admiration of Rilke, forms the largest body of comparative scholarship on Pasternak and his reception of any other single writer. As in the case of studies on Pasternak and Romanticism and on Pasternak's reception of philosophy in his work, the scholarship moves from more general assertions to the study of specific textual references and to specific biographical information. Von Gronicka notes in an article concerned more with biographical links that Pasternak shared with the Symbolists and particularly Rilke a view of the transforming power of the poet's word, capable of lifting amorphous being to a higher plane.⁷⁹ Nils Åke Nilsson, in his discussion of Pasternak's poem "Gamlet", notes that Pasternak does not subvert or distort a Romantic model, as is the case in his earlier poetry, but rather follows Rilke's diminution of the role of the poet in relation to things around, noting, for example, Rilke's characterization of Rodin as "der Name unzähliger Dinge", which Nilsson places under the general notion of the artist's self-subjugation and self-sacrifice.⁸⁰

I. N. Bushman compares formal and thematic aspects of the two poets' work, finding a stronger resemblance in content than in form, to the degree that, as she asserts, Pasternak enters a long philosophical dialogue with Rilke, in which Pasternak's poems are full of answers, while Rilke's are full of questions and characterized by religious and

⁷⁸ I. P. Smirnov, "Dvojnój roman (O 'Doktore Zhivago')", *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, 27 (1991), 119-136.

⁷⁹ A. von Gronicka, "Rilke and the Pasternaks", *Germanic Review*, 27, 1952, 260-271.

⁸⁰ Nils Åke Nilsson, "Life as Ecstasy and Sacrifice: Two Poems by Boris Pasternak", *Scando Slavica*, Copenhagen, Tomus 5, 1959, 180-198.

philosophical doubt. She points out a common element in the two poets' depiction of "active" nature, and she finds a subtext to Pasternak's "Zerkalo" in Rilke's "Frühling".⁸¹

Leonid Rzevskij also discusses similarities in the poetics of Pasternak and Rilke: the theme of the world's second birth, its rediscovery; the poet's penetration into the hidden nature of all things, going beyond the visible; the necessity of silence in order to perceive and comprehend nature. Rzevskij illustrates his points with several examples of specific textual correspondence between the two poets.⁸²

Christopher Barnes studies a number of motivic links between Pasternak and Rilke. He points out that several of Pasternak's first experiments at writing poetry, published in 1968, are actually translations from Rilke. He writes that the Rilke influence in Pasternak lessened after 1913, when Pasternak turned more toward Futurism, though, according to Barnes, one finds reflections of late Rilke in *Doktor Zhivago*. Barnes also studies Pasternak's translations of two Rilke Requiems.⁸³

Jean-Luc Moreau traces the roots of Pasternak's *Zhivago* poems "Gefsimanskij sad", "Skazka", and "Rozhdestvenskaja zvezda" back to Rilke's poems "Der Olbaumgarten", "Pietà", "Sankt Georg", and "Die heiligen drei Könige". Both poets, according to Moreau, insist on the human side of the gospel drama. In addition, Moreau finds Rilke's sonnet "Der Tod der Geliebten" significant for Pasternak's *Doktor Zhivago*: in both, a child finds himself the 'close relative of the dead', and death thus becomes 'the other country' for both protagonists.⁸⁴

Olga Raevsky Hughes mentions Rilke's importance to Pasternak, particularly in his idea of a poet's becoming a part of life and nature upon his death and in his negative

⁸¹ I. N. Bushman, "Pasternak i Ril'ke (Iz raboty na temu 'Nemeckaja poëzija i tvorčestvo Pasternaka')", in *Sbornik statej, posvjashchennyx tvorčestvu B. L. Pasternaka*, 233-239.

⁸² Leonid Rzevskij, "Jazyk i stil' romana B. L. Pasternaka 'Doktor Zhivago'", in *Sbornik statej, posvjashchennyx tvorčestvu B. L. Pasternaka*, 115-189.

⁸³ Christopher Barnes, "Boris Pasternak and Rainer Maria Rilke: Some Missing Links", *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January 1972), 61-78.

⁸⁴ Jean-Luc Moreau, "The Passion According to *Zhivago*", *Books Abroad*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 1970), 237-243.

attitude about fame as 'the sum of all the misunderstandings that gather about a new name', as Rilke writes in his work on Rodin.⁸⁵

The 1975 C erisy-la-Salle conference included several papers on Pasternak and Rilke. Leonid Chertkov characterizes the literary relationship as one of congeniality, rather than mutual dependence.⁸⁶ Gleb Struve adds to the discoveries about the number of Pasternak's early experiments which are actually translations from Rilke, pointing out several more early translations.⁸⁷ Angela Livingstone compares Pasternak's *Oxranajaja gramota* and Rilke's *Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* as a starting point for a more general comparison between the two writers' poetics and world views. She sees striking similarities in their poetics and modes of expression which, in turn, point to differences in their temperaments and outlooks: she opposes Pasternak's life-affirming world view to Rilke's pessimism.⁸⁸ Livingstone expands on her conference statements in her 1989 book on *Doktor Zhivago*, pointing out Rilke's "Der  lbaumgarten" and "Piet " as subtexts to Pasternak's Gospel poems in the novel's Zhivago verse cycle, while opposing Pasternak's Christian outlook to Rilke's anti-Christian one.⁸⁹

Henry Gifford points out Rilke's "Der Tod des Dichters" as a subtext to Pasternak's "Smert' po eta", as D oring had also pointed out in her 1973 study. Like Livingstone, Gifford notes Rilke's intense doubting as profoundly different from Pasternak's world view, while seeing similarities in their views on art as a transcendent reality with transforming power. Gifford also points out in Pasternak and Rilke a common

⁸⁵ Olga Raevsky Hughes, *The Lyric World of Boris Pasternak*, 116, 139.

⁸⁶ Leonid Chertkov, "K voprosu o literaturnoj genealogii Pasternaka", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de C erisy-la-Salle*, 55-62.

⁸⁷ Gleb Struve, "Koe-cto o Pasternake i Ril'ke", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de C erisy-la-Salle*, 441-448.

⁸⁸ Angela Livingstone, "Pasternak i Ril'ke", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de C erisy-la-Salle*, 431-440.

⁸⁹ Angela Livingstone, *Boris Pasternak. Doktor Zhivago* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

desire to surrender to a higher principle, despite vast differences in their religious outlooks.⁹⁰

Igor' Smirnov returns to the relationship of "Der Ölbaumgarten" and "Gefsimanskij sad" in his analysis of intertextuality in Pasternak.⁹¹

Per-Arne Bodin identifies a Rilke source for Pasternak's war-era poem "Durnoj son": Rilke's "Geschichte vom lieben Gott", about a God who has lost control over his people.⁹²

Elisabeta Nöldeke devotes a chapter of her study on Pasternak and German culture to Pasternak's reception of Rilke. She notes several formal aspects in common between the two writers. In discussing their similar depictions of "active" nature, Nöldeke argues that Rilke's naturescapes are at times linked with death and fear, which is generally not the case with Pasternak. She compares Pasternak's and Rilke's view of a work of art as independent of its author, citing examples from Rilke's essays "Auguste Rodin" and "Über Kunst". Finally, she makes several perceptive comparisons between *Oxrannaja gramota* and *Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* in reference to their depiction of nature's efforts to distract man in order that he not comprehend her secrets, in their depictions of the poet who steps into the background, in their similar use of metonymy, and in their similar views of the poet's passivity in waiting for memories to return to the poet's mind before they can become art.⁹³

Elena Gessen also compares these two works. In her comparison, she asserts that Pasternak's dedication to Rilke in *Oxrannaja gramota* must refer to *Aufzeichnungen des*

⁹⁰ Henry Gifford, *Pasternak: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

⁹¹ Igor' Smirnov, "Das zitierte Zitat", *Dialog der Texte. Hamburger Kolloquium zur Intertextualität*, hrsg. von Wolf Schmid und Wolf-Dieter Stempel (Vienna: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 11, 1983), 273-290; idem, *Porozhdenie interteksta*, 279-280.

⁹² Per-Arne Bodin, "The Sleeping Demurge: An Analysis of Boris Pasternak's Poem 'Durnoj son'", in *Text and Context: Essays to Honor Nils Åke Nilsson* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987).

⁹³ Nöldeke, op. cit., chapter on Rilke.

Malte Laurids Brigge. She notes as common features in the two texts the equal status of people and things and the search of both heroes for an aesthetic system.⁹⁴

Vladimir Al'fonosov, too, sees the two writers' depictions of the relationship between man and nature as similar. He characterizes this relationship as extremely close and balanced, but without an anthropomorphization of nature. Al'fonosov notes Rilke's essay "Auguste Rodin" as a model for Pasternak. He argues that Pasternak's views are not based on *Naturphilosophie*, but rather that Pasternak saw the world as a mystery in much the same way as the Symbolists did, but within a "subjective biographical framework". In making this statement, Al'fonosov does not examine the Symbolists' literary sources.⁹⁵

Romantic sources come into play in Serafima Roll's article on Pasternak's and Rilke's common conceptions of death and self-erasure. She mentions in this context Novalis and Schlegel's notion of the single, absolute, and endless book; this concept, she argues, is present in Pasternak's idea that "no genuine book has a first page".⁹⁶ In another article on the literary relations between the two writers, Roll argues that Pasternak's perception of Rilke in *Oxrannaja gramota* is based, paradoxically, on Rilke's earlier work, prior to his *Sonnets to Orpheus*. Early Rilke, writes Roll, is focused on the abandonment of this world and concentrates on death and the eternal. Although this rejection of the everyday world is the very opposite of Pasternak's life-affirming world view, Pasternak's intimate link with the unknown and uncertain, the indeterminacy of *Safe Conduct*, in Roll's interpretation, inadvertently connects Pasternak's poetic world view with the early, rather than the more life-affirming late Rilke.⁹⁷

Symbolist literary sources form a part of Larissa Rudova's recent study of Pasternak's literary milieu as reflected in his short fiction. In her chapter on Pasternak and

⁹⁴ Elena Gessen, "'Oxrannaja gramota' i 'Zapiski Mal'te Lauridsa Brigge': Sxodstva i razlichija", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1990. Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture, Vol. 1*, op. cit., 157-167.

⁹⁵ Vladimir Al'fonosov, *Poèzija Borisa Pasternaka* (Leningrad, 1990).

⁹⁶ Serafima Roll, "The Force of Creative Negation: The Author in Boris Pasternak's *Safe Conduct*", *Canadian Slavic Papers*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1992), 79-96.

Rilke, Rudova discusses Pasternak's and Rilke's common view of the transcendent power of art, a notion inherited from the German Romantics, as she points out; their common reception of what she calls "Cohen's Romantic Identitätästhetik" through Symbolism; their belief in the "objectifying power of language", in which language acts independently of the writer, again with roots in German Romanticism; and their belief, common to their age, in literature as a syncretic art, the creation of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which once again harks back to German Romantic theories. Rudova also compares Pasternak's and Rilke's use of "estrangement", which Terras had also linked to the Jena Circle's notion of "poetisieren"; to both Pasternak and Rilke, like their Symbolist and Romantic predecessors, the artist capable of such "estranged" or "childlike" vision is unique, a chosen one. In sum, Rudova traces the elements in common in the poetics of Pasternak and Rilke to their common Symbolist and Romantic ancestry. She writes that Pasternak did not, however, share much of Rilke's or the Symbolists' mysticism. Rudova also discusses their common techniques of fragmentation, shifting planes, color imagery, and their depictions of "living things" (animated objects). She writes that Rilke's technique defined the lines along which Pasternak's art would develop.⁹⁸

Lazar Fleishman works with the problem in a different way, seeing the image of Rilke as more important than the man himself in *Oxrannaja gramota*; this is similar to his discussion of the significance of Heine in Pasternak's story "Apellesova cherta". Fleishman analyzes *Oxrannaja gramota* as a deeply polemical work, a subversion of the Soviet "literature of fact". Rilke is, according to Fleishman's analysis, portrayed as a man between two centuries, "two bells" at the tram station, changing trains. He is set at the opening of the work in opposition to Majakovskij, with whom the work ends, just as Cvetaeva had noted Rilke and Majakovskij as two opposite poles, and just as Pasternak

⁹⁷ Serafima Roll, "Rilke, Death and Writing in Boris Pasternak's Safe Conduct", *Germano-Slavica*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1991, 13-24.

⁹⁸ Larissa Rudova, *Pasternak's Short Fiction and the Cultural Vanguard* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 43-78.

opposes poet and hero, “natural” death and suicide, meeting and non-meeting, blurring the borders of fiction and reality in his anti-autobiography.⁹⁹

On the biographical side of their literary relations, Konstantin Azadovskij, one of the editors of the Pasternak-Cvetaeva-Rilke correspondence, reviewed the history of their relations at the 1991 Pasternak conference in Marburg. Azadovskij characterized Pasternak’s attitude toward Germany as “ecstatic, and, if you will, romantic”.¹⁰⁰

I have reviewed the relevant literature on Pasternak and Rilke here, because this relationship is of tremendous significance for the understanding of Pasternak’s reception of texts from Jena Romanticism. In Chapter Two, I intend to show that some of the elements in common between Pasternak and Rilke, as pointed out in the literature discussed here, actually have their roots in Jena Circle poetics. In some cases, this is because of a direct link between Pasternak and Novalis, and in other cases, Rilke acts as a textual intermediary. The presence of Novalis and early German Romantic texts in Pasternak’s reception of Rilke illustrates the complexity of the literary relationship and thus cannot be ignored, either in a discussion of Pasternak’s reception of Rilke, or in a discussion of Pasternak’s reception of German Romantic texts.

There has, then, been a gradual movement in the scholarly literature on Pasternak toward a clearer identification of his literary models and ancestors. Parallel to this, there have been tremendous accomplishments in the area of biography, with three outstanding and complementary biographies published in 1989 and 1990.¹⁰¹ Finally, the number of published analyses of specific texts, and of whole books of verse and periods in Pasternak’s literary career, has steadily been growing, with its peak at the time of the

⁹⁹ Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1981). Fleishman’s discussion of Rilke in *Oxrannaja gramota* is extensive, and references to Rilke are many; see the index for page listings.

¹⁰⁰ Konstantin Azadovskij, “Boris Pasternak i Rajner Marija Ril’ke”, *Pasternak-Studien*, 1-12.

Pasternak centenary in 1990. These studies form a vast body of literature, which I have not discussed in my overview of the relevant scholarship, as they lie outside the bounds of my study.

Yet many questions about Pasternak's poetic system remain unanswered; indeed, in many cases scholars are only beginning to discover what some extremely complex Pasternak poems "are about".

The literature on Pasternak's relationship both to Romanticism in general and specifically to German Romanticism, some of it outstanding, nevertheless still leaves unanswered questions as well. Much of it discusses the problem of "influence" in fairly general terms, without examining either specific "quotations" or subtexts in Pasternak's work or the interaction of various subtexts. An examination of these aspects of Pasternak's sources from the German Romantic era sheds light on the question posed by Terras in his article on Pasternak and early German Romanticism, to date the most extensive published discussion of this relationship,¹⁰² namely, how it is that a twentieth-century poet draws so much from a nineteenth-century aesthetic system (or, rather, series of systems). Terras published his study before the bulk of the scholarship which we now possess related to Pasternak's poetic and philosophical interests, and related to his use of subtexts, appeared, and his sound theses must be reexamined in light of these findings. In the case of Pasternak's reception of the "second-generation" German Romanticism of Hoffmann, and of Heine's late- or post-Romantic literature, there also still remains a great deal to be examined. The intention of this three-part study is to give a fuller account of Pasternak's reception of German Romantic literature in general—not only on the theme of aesthetics—by studying subtexts from representatives of its three "generations".

¹⁰¹ Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography, Vol. I: 1890-1928*, 1989; E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 1989; Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 1990.

¹⁰² A more recent paper on Pasternak and Novalis, delivered at the 1990 conference on Pasternak in Oxford by Renate Döring-Smirnov, has yet to be published. I did not attend this conference and do not know the

In my attempt to document Pasternak's reception of this complex body of texts, I have worked from the methodological foundations of "subtextual analysis",¹⁰³ developed prior to the establishment of "intertextuality theory"¹⁰⁴ by Kiril Taranovsky and Omry Ronen in their studies of the poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam. A 'subtext' is an 'already existing text (or texts) reflected in a new one'. A given text is based on fragments of earlier texts, figures of a "distanced reiteration", which "undergo synchronization and various complex transformations of their meaning, while the text based on such fragments, inasmuch as their original meaning is not canceled out but co-exists, as it were, with the new 'shifted' meaning, enters a diachronic relationship with its sources."¹⁰⁵ Igor' Smirnov has demonstrated that Pasternak often "quotes" texts that are themselves quotations, thereby adding to a previously existing subtextual chain ("reconstructive intertextuality") or quotes two or more previously unrelated texts in the same context, creating a new network of subtexts ("constructive intertextuality").¹⁰⁶ According to Smirnov's analysis, Pasternak tends to suppress the intermediate link in a subtextual chain, reverting to the earlier of a pair of subtexts.¹⁰⁷ Critics have found diverse subtexts in Pasternak's work from Russian and other European literatures; I mentioned above only studies on sources in Pasternak from German literature.

It is my intention to clarify Pasternak's relationship to German Romantic literature using this methodology, in order to go beyond the sometimes vague concept of "influence". Generally the subtexts to Pasternak's works occur in interrelated networks, as has been shown to be the case not only for Pasternak by Taranovsky, Ronen, Smirnov,

contents of the paper. An overview of it can be found in Mikhail Mejlas, "Jubilejnyj god Pasternaka v Anglii", *Voprosy literatury*, avgust 1991, 241.

¹⁰³ Omry Ronen, *An Approach to Mandel'shtam* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1983), IX.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Erika Greber, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts*, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Omry Ronen, *op. cit.*, VIII, XVI.

¹⁰⁶ I. P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*, 22-23. Smirnov's study opens with an excellent review of the literature on intertextuality theory. Irina Podgaeckaja also writes of the multiplicity of Pasternak's sources, making the tracing of a single subtext difficult, as that particular subtext interacts with other subtexts in Pasternak's poetic system, and has in turn its own myriad sources. See I. Ju. Podgaeckaja, "Pasternak i Verlèn", *Pasternak-Studien*, 108; *idem*, "Pasternak i Verlèn", *De Visu*, 1, 1993, 47-56.

Greber, and others. It is therefore necessary not only to compare two texts, as has frequently been done in the scholarship, but to work toward a broader analysis of his reception of subtexts along certain motivic lines or among various interrelated texts of the same or several authors. Only through such examination can the Pasternak reader hope to approach a clearer conception of his relationship to a given author or body of literature, and, through this investigation of its sources, to a more profound understanding of his work. Indeed, in some cases, the interpretation of certain texts is impossible without knowledge of their sources.

This study is motivated above all by a desire to understand Pasternak's complex and seemingly inconsistent definition of "romanticism". It would, therefore, be useful before turning to the study of subtexts to review Pasternak's statements on romanticism.

Scholars have noted Pasternak's paradoxical relationship to the Romantic tradition and what he terms "romanticism", since the early essays of Tynjanov and Mandel'shtam, discussed above. The scholarship has examined the problem from a variety of angles, but the general consensus is that despite Pasternak's avowed rejection of the "romantic manner", he does not reject the traditions of Romanticism. The result, as a number of critics have pointed out, is the paradox of Pasternak's actual faithfulness to what he claims to reject.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ On this "paradox", see, for example, I. Cohen, "The Poetry of Boris Pasternak", *Horizon*, Vol. 10 (1944), No. 55, 34; Renago Poggioli, *The Poets of Russia, 1890-1930* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960), 326; Victor Erlich, who calls Pasternak's romanticism "romanticism with a difference" in "'Life by Verses': Boris Pasternak", in his book *The Double Image* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), 154; Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics"; Guy de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views"; Angela Livingstone, who calls the phenomenon "modern romanticism" in "Boris Pasternak: A New Romanticism", *PN Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1977), 21-25; Milan Djurcinov, "Antonimija romantizm-realizm v tvorcestve Pasternaka", and Peter France, "Pasternak et le romantisme", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de Cérisy-la-Salle*; Peter France, *Poets of Modern Russia* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press 1982), 86; John Edward MacKinnon, "Boris Pasternak's Conception of Realism", *Philosophy and Literature*, Vol. 12, No. 12 (October 1988), 211-231; Boris Paramonov, who opposes Novalis to Nietzsche in Pasternak's work in "Pasternak protiv romantizma".

A good example of this oft expressed view can be found in Baevskij, who writes of Pasternak's peculiar relationship to Romanticism:

Pasternak's relationship to Romanticism was paradoxical. The poet felt a close link to the Romantic tradition. He loved Romantic poets and musicians, but he fought the term Romanticism and tended to rename Romantics as Realists.¹⁰⁹

A number of critics seek historical roots for the paradox. Victor Terras defines Pasternak's positive conception of realism (which Pasternak opposes to romanticism as an antipode and antidote) in terms of the Dostoevskian realism "in the higher sense".¹¹⁰ Olga Raevsky Hughes finds a source for Pasternak's idiosyncratically opposed concepts of romanticism and realism in Russian Symbolist Aleksandr Blok's essay "O romantizme", which discusses the truly romantic principle of a realism which does not imitate, but transforms nature.¹¹¹ Indeed, Andrej Belyj writes along similar lines in his memoir *Mezhdv dvux revoljucii*, quoting from his "Arabeski": "'Realizm, romantizm... projavlenija edinogo principa tvorcestva' — v simbolizme."¹¹² Guy de Mallac finds the roots for the pejorative use of the term "romantic" as "fanciful" or "improbable" in Jena Romanticism, particularly Friedrich Schlegel.¹¹³ Greber links Pasternak's conception of Romanticism with late Romanticism and the French Romanticism of Victor Hugo. Greber compares Pasternak's ahistorical conception of Romanticism to that of Nietzsche, whose assessment of Wagner's Romanticism was based to a great degree on Wagner's theatrics; Pasternak criticizes not Romantic literature, but Romantic attitude. He orients his conception of Romanticism toward Goethe's maxim, "Klassisch ist das Gesunde, romantisch das Kranke", as Greber accurately points out.¹¹⁴ Both Pasternak and Nietzsche

¹⁰⁹ Baevskij, *Pasternak—lirik. Osnovy poetičeskoj sistemy*, 139.

¹¹⁰ Victor Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics", 55-56.

¹¹¹ Olga Raevsky Hughes, op. cit., 170-173.

¹¹² Andrej Belyj, *Mezhdv dvux revoljucii* (Leningrad, 1935), 193.

¹¹³ Guy de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views"; idem, *Boris Pasternak: His Life and Art*, 339-356. He also notes the importance of Blok's "O romantizme".

¹¹⁴ Greber, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts*, 124-125; idem, "Boris Pasternak's Prose Fragment 'Tri glavv iz povesti'. The Arrangement of a Philosophical-Musical Subtext", *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 123-151; idem, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts*, 111-126. On Nietzsche's role

realize they are “infected” with romanticism themselves, much as they find it repellent, as Greber writes. This opposition of sick and healthy art, which does indeed play a profound role in Pasternak’s poetic system, will appear in all three subsequent chapters of this study, as it forms a part of Pasternak’s reception of the early Romanticism of Novalis, the late Romanticism of Hoffmann, and particularly Heine’s ambivalent relationship toward Romanticism. Salys and Fleishman note a domestic source to Pasternak’s turn to what he perceives as realism in the 1920s, namely Pushkin, whose 1824 long poem “Cygany” which is present as a subtext in Pasternak’s 1921 poem “Tak nachinajut...”, signaled Pushkin’s turn to realism.¹¹⁵

Döring notes the social and political significance of Pasternak’s introduction of the term “realism” into his writing at the beginning of the era of Socialist Realism.¹¹⁶

Pasternak contemporary Asmus puts aside the historical explanations, writing that realism and romanticism to Pasternak are not two specific, opposed schools of art, but two different attitudes to life, and thus to the tasks of the artist.¹¹⁷

With the scholarly commentary in mind, let us turn briefly to Pasternak’s own statements on romanticism.

In his early prose sketches, Pasternak refers with fair frequency to Romanticism. In his sketch “Uzhe temnet...”, which will be examined in Chapter Two, Pasternak writes in terms which define his attitude to Romanticism and his own aesthetic system for the rest of his career:

in Pasternak’s images of the ailing poet, see also Irene Buschmann, “Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Dichtung. Zweiter Beitrag: Pasternak und Nietzsche”, *Sowjetstudien*, 20, Juni 1966, 80.

¹¹⁵ Rima E. Salys Gaigalas, *Boris Pasternak’s ‘Temy i variacii’: A Commentary* (Dissertation, Harvard University, 1978), 172; Lazar Fleishman, “In Search of the Word: An Analysis of Pasternak’s Poem ‘Tak nachinajut...’”, *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 78-79. Cf. Frolovskaja, who notes that both Pasternak and Lermontov came to literature when the canon was falling apart: T. L. Frolovskaja, “Lermonotov i Pasternak: Problema liricheskoj lichnosti”, *Pasternakovskie chtenja*, 136.

¹¹⁶ Johanne Renate Döring, *Die Lyrik Pasternaks in den Jahren 1928-1934*, Chapter One.

¹¹⁷ V. F. Asmus, introduction to *Boris Pasternak ob iskusstve*, ed. E. B. and E. V. Pasternak (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1990), 19.

[...] может, это близко романтизму, который все хотел построить на эстетике [...] (IV: 719)

As we will see in Chapter Two, the continuation of this passage, in which the hero defines romanticism, is actually an improvisation on Novalis's prose. Later excerpts of this sketch are developed in the imagery of Pasternak's essay on aesthetics, "Neskol'ko polozhenij" (1918, 1922), which will also be examined in Chapter Two, as it, too, contains a number of Novalis subtexts.

In the introductory poems to his third and best-known book of verse, *Sestra moja zhizn'* (1917), Pasternak openly acknowledges his Romantic ancestors. The first poem, "Pamjati Demona", works obviously from the foundation of Lermontov's "Demon". The introductory epigraph is from Lenau. In the second poem, "Pro èti stixi", Pasternak writes:

Пока я с Байроном курил,
Пока я пил с Эдгаром По?

Пока в Дарьял, как к другу, вхож,
Как в ад, в цейнгауз и в арсенал,
Я жизнь, как Лермонтова дрожь,
Как губы в вермут, окунал. (I: 110)

As we will see in Chapter Four, the irony behind Pasternak's acknowledged debt to Romanticism is made clear through a Heine subtext, a viciously ironic portrait of the half-crazed artist in his *Reisebilder*. Pasternak writes of the spirit behind *Sestra moja zhizn'*, and of the contrast between Pushkin's realism and Lermontov's romanticism, in a 1958 letter to Eugene Kayden:

С Пушкина началась русская современность, живая, действительная, наш нынешний образ мыслей. Пушкин построил здание нашей духовной жизни, дом русского исторического сознания. Лермонтов был первым, кто в нем поселился. В Лермонтове слышна независимая исповедная нота последующей интеллектуальной традиции нашего времени в поэзии и прозе, которую позднее обогатила ослепительная конкретность Льва Толстого и затем абсолютная чуткость глаза у Чехова.

Но там, где Пушкин объективен, осязаем и точен, в общем широчайшем значении, Лермонтов горяч и личен и потому более ограничен, — там, где Пушкин реалистичен и высок в своей творческой деятельности, Лермонтов ее живое личное свидетельство. Его оперный романтизм, как Вы выразились, — не

более, чем частность. Влияние Байрона бесспорно, поскольку половина Европы была под его обаянием. Но то, что мы ошибочно называем романтизмом у Лермонтова, в действительности, как мне представляется, — необузданная стихия современного субъективно-биографического реализма и предвестие нашей современной поэзии и прозы.

Я посвятил “Сестру мою жизнь” не памяти Лермонтова, но самому поэту, точно он еще жил среди нас — его духу, все еще действенному в нашей литературе. Вы спрашиваете, чем он был для меня летом 1917 года? Олицетворением творческой смелости и открытий, началом свободного поэтического утверждения повседневности...¹¹⁸

Not until 1931, in *Oхранныя грамота*, does Pasternak define his own turn away from what he calls the “romantic manner”:

Время и общность влияний роднили меня с Маяковским. У нас имелись совпадения. Я их заметил. Я понимал, что если не сделать чего-то с собою, они в будущем участятся. От их пошлости его надо было уберечь. Не умея назвать этого, я решил отказаться от того, что к ним приводило. Я отказался от романтической манеры. Так получилась неромантическая поэтика “Поверх барьеров”.

Но под романтической манерой, которую я отныне возбранял себе, крылось целое мировосприятие. Это было понимание жизни как жизни поэта. Оно перешло к нам от символистов, символистами же было усвоено от романтиков, главным образом немецких. [...]

Зрелищное понимание биографии было свойственно моему времени. Я эту концепцию разделял со всеми. Я расставался с ней в той еще ее стадии, когда она была необязательно мягка у символистов, героизма не предполагала и кровью еще не пахла. И, во-первых, я освобождался от нее бессознательно, отказываясь от романтических приемов, которым она служила основанием. Во-вторых, я и сознательно избегал ее, как блеска, мне неподходящего, потому что, ограничив себе ремеслом, я боялся всякой поэтизации, которая поставила бы меня в ложное и несоответственное положение. (IV: 227-228)

This statement is the beginning of a long line of statements against what Pasternak calls romanticism. The best examples of this are in his late correspondence. He wrote to Jacqueline de Proyart in 1959:

Je n'avais jamais aimé ni même compris (et je ne crois pas de son existence) le fantastique, le romantique, de lui-même comme domaine indépendant, la

¹¹⁸ Boris Pasternak, letter to Eugene Kayden, 22 August 1958. Quoted from *Boris Pasternak ob iskusstve*, 355-356.

bizzarerie d'un Hoffmann, par exemple, ou d'un Carlo Gozzi. Pour moi l'art est une obsession, l'artiste est un possédé, un homme atteint, frappé de la réalité de l'existence, journalière qui, pour une réceptivité chalereuse et animée apparaît plus fabuleuse qu'un conte justement par cet élément de prose toute nue et quotidienne d'habituel, d'ordinaire.¹¹⁹

Also toward the end of his life, he wrote similarly to Renate Schweitzer, who had asked him to write an article on Hoffmann:

Den Romantismus liebe ich nicht als etwas amtsartig bewusstes, sekundäres, als Kunst in einer Genieuniform. Die unoffizielle Originalität eines Gottfried Keller [...] sagt mir viel mehr als alle Wildheiten E.T.A.Hoffmanns. Andererseits, was wäre Dostoevsky und vielleicht auch Dickens ohne Hoffmann!¹²⁰

As we see here, these statements are important to his conception of Hoffmann as well; they will be important to the discussion in Chapter Three.

Pasternak made similar statements to Zoja Maslennikova, who recorded them in her memoir of meetings with Pasternak. In regard to Hoffmann (we will return to this too in Chapter Three):

[...] написать об этом трудно: романтизм с его построениями, ничем не проверенными, я скорее отвергаю.¹²¹

In Pasternak's only recorded statement about Novalis, memorist Aleksandr Gladkov, who met with Pasternak late in the poet's life, notes the name in the context of highly romantic, "gypsy verse":

Снова говорим о замысле биографической драмы в стихах, о Петефи. Ему он нравится. Он говорит о романтизме, Новалисе, о "цыганской струе" в мировой поэзии.¹²²

Despite the apparent confusion of literary history in the above quote from Gladkov (which may be the confusion of Gladkov, rather than Pasternak), we learn from another letter to Schweitzer, however, that Pasternak does not mean the Romantic School in his criticism of Romanticism:

¹¹⁹ Jacqueline de Proyart, *Pasternak* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), 238.

¹²⁰ Renate Schweitzer, *Freundschaft mit Boris Pasternak* (Vienna, Munich, Basel: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1963), 80-81.

¹²¹ Zoja Maslennikova, *Portret Borisa Pasternaka* (Moscow: Sovetskaja Rossija, 1990), 143.

Unter Romantismus verstand ich nicht die einst dagewesene Strömung, nicht die tatsächliche Schule, nicht den Grad der Kunstentwicklung, sondern die Romantik als Prinzip: das Abgeleitete, das Nichtursprüngliche, Literatur über Literatur, das Kunstbewundern seitens der Künstler (wogegen ein schöpferisches Kunstgenie ein Kunstverächter und Lebensanbeter durch Kunst ist (wieder einseitig übertrieben, damit Du es ertappst), Musik steht nebenan weil das nichtinhaltliche, das formelle an ihr einen beinahe erschöpfenden Anteil hat, einen grösseren als in Dichtung und Malerei. Du hörst Brahms. Es rührt Dich, dass es so ist wie es sein sollte, dass Du Dich an nichts Unerwartetes, Ungewöhnliches stösst. Haydn, Weber, Schubert scheinen arglose Glockenspiele und Uhrwerke ihrer Zeitalter zu sein. Nehmen wir z.B. Bach (teilweise Mozart, zum Teil Beethoven und Schumann, Chopin, Wagner). Aber neben wir z.B. Bach. Etwas wider das Erwarten, über die Forderungen der Aesthetik hinaus ist da, ist Hauptsache, ist grossartig.¹²³

The notion of “life in art” appears time and time again, in the image of the oblivious mating grouse in Pasternak’s “Neskol’ko polozhenij”, in Pasternak’s portrayal of Chopin’s life in his essay “Shopen” (to be examined in Chapter Three), in his repeated statements about the image speaking for man, for example in *Oxrannaja gramota* and *Doktor Zhivago*. Pasternak opposes this to the notion of life as art, to biography as spectacle, in the excerpt quoted above from *Oxrannaja gramota*.

What we see, then, from Pasternak’s writings on what he calls “romanticism” is that his conception of romanticism is tied to the more neo-romantic conception of the poet as superman and his biography as a work of art in itself, which is, on the one hand, tied to Futurism, and on the other, has its roots in German Romanticism, as Pasternak himself points out.

In the chapters that follow, I will trace Pasternak’s reception of the Romantic sources themselves. Some of Pasternak’s quotations are tied to his own statements on his aesthetic system; others involve a whole variety of themes other than art and the relationship of the poet to his art. We will see from the breadth of Pasternak’s reception of Romantic sources that his understanding of Romantic literature was profound, as was his

¹²² Aleksandr Gladkov, *Vstrechi s Pasternakom* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1973), 68.

¹²³ Boris Pasternak, letter to Renate Schweitzer, 26 July 1959. Quoted from Schweitzer, op. cit., 89.

debt to it. It was, at the same time, varied and complex, as were his statements on the subject which we have examined here.

CHAPTER TWO

PASTERNAK AND NOVALIS

The reasons why Pasternak would have been interested in the works of Novalis are numerous. Pasternak's predecessors, the "second-generation" Symbolist poets Aleksandr Blok, Andrej Belyj, and Vjacheslav Ivanov had a very strong interest in the work of Novalis, following the general trend in Novalis's popularity at the turn of the century.¹ We know that Blok had a Russian copy of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* in his library.² Vjacheslav Ivanov translated much of Novalis's poetry in 1909; six of these translations were published in the journal *Apollon* in 1910, though the rest remained unpublished until after Pasternak's death.³ Ivanov gave lectures on Novalis in Moscow in 1909, 1914, and 1920, including readings of his own translations from Novalis.⁴ Whether Pasternak was at either of these lectures has not, to my knowledge, been reported, but it is possible that he attended the 1909 or 1914 lecture. The intense interest of fellow member of the literary circles (and publishing houses) *Lirika* and *Centrifuga*, Sergej Bobrov, in the work of Novalis is evident from the number of epigraphs and quotations from the Romantic writer in his poetry and polemical writings, particularly in his first book of verse, *Vertogradari*

¹ On Novalis's reception in Western Europe during the Symbolist era see Werner Vordtriede, *Novalis und die französischen Symbolisten* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1963). For an excellent history of Novalis's reception in Russia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Michael Alex Wachtel, *Goethe and Novalis in the Life and Work of Vyacheslav Ivanov* (Dissertation, Harvard University, 1990), 93-106; idem, *Russian Symbolism and Literary Theory: Goethe, Novalis, and the Poetics of Vyacheslav Ivanov* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 113-127.

² *Biblioteka A. A. Bloka. Opisanie. Kniga 3* (Leningrad: Institut ruskoj literatury AN SSSR, 1986), 243, #2166. Blok also owned Grigorij Petnikov's translation of Novalis's *Fragments*: Ibid., 244, #2167; as well as Maeterlinck's translations from Novalis: Ibid., 123, #1354. Finally, Blok owned Zhirmunskij's *Nemeckij romantizm i sovremennaja mistika*, on which he made extensive marks and comments: *Opisanie, Kniga 1* (Leningrad, 1984), 274, #423. We know from Blok's diary that he received Zhirmunskij's book from the author in March 1914 and read Novalis in December 1914: Aleksandr Blok, *Zapisnye knizhni 1901-1920* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1965), 210, 249. Blok's possession of Novalis's novel is mentioned in K. M. Azadovskij, "Rajner Maria Ril'ke i Aleksandr Blok (predvaritel'nye zametki)", *Russkaja literatura*, 2, 1991, 147, 154.

³ Vjacheslav Ivanov, *Sobranie sochinenij*, 4 vols., ed. D. V. Ivanov and O. Deshart, Vol. IV (Brussels: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1987), 728. On Ivanov's translations and his reception of Novalis, see Wachtel, op. cit., 1990, 107-243; op. cit., 1994, 128-209. See also Efim Ètkind, "Poèzija Novalisa: 'Mifologičeskij perevod' Vjacheslava Ivanova", *Russkaja literatura*, 3, 1990, 157-164.

nad lozami (Gardeners Over the Vines).⁵ Further evidence of Bobrov's serious interest in the work of Novalis can be found in his papers, where there are prose translations of the poetry from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.⁶ Bobrov's archive also contains correspondence with literary colleague Grigorij Petnikov about the publication of Petnikov's translation of Novalis's *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*.⁷ That translation, dated 1913, was not published by Centrifuga until 1919.⁸ Petnikov's translation of selected Novalis Fragments was published by his own publishing house, Liren', in 1914.⁹ That year also saw the publication of a Russian translation of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* by Zinaida Vengerova and Vassilij Gippius.¹⁰ Also in 1914, Viktor Zhirmunskij published his study of Jena Romanticism, entitled *Nemeckij romantizm i sovremennaja mistika*, in St. Petersburg. The book, which draws a parallel between the mysticism of the early Romantic and the Russian

⁴ Ivanov, op. cit. See also Wachtel, op. cit., 1990, 101-106; op. cit., 1994, 120-125.

⁵ Vladimir Markov, *Russian Futurism: A History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968). See the chapter on "Centrifuga", particularly 232, 234, 239. *Vertrogradari* was published in Moscow by Lirika in 1913.

⁶ Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaja arhiva literatury i iskusstva (RGALI, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art). Fond Sergeja Bobrova, fond 2554, op. 2, ed. xr. 235. "'Genrix von Ofterdingen' Pervod stixotvorenij iz romana Novalisa s nemeckogo jaz. (Chernoviki. Avtograf v tetradi (1908 - nachalo 1910- x godov))." Several other translations from Novalis can be found in fond 2554, op. 2, ed. xr. 238, which contains Bobrov's translations of works by Novalis, Remier, Rodenbach, Shelley, and others.

⁷ Brief correspondence can be found in fond 2554, op. 2, ed. xr. 568. A letter dated 14 November 1913 contains a postscript: "Prilozhu moj perevod 'Uchenikov v Saise'." More detailed and, for our purposes, significant, letters from Petnikov can be found in fond 2554, op. 1, ed. xr. 57, which includes Petnikov's letters to Bobrov from March 1913 through June 1916. According to these letters, Petnikov did not send his translation of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* to Bobrov until the end of 1914. Petnikov's letter to Bobrov from 2 December 1914 indicates that he had almost completed copying out the translation before sending it. A letter from 21 January 1915 states that he finished the translation "long ago". A letter from 5 July 1914 indicates that Petnikov and Pasternak were in contact: After explaining that he would send the translation to Bobrov in ten days, Petnikov says that "B. P. sobiralsja vam pisat'." I have been unable to find any evidence in Petnikov's letters to Bobrov that Pasternak saw Petnikov's translations, but since the two were apparently in contact, and since Pasternak and Bobrov were in close professional contact in the 1910s, it is quite possible that Pasternak saw Petnikov's translations before they were published. I hope to prove in this chapter that Pasternak must have seen Petnikov's translation of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* while writing poems from *Poverx bar'ero*.

⁸ Novalis, *Ucheniki v Saise*. V perevode Grigorija Petnikova (Moscow: Centrifuga, 1919). Reprinted in Novalis, *Gejnrix von Ofterdingen. Fragmenty. Ucheniki v Saise. "Novalis". Literaturynyj ètjud T. Karlejlja*, ed. S. Fedorov (St. Petersburg: Evrazija, 1995), 161-190.

⁹ Novalis, *Fragmenty v perevode Grigorija Petnikova. I* (Moscow: Liren', 1914). Reprinted in Novalis, op. cit. 1995, 143-160. On Petnikov's publication, see Markov, op. cit., 245.

Symbolist world views, must have inspired discussions in literary circles of the time.¹¹ Thus Jena Romanticism, particularly Novalis, was very much “in the air” at the time when Pasternak launched his literary career. Pasternak himself was certainly exposed to the literature and aesthetics of German Romanticism during his philosophy studies at Moscow State University.¹² Pasternak’s son writes that his father was interested in the aesthetics of Friedrich Schlegel, and that Pasternak began, but never completed, a translation of *Vorschule der Ästhetik* by Jean Paul Richter, a contemporary of the Jena circle writers.¹³

Pasternak’s reception of Novalis is evident from his earliest sketches through *Doktor Zhivago*, though textual echoes are fewer and more distant after *Vtoroe rozhdenie*. His quotation of Novalis texts evolved toward greater subtlety. For example, an early prose sketch, “Uzhe tmneet”, is a kind of improvisation on, among other sources, the *Hymnen an die Nacht* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, with particular focus on the more “mystical” aspects of these works, those aspects which found such resonance among the Symbolists. Later his quotation of Novalis texts was refined to the briefest of references, from a striking word or phrase to an image or line which implies a more profound similarity between the two writers’ poetic systems than at first seems apparent. Novalis

¹⁰ Novalis, *Gejnrix von Ofterdingen* (posmertnyj roman). Pervod s nemeckogo Zin. Vengerovoj i Vasilija Gippiusa (stixi). Vstupitel’naja stat’ja Zin. Vengerovoj. (Moscow: K. F. Nekrasov, 1914). Reprinted in Novalis, op. cit., 1995, 5-142.

¹¹ See Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics*, 70; and Efim Etkind, “Istorizm V. M. Zhirmunskogo”, *Izvestija rossijskoj Akademii Nauk. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 51 (1992), No. 2, 5. Etkind mentions the interest only of Ivanov, Blok, Belyj, and Anna Axmatova in Zhirmunskij’s book. A comparison of the poetics of Blok and Novalis is also given by Kornej Chukovskij. See K. Chukovskij, *Kniga ob Aleksandre Bloke* (Berlin: Epoxa, 1922), 41-48. Chukovskij also mentions Blok’s shift from Novalis in his early work to Heine in his later work: “Iz Novalisa on sdelalsja Gejne.” Ibid., 97.

¹² One of Pasternak’s final examination questions for graduation from Moscow State University was on “Fichte and the Romantic School”, for the examination in modern philosophy, 27 May 1913. E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 182.

¹³ E. B. Pasternak wrote to me of Pasternak’s interest in the aesthetics of Schlegel and Jean Paul in a letter from August 1992. The Jean Paul translation project is also mentioned in Rima Salys, “‘Izmeritel’naja edinica russkoj zhizni’: Pushkin in the Work of Boris Pasternak”, *Russian Literature*, XIX, 1986, 351. Pasternak himself writes in extraordinarily Jena-esque terms in a letter reviewing poems of Russian Symbolist poet Aleksandr Dobroljubov: “Ponjatie sily (neprotjzhennogo dvizhenie) [...] Bez ljubvi k prirode i kakoj-to svoej naturfilosofii ne byvaet tvorcestva [...] Ideja ‘nezrimoj buri’ zakljuchenoj v pokoe cvetka, èto ved’ ne tol’ko obraz, no i utverzhen’e, v otnoshenii organicheskoj zhizni besspornoje, t. e. èto

texts cited in late Pasternak are generally the same as those quoted in Pasternak's earliest sketches; they are simply refined to a "distilled" form.

Reception of Novalis texts is clearest in Pasternak's early experimental prose sketches, which remained unpublished until after his death. Here Pasternak adheres closely to his sources, without the characteristic attempt at subtextual "track covering" noted by Fleishman.¹⁴

2.1 Novalis Reception, 1910-1913

Although Ivanov's translations of Novalis's poetry apparently did not have a significant impact on Pasternak's work, the 1910 publication of the translations may well have stirred Pasternak's interest in the *Hymnen an die Nacht* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. His perception of Novalis both through the Ivanov translations and through the Musaget discussion which likely followed would, however, have been affected by their specifically Symbolist interpretation of Novalis. Ivanov, for example, characterized Novalis in the introduction to his *Apollon* publication as "mifotvorec i slagatel' gimnov [...], organ tajnogo predanija i vmeste samostojatel'nyj myslitel' [...], mudryj skazochnik i ditja-uchitel'."¹⁵

One of the works of Novalis chosen by Ivanov for publication in *Apollon* in 1910 is the "Song of the Pilgrim" from Part II of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Pasternak takes the theme of the pilgrimage from this poem and expands on it to include other recurring themes from Novalis's *oeuvre* in his 1910 sketch, "Uzhe temneet", published posthumously.

The relevant stanzas from the pilgrim's song read:

I: Liebeszahren, Liebesflammen
Fließt zusammen;
Heiligt diese Wunderstät(t)en,

obraz dejstvitel'nogo obraza." Boris Pasternak, letter to V. V. Veresaev, 1939. Quoted from E. V. Ivanova, "Neizvestnyj ozyv o stixax Aleksandra Dobroljubova", *Pasternakovskie chtemja*, 197-202.

¹⁴Lazar Fleishman, "Fragmentsy 'futurnsücheskoj' biografii Pasternaka", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 4, 1979, 79-133.

¹⁵Vjacheslav Ivanov, *Sobranie sochmenij*, Vol. 4, 182.

Wo der Himmel mir erschienen,
Schwärmt um diesen Baum wie Bienen
In unzähligen Gebeten.

3: **Auch der Felsen ist gesunken**
Freudentrunken
Zu der selgen Mutter Füßen.
 Ist die Andacht auch in Steinen
 Sollte da der Mensch nicht weinen
 Und sein Blut für sie vergießen?

4: **Die Bedrängten müssen ziehen**
Und hier knieen,
Alle werden hier genesen. (I: 323; IV: 222-223)¹⁶

Pasternak's Reliquimini nods to the Romantic era in the prose fragment, remarking, "Konechno, [...] èto blizko romantizmu. No ponimaesh' li ego." He continues,

— я вижу целое паломничество, которое свергает, побеждает, заливает, топит в своей молитве отжившие очертания и не может потонуть в большем, а по вечерам, даже внешний очерк — бог, горизонт, даже горизонт по вечерам выветривается, как грань песчаника или как пола, которая, тлея, прожжена большими, пепельно догорающими, длинными окурками — внешними улицами; их ведь тушат, раздавливая о горизонт. Да, и вот представь себе всю эту религиозную революцию сумерек, когда даже те линии, что сдерживали фанатизм дня, перестают быть гранями, когда и боготворимые линии изламываются, множатся, гнутся и вдруг сами начинают плыть, сами становятся на колени, сами хотят перебирать какие-нибудь четки, льнуть к алтарю [...] (IV: 719-720)¹⁷

¹⁶Novalis texts are cited from two editions: the first page number indicated is from the critical edition of Novalis: *Novalis Schriften. Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs. Begründet von Paul Kluckhohn und Richard Samuel* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1960-1988), 5 vols. The second page number indicated is from *Novalis Schriften*, hrsg. von J. Minor (Jena: Diederichs, 1907), 4 vols., the last edition to come out before the beginning of Pasternak's literary career. As there is no definite evidence as to which edition of Novalis Pasternak actually read, I have followed the spelling and form of the more recent critical edition; however, I originally checked texts from the 1907 edition which Petnikov used for his translations, and to which Pasternak most likely had access. If there are significant differences between the critical and 1907 editions, I indicate the differences in footnotes. Italics are taken from the Novalis critical edition, to indicate text which Novalis himself underlined. I have marked in bold text which I wish to emphasize.

¹⁷Pasternak texts are quoted from Boris Pasternak, *Sobranie sochinenij v pjati tomach* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1989-92). Italics are taken from this edition. I have marked in bold text which I wish to emphasize. Assya Humesky pointed out a text which may be an intermediary link between the Novalis poem and the Pasternak sketch: Tjutchev's poem "Teni sizye smestilis". The second stanza opens: "Sumrak tixij, sumrak sonnyj, / Lejsja v glub' moej dushi, / Tixij, temnyj, blagovonnyj, / Vse zalezj i utishi." She also notes the line "Vse vo mne i ja vo vsem!" and Pasternak, "Volny", I: 381. Quoted from Fedor Tjutchev, *Sochinenija v dvux tomach* (Moscow: Pravda, 1980), I: 81. Although Michael Wachtel points out that there is no evidence that Tjutchev knew the work of Novalis (Wachtel, op. cit.,

The image of flames and tears flowing together in the Novalis excerpt is reflected in Pasternak's imagery of flames, water, and the blurring of borders. For Pasternak, twilight is a time during which contours are made fuzzy and the disparate comes together. The lines "break, multiply, and themselves suddenly begin to swim". The "multitude" in Pasternak is not of flames and tears of love, compared to bees in Novalis, but of the particles that make up the twilight. The reflection of Novalis's imagery of pilgrimage is obvious at the end of the Pasternak excerpt quoted here.

One sees already here in 1910 Pasternak's mix of Romantic and Modernist imagery. Novalis's lofty image of the animation of all things, which constitutes not mere personification, but rather a reflection of his readings from Schelling, Baader, and Ritter, among others,¹⁸ is present in Pasternak's fragment together with prosaic urban imagery typical of Modernist poets. The "flames of love" from Novalis become the "cigarette butts" of streets at twilight, "extinguished in the horizon". We see here the seeds of Pasternak the Futurist.

Another significant subtext to the Pasternak fragment is the first of Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*. The second paragraph of the prose version reads:

Abwärts wend ich mich zu der heiligen, unaussprechlichen,
 geheimnisvollen Nacht. Fernab liegt die Welt — in eine tiefe Gruft versenkt
 — wüst und einsam ist ihre Stelle. In den Saiten der Brust weht tiefe
 Wehmut. In Tautropfen will ich hinuntersinken und mit der Asche mich
 vermischen. — Fernen der Erinnerung, Wünsche der Jugend, der Kindheit
 Träume, des ganzen langen Lebens kurze Freuden und vergebliche
 Hoffnungen kommen in grauen Kleidern, wie Abendnebel nach der Sonne
 Untergang. In anderen Räumen schlug die lustigen Gezelte das Licht auf.
 [...]

 Wie arm und kindisch
 Dünkt mir das Licht,
 [...]

 Wie erfreulich und gesegnet

1990, 94; op. cit., 1994, 116), the closeness of these two texts in meter and imagery seems to indicate a familiarity. Compare the first two lines of Novalis's third stanza with the lines from Tjutchev quoted here.
¹⁸See Gerhard Schulz, *Novalis in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rohwohlt, 1969), 96-97.

Des Tages Abschied. (I: 131-2; I: 445)¹⁹

Besides the most obvious common treatment of twilight, the passages share other common motifs, some of which continue in later works of Pasternak. One such motif is that of ashes, which appears both here and in the “Song of the Pilgrim”, and which Pasternak transforms into “cigarette butts”. The motif of ashes and flame and its connection with creativity recurs throughout Pasternak’s *oeuvre*: it can be seen in such poems as “Skripka Paganini” (I: 472-474), “Fevral” (I: 47), “Kak bronzovoj zoloz zharoven” (I: 48), “Pro Domo” (I: 480), “Ljubov’ Fausta” (I: 529), “Marine Cvetaevoj” (I: 229), “Remeslo” (I: 550), “Zapiski Spektorskogo” (I: 570), and in the motif of the candle in *Doktor Zhivago*. The motif of dew is linked as well with creativity in Pasternak, as in “Zapiski zavsegdataja...” (I: 533), “Marine Cvetaevoj” (I: 229), and “Lesnoe” (I: 428). It is, of course, a part of what is probably Pasternak’s best-known and most characteristic leitmotif, that of rain.²⁰ In “Uzhe temneet” the water imagery occurs as a flood or drowning: “zalivaet, topit...”. The motifs of dew and ashes in the Novalis Hymn are, in turn, closely tied to another motif which also occurs in Pasternak (albeit not nearly as frequently as the motifs of dew and ashes): that of falling as a consequence of inspiration. If here in Novalis the fall is into dew (“In Tautropfen will ich hinuntersinken und mit der Asche mich vermischen.”), then elsewhere the “inspired fall” is into the grass. In Chapter Three of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, the “newborn” poet of the merchants’ tale sings:

Er sinkt im hohen Grase nieder,
Und schläft mit nassen Wangen ein;
Da schwebt der hohe Geist der Lieder
In die beklemmte Brust hinein [...] (I: 226; IV: 95)

¹⁹ The 1907 edition of this Hymn is entirely in prose. The last portion of this excerpt in the 1907 edition reads: “Wie arm und kindisch dünkt mir das Licht nun — wie erfreulich und gesegnet des Tages Abschied.”

²⁰ The most famous critical response to the theme of Pasternak and rain is the section of the same title in Manna Cvetaeva’s 1922 “Svetovoj liven’. Poèzija vечноj muzhestvennosti”, *Èpopeja*, 3, 1992. Repr. in *Izbrannaja proza v dvuch tomach*, (New York, 1979), vol. 1, 135-148. See also Viktor Frank, “Vodjanoj znak (Poètičeskoe mirovozzrenie Pasternaka)”, in *Sbornik statej, posvjashchennyx tvorchestvu B. L. Pasternaka*. Repr. in *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2, 1990, 72-76. See also Angelika Meyer, “Sestra moja — zhizn’” von Boris Pasternak. *Analyse und Interpretation* (Munich: Otto Sagner [Slavistische Beiträge, Band 207], 1987); Aleksandr Zholkovskij, “Mesto okna v poètičeskom mire Pasternaka”, *Russian Literature*, VI-1 (January 1978), 1-38.

About a decade after penning his sketches, Pasternak wrote the following on the birth of a poet:

Так ночи летние, ничком
Упав в овсы с мольбой: исполнься,
Грозят заре твоим зрачком,
Так затевают ссоры с солнцем.²¹
(“Tak nachinajut”, 1921, I: 202)

I will return to this poem in another context later. The passage, “Wie arm und kindisch/ Dünkt mir das Licht,/ [...] Wie erfreulich und gesegnet/ Des Tages Abschied.” (I: 132; I: 445), is reflected in another Pasternak fragment, “Kogda Reliquimini vspominalos’ detstvo”:

Когда Реликвимини вспоминалось детство, он находил его
окруженным полуденными деревьями [...]
Детство запомнило полдни и возвращения поллок с работ;
юность связала себя с рассветом.
Поэтому юность Реликвимини настала для него раньше его
детства. Юность предшествовала детству Реликвимини.
[...] ребяческие полдни осушали тревогу мартовских
мостовых. (IV: 725-726)

Pasternak, like Novalis, links childhood to bright sunlight; for both poets, as for many others, transitional times of day are linked to more spiritually charged ages and states of mind.

There are two more striking points of correspondence between the first of Novalis’s *Hymnen* and Pasternak’s sketch, “Uzhe temncet”. One is their poetic depiction of things inanimate. This “animation” of the inanimate goes for both writers beyond the common device of personification. Though their treatment of the inanimate would seem to come perilously close to this device in the examples cited above, the “Song of the Pilgrim” and “Uzhe temncet”, other works of each author prove otherwise.

Novalis writes in a Fragment:

²¹On this poem, see Lazar Fleishman, “In Search of the Word: An Analysis of Pasternak’s Poem ‘Tak nachinajut...’”, *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 65-90; Angela Livingstone, “‘Fausta li, Gamleta li’: Faustovskie motivy v rannix stixotvorenijax Pasternaka”, *Pasternak-Studien*, 91-96.

Eine wahrhafte *Liebe* zu einer leblosen Sache ist wol gedenkbar — auch zu Pflanzen, Thieren, zur Natur — ja zu sich selbst. Wenn der Mensch erst ein wahrhaft innerliches Du hat — so entsteht ein höchstgeistiger und sinnlicher Umgang, und d[ie] heftigste Leidenschaft ist möglich — Genie ist vielleicht nichts, als Resultat eines solchen innern Plurals. Die Geheimnisse dieses Umgangs sind noch sehr unbeleuchtet — (III: 577, #172; II: 197, #64)

Pasternak plays with the notion of the animate and inanimate in reference to the lines and borders of twilight in “Uzhe temneet”. On the one hand, he speaks of lines which swim, as in an inspired flood. To continue the excerpt from the sketch quoted earlier:

[...] боготворимые линии изламываются, множатся, гнутся и вдруг сами начинают плыть, [...] и вот вздувается все, что ты видишь, как какое-то одухотворенное половодье, и вот тебе сумерки — целая поднявшаяся степь кочевников [...] (IV: 720)

Thus the twilight’s lines and borders come alive, as if inspired. Pasternak switches to German, in fact, in his improvization on the theme of “spiritualized lines”:

— это значит, что жизнь была в рамках, и рамы были неизменными, неподвластными; но и они заразились жизнью, стали ею und man muss die Götter die Liebe, alle Rahmen die Leben geworden umrahmen [...] (IV: 721)

On the other hand, at the end of the fragment Pasternak treats his image ironically, with a word play on “line” and on “animated”:

Реликвимини и Македонский идут к той улочке, где проходит трамвай. Это малооживленная линия, и здесь проходят тряские вагоны старого образца. (IV: 722)

In another early prose fragment, “Zakaz dramy”, Pasternak examines more closely the notion of “*Liebe zu einer leblosen Sache*”. He writes,

Композитор Шестикрылов был той терапевтической нитью, которая должна была сшивать оперированный миропорядок: первое — дорогой, быть может, самый дорогой неодушевленный мир; пеструю, раскрашенную нужду предметов, безжизненную жизнь, и второе — чистую музыку, обязанность чего-то немислимого стать действительностью и жизнью [...] (IV: 744)

He continues on the same theme, with yet another Novalis subtext:

Впоследствии они стали художниками. Они были более внимательны; подходя к тому, что казалось массе одушевленным, они говорили: “Мы видим вашу нужду, мы видим, как

неодушевленны и декоративны вы, наши воспоминания; и мы оплачем вас, и заломим за вас руки”.

Как создается драма в жизни; как не в состоянии более вынести неодушевленных просьб, раздвигают стулья и кресла, чтобы *танцевать, танцевать* — вот что хочется передать мне здесь. (IV: 746)

The second Novalis subtext is another of his Fragments:

Man sucht mit der Poesie, die gleichsam nur das mechanische Instrument dazu ist, innre *Stimmungen*, und Gemälde oder *Anschaungen* hervorzubringen — vielleicht auch *geistige* Tänze etc. Poésie = *Gemütsregungskunst*. (III: 639, #507; II: 299, #380)

The link between Pasternak and Novalis on the theme of the inanimate is, however, complicated by the intermediary of Rainer Maria Rilke's poetry and prose.²² Käte Hamburger, in her analysis of the relationship of Rilke's philosophy, as expressed through his poetry, to Husserlian phenomenology, assesses Rilke's concept of the “thing” in reference to the Ninth Duino Elegy:

Er verstand unter Ding im wesentlichen nicht totes Ding, sondern etwas Beseeltes, und seine Liebe galt den mit dem Leben des Menschen und der menschlichen Kultur mitgewachsenen, aus ihr hervorgegangenen Dingen, den Kunstingen im weitesten Sinne, die nun—so läuft der Gedankengang der Elegie weiter—den ‘Zeitgeist’, dem technischen, weichen müssen: ‘Tempel kennt er nicht mehr.’²³

Hamburger ties the importance of the world of things not to the Romantic concept of the unity and interdependence of all things, but rather to concepts drawn from Rilke's study of Husserl:

Auf den ersten Blick könnte man das Einheitsgefühl, das das Gedicht ausspricht, zurückleiten zu einer traditionellen romantischen Form dieses Gefühls, wie es etwa jener von des Novalis Lehrlingen zu Sais ausspricht, der ein Dichter ist [...] Aber es ist deutlich, daß dies [...] nur ein Moment in einem umfassenderen Zusammenhang angibt, ja daß die Gefühlsbezeichnung für das Verhältnis von Ich und Dingen Metaphern dieses Zusammenhangs bedeuten. Es ist aber der noematische Zusammenhang, in dem nicht unterschieden werden kann, was ‘innen’ und

²²See Chapter One for a review of the wealth of literature on Pasternak and Rilke. Anna Ljunggren in particular discusses the theme of the animated thing as a common theme between Pasternak and Rilke. See her *Juvenilia Borisa Pasternaka. 6 fragmentov o Relikvini*, 95-118.

²³Käte Hamburger, “Die phänomenologische Struktur der Dichtung Rilkes”, in her *Philosophie der Dichter. Novalis, Schiller, Rilke* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966), 259. See also Lazar Fleishman, “Karakteristike rannego Pasternaka”, *Stat'i o Pasternake*, 11.

was 'außen' ist. [...] Es treten die abstrakten allgemeinen Begriffe Wesen, Raum, Weltinnenraum auf, Begriffe und nicht Metaphern [...] (242-243)

Yet, specifically in the theme of the *Dingwelt* there are textual echoes between Rilke and Novalis. In the passage immediately after the one to which Hamburger refers, in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, Novalis writes about the world of stones:

— Ob jemand die **Steine** und Gestirne schon verstand, weiß ich nicht, aber gewiß muß dieser ein erhabnes Wesen gewesen sein. In jenen Statuen, die **aus einer untergegangenen Zeit der Herrlichkeit des Menschengeschlechts übrig geblieben sind**, leuchtet allein so ein **tiefer Geist**, so ein seltsames Verständnis der Steinwelt hervor, und überzeiht den sinnvollen Betrachter mit einer Steinrinde, die nach innen zu wachsen scheint. (I: 101; IV: 32)

Rilke echoes Novalis's thoughts on the "world of stones" in his long essay "Auguste Rodin":

Denn gerade das suchte er: die Gnade der großen Dinge. [...] dahinter erhoben sich andere, **schwere steinerne Dinge, aus undenklichen Kulturen hinüberdauern** in noch nicht gekommene Zeiten. Da waren Steine, die schliefen, und man fühlte, daß sie erwachen würden bei irgend einem Jüngsten Gericht. Steine, **an denen nichts Sterbliches war**, und andere, die eine Bewegung trugen, eine Gebärde, die so frisch geblieben war, als sollte sie hier, nur aufbewahrt und eines Tages irgendeinem Kinde gegeben werden, das vorüberkam. Und nicht allein in den berühmten Werken und den Weithinsichtbaren war dieses Lebendigsein; das Unbeachtete, Kleine, das Namenlose und Überzählige war nicht weniger erfüllt **von dieser tiefen, innerlichen Erregtheit**, von dieser reichen und überraschenden Unruhe des Lebendigen. (353)

And later in the same work:

[...] Und **sogar die Steine älterer Kulturen waren nicht ruhig**. In die hieratisch verhaltene Gebärde uralter Kulte war die Unruhe lebendiger Flächen eingeschlossen, wie Wasser in die Wände des Gefäßes. (III: 368)²⁴

Rilke, in fact, quotes the same Novalis "Song of the Pilgrim" cited by Pasternak in "Uzhe temneet", specifically in reference to his conception of the poet being barely distinguishable from the things around him. In a poem from *Das Stundenbuch*, he writes of herds of things, reminiscent of Novalis's bees:

²⁴Rainer Maria Rilke, *Werke in drei Bänden*, (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1966). On Rilke's notion of Rodin as "der Name unzähliger Dinge" in Pasternak's notion of self-subjugation, see Nils Åke Nilsson, "Life as Ecstasy and Sacrifice: Two Poems by Boris Pasternak", *Scando-Slavica*, Copenhagen, 5, 180-198.

Ich habe Hymnen, die ich schweige. Es giebt ein Aufgerichtetsein, darin
 ich meine Sinne neige: du siehst mich groß und ich bin klein.
**Du kannst mich dunkel unterscheiden von jenen Dingen,
 welche knien; sie sind wie Herden und sie weiden,
 ich bin der Hirt um Hang der Heiden,
 vor welchem sie zu Abend ziehn.** (I: 25)

Recall the stanzas from Novalis's song, sung at eveningtime ("Es war Abend
 geworden [...]"), I: 322; IV: 222):

**Ach der Felsen ist gesunken Freudentrunken
 Zu der selgen Mutter Füßen.**
 ist die Andacht auch in Steinen
 sollte da der Mensch nicht weinen
 Und sein Blut für sie vergießen?

**Die Bedrängten müssen ziehen
 Und hier knieen,
 Alle werden hier genesen.** (I: 323; IV: 222-223)

In taking up the theme of the poet as "der Freund, der Vertraute, der Dichter der
 Dinge", as Rilke characterizes the artist in his Introduction to "Worpswede" (III: 495),
 Pasternak thus continues a tradition from Rilke and extending back to Novalis. Pasternak's
 treatment of the theme in his early sketches is explicitly Romantic: the section of "Uzhe
 temnet" which deals with the animation of twilight begins, as we recall, with the statement
 "Konechno [...] èto blizko romantizmu." (IV: 719) Although Rilke explicitly rejects the
 Romantic treatment of nature in the Introduction to "Worpswede"—

In den deutschen Romantikern war eine große Liebe zur Natur. Aber sie
 liebten sie ähnlich wie der Held einer Turgenieffschen Novelle jenes
 Mädchen liebte, von dem er sagt: "Sophia gefiel mir besonders, wenn ich
 saß und ihr den Rücken zuwendete, das heißt, wenn ich ihrer gedachte,
 wenn ich sie im Geiste vor mir sah, besonders Abends, auf der Terrasse..."
 (III: 484)

—it is evident from the texts cited above that Rilke echoes texts from Novalis in his
 discussion of the relationship of the poet to the things around him, whatever the underlying
 philosophical differences between them. Pasternak, in turn, takes up the link between the
 poet whom he so often cites as his model and one whose name he never mentions,²⁵ and he

²⁵I have found in the memoir literature only one Pasternak reference, related second-hand, to Novalis,
 namely in Aleksandr Gladkov's *Vstrechi s Pasternakom* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1973), 68.

continues the textual chain which links them. On the one hand, Pasternak develops in his prose sketches the theme of the poet's relationship to things which so frequently appears in Rilke's *oeuvre*;²⁶ on the other hand, Pasternak returns explicitly to Novalisian texts in general in these sketches, and specifically to one which Rilke also quotes in regard to this theme. This is a typical example of Pasternak's use of interrelated multiple sources.²⁷

A second large thematic correspondence between Pasternak's "Uzhe temneet" and Novalis's first Hymn involves another intermediary: Leibniz.²⁸ Leibniz's philosophy of the monad and his development of integral calculus were significant to the development of both Pasternak's and Novalis's poetic systems. Pasternak wrote in *Oxrannaja gramota* of his plans to write a doctoral thesis on Leibniz (IV: 166). Käte Hamburger discusses the importance of integral calculus on Novalis's poetic world view. Moreover, she draws a parallel between Novalis's treatment of mathematics, under the influence of Leibniz, and the mathematically-oriented thought of Cohen, Natorp, and Cassirer, members of the Marburg School of Philosophy which so attracted Pasternak that he chose to study there with Cohen and Natorp.²⁹ (These experiences are described in detail in Part Two of *Oxrannaja gramota*, IV: 176-87.) Darlene Reddaway points out that Pasternak characterized Cohen's causal approach as the essence of Galileo, Newton, Pascal and Leibniz.³⁰ It was precisely this causal world-view that Pasternak intended to abandon

²⁶For a lengthy discussion of Rilke's treatment of the concept of the *Dingwelt*, see Hermann Kunisch, *Rainer Maria Rilke: Dasein und Dichtung*. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1975), 45-57.

²⁷On Pasternak's use of multiple sources, see I. Ju Podgaecckaja, "Pasternak i Verlen", *De Visu*, 1, 1993, 47; and I. P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta: Elementy intertekstual'nogo analiza s primerami iz tvorcestva B. L. Pasternaka* (Vienna: Wiener Slavistischer Almanach, Sonderband 17). On Pasternak's connection between Novalis and Rilke through a subtext, see K. Evans-Romaine, "K voprosu ob otnoshenii Pasternaka k tvorcestvu Novalisa", *Shestye Tynjanovskie chtemja. Tezisy dokladov i materialy dlja obsuzhdenija*, (Riga: Moscow, 1992), 16.

²⁸On Pasternak and Leibniz, see Renate Döring, *Die Lyrik Pasternaks in den Jahren 1928-1934*, 73; Sergej Dorzweiler, "Boris Pasternak und Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz"; idem, "Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Philosophie"

²⁹Käte Hamburger, "Novalis and die Mathematik", in *Philosophie der Dichter. Novalis, Schiller, Rilke*.

³⁰Darlene Reddaway, "Pasternak, Spengler, and Quantum Mechanics: Constants, Variables, and Chains of Equations", *Russian Literature*, XXXI (1992), 61-62. On small particles in Pasternak's poetic world, see Aleksandr Zholkovskij, "Ljubov'naja lodka, uprjazh' dlja Pegasa i poxoronnaja kolybel' naja (Tri stixotvorenija i tri perioda Pasternaka)", in his *Mir avtora i struktura teksta. Stat'i o russkoj literature*

when he broke with Cohen, but the “post-Faustian quantum world” which Reddaway describes remains in Pasternak’s work in his use of the motif of particles (dust, spots, and so forth). Reddaway opposes this world of particles to the straight lines of socialist progression and Lenin’s “prjamolinejnaja logika”.³¹ Precisely the lines, however, form a part of Pasternak’s early improvisation in “Uzhe temneet”, written at the time of his university studies in philosophy. He writes about inspired lines and spots, lumping them together into one animated universe. Here Pasternak echoes a Leibniz-influenced Fragment from Novalis, which also speaks of the animation of lines and points. Whether one can speak of a direct subtextual link between the Pasternak and the Novalis texts is uncertain, but the common influence of Leibniz’s mathematics is evident, and the inspired poeticization of simple geometric objects common to the Pasternak and Novalis texts tempts one to suppose a subtextual response in Pasternak not only to Leibniz, but also to Novalis.

The relevant passage from “Uzhe temneet” reads:

[...] вот я художник, и я не могу выдержать, когда вижу вокруг поэму очертаний и линий; тогда во мне поет, поет какая-то плавная лирика [...] и мне хочется созвать целый приход поклоняющихся, экстатических красок к этим линиям, я ведь сказал вам, линиям поклоняются обезумевшие краски [...] и вот тебе сумерки — целая поднявшаяся степь кочевников, какой-то поход призраков, пятен, клочков, и они обнимаются, плачут, бичуют себя — [...], все линии, звательные падежи цветов склонились, перестали быть собою, стали порывом [...] (IV: 719-720)

Similarly, in “Zakaz dramy”, he writes,

О, эта большая жизнь, жизнь — миллиарды живых крошек, которые подбрасывает и гонит вниз туда вкось черная плотная тьма [...] т. е. веселая погоня накрошенной разной жизни за спрятавшейся музыкой [...] (IV: 743)³²

(Tenafly, New Jersey: Ėrmitazh, 1986). On Pasternak’s “theory of poetic relativity”, see Lazar Fleishman, “K karakteristike rannego Pasternaka”, *Stat’i o Pasternake*, 37. On the effect of quantum physics on early twentieth-century fragmentation and in Pasternak’s poetics, see J. R. Döring-Smirnov and I. P. Smimov, *Ocherki po istoricheskoj tipologii kul’tury* (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik, Universität Salzburg, 1982).

³¹Reddaway, *op.cit.*, 63-64.

³²Cf. Aleksandr Blok, “I vse, chto bylo nevozmozhno: V trevoge dnja, il’ poutru, Svershitsja zdes’, v pyli dorozhnoj, V luchax zakatnyx, vvecheru.” and “Uxodit den’, v pyli dorozhnoj...” Aleksandr Blok, *Sobranie*

This motif of life as “billions of living crumbs” is linked to Novalis’s reception of Leibniz’s *Monadenlehre* and related writings. Novalis refers to Leibniz’s concept of monads in the following Fragments:

[...] — So muß das Auge, wo die Hand fühlt, und das Ohr hört, eine bestimmte Farbe, einen bestimmten, passenden Umriß bilden unumgekehrt — **Ohne Geist keine Farben, und Umrisse — keine verschiedenen Töne etc. — keine verschiedenen Gefühle und bestimmte Oberflächen und Grenzen etc.** [...]

<Die Seele ist die Monas, deren Äußerungen mannichfaltige Monaden sind — der Sinn, sit Venia Verbis, der die übrigen Sinne durch Centralpuncte activirt und vereinigt. **Der Geist dirigirt diesen monadischen Sinn — Aktivirt und punctirt beliebig die Urmonas.**

/(Punct) (Linie) (Fläche) (Cörper)/
/Punctirt — liniirt — planirt — animirt/

Die Animation geht voraus — der Geist, insofern er animirt, heißt Seele; **durch Animation — wird Planition — Lineation und Punctation möglich.**> (II: 582, #243, 245; III: 204, #217)³³

Pasternak, like Novalis, deals with the concept of the animation of these billions of points; both derive from Leibniz the notion that each of the particles of existence reflects the universe as a whole, and, as Leibniz writes in his *Discourse on Metaphysics*, are a further reflection of Divine Wisdom. Although one cannot say with any certainty whether the Novalis fragment is actually a subtext, similarities in the texts’ terms indicate either a subtextual link or a common source in Leibniz.³⁴

This motif, in one of its variants in the Pasternak sketches, is connected to another of Novalis’s *Hymnen an die Nacht*. Earlier in this chapter I discussed subtexts in Pasternak’s “Uzhe temneet” from the first of Novalis’s Hymns. There is also a subtext to this prose fragment from the fourth Hymn. Pasternak, as we have seen, describes the

sochinenij v vos'mi tomax (Moscow/Leningrad: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1960), Vol. I, 163. The image of dust in the work of Blok was pointed out to me by Irina Stepanovna Prihod'ko.

³³ In the 1907 edition, these two Fragments are printed as one. The list is printed in simple prose, as follows: “(Punkt: punktiert; Linie: liniert; Fläche: planiert; Körper: animiert.)”

³⁴ I. Junggren discusses Pasternak’s motif of points, crumbs, flakes as its relationship to Rilke’s writings on the subject. See I. Junggren, *Juvenilia Borisa Pasternaka*, 100.

twilight in the manner of an improvisation. After the excerpts cited above, he turns to a description of the twilight as “a thousand lost children”:

[И они были как тысяча потерявшихся детей, и все они подходили близко и спрашивали, не видел ли я их матери; и если бы моя любовь была бы последней оправой, я оправил этих бездомных детей своей любовью,—я сказал бы,— да, я видел вашу мать, Анжелику, я иду к ней сейчас и возьму вас с собой; но и любовь моя пришла ко мне худым, возмущенно сумеречным уличным мальчиком с общим вопросом; и что было делать мне с ним? Яснее и проще всего это было у листьев.]

Сумерки, понимаете ли вы, что сумерки это какое-то тысячное бездомное волнение, сбившееся и потерявшее себя; и лирик должен разместить сумерки [...] (IV: 721)

In the fourth Hymn, Novalis writes the following:

Trägt nicht alles
Was uns begeistert
Die Farbe der Nacht—
Sie trägt dich mütterlich
Und ihr verdankst du
All deine Herrlichkeit.
Du verlögst
In dir selbst
In endlosen Raum
Zergingst du,
Wenn sie dich nicht hielte—
Dich nicht bände
Daß du warm würdest
Und flammend
Die Welt zeugtest. (I: 138; I: 23)³⁵

In the Novalis excerpt, night is the mother and savior. Pasternak alters the sense of the Hymn and places himself, the poet, in the role of the mother and guide to lost and temporarily orphaned twilight.

The opposite of this motif of “homeless agitation”, that of the “homeward path”, forms another subtextual link between Novalis and Pasternak, one which, in one of its manifestations, goes beyond the period under discussion. In *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* there is a climactic scene in which Heinrich, after having sung the “Song of the Pilgrim”

³⁵ In the 1907 edition, this Hymn is written out in prose as follows: “[...] Trägt nicht alles, was uns begeistert, die Farbe der Nacht? Sie trägt dich mütterlich und ihr verdankst du all deine Herrlichkeit. Du

quoted above, meets a young girl, presumably a vision of his deceased beloved, Mathilde, now transformed:

Unter seinem Gesang war er nichts gewahr worden. Wie er aber aufsaß, stand ein junges Mädchen nah bei ihm am Felsen, die ihn freundlich, wie einen alten Bekannten, grüßte und ihn einlud mit zu ihrer Wohnung zu gehn, wo sie ihm schon ein Abendessen zubereitet habe. Er schloß sie zärtlich in seinen Arm. Ihr ganzes Wesen und Tun war ihm befreundet. [...] “Wer hat dir von mir gesagt”, frug der Pilgrim. “Unsre Mutter.” “Wer ist deine Mutter?” “Die Mutter Gottes.” “Seit wann bist du hier?” “Seitdem ich aus dem Grabe gekommen bin?” “Warst du schon einmal gestorben?” “Wie könnt’ ich denn leben?” “Lebst du hier ganz allein?” “Ein alter Mann ist zu Hause, doch kenn ich noch viele, die gelebt haben.” “Hast du Lust, bei mir zu bleiben?” “Ich habe dich ja lieb.” [...] **“Wo gehn wir denn hin?” “Immer nach Hause.”** (I: 324-325; IV: 223-24)

Pasternak responds twice to Novalis’s key phrase “immer nach Hause”: once in “Volny” in 1931, and once—ironically—in the same early prose sketch.³⁶ In “Mne xochetsja domoj”, from “Volny”, he writes:

Мне хочется домой, в огромность
Квартиры, наводящей грусть.
Войду, сниму пальто, опомнюсь,
Огнями улиц озарюсь. (I: 375)³⁷

In both the Novalis scene and this poem, the return home involves a kind of epiphany—“opomnjus’, / Ognjami ulic ozarjus’.” There are other connections between this Pasternak poem and Novalis, on the theme of inner light, which I will discuss later in the chapter. In the Novalis text, the motif of the homeward path is connected to the theme of death and transfiguration, so loved by Romantics and neo-Romantics. There is a parallel scene to the

verlögst in dir selbst—in endlosen Raum zergingst du, wenn sie dich nicht hielte, dich nicht bände, daß du warm würdest und flammend die Welt zeugtest.” (I: 138; I: 23)

³⁶Renate Döring mentions the motif of the “homeward path” in her study of Pasternak’s “middle period”, in reference to Novalis’s and Mallarmé’s image of the poet as traveller or seafarer; she ties this motif and the underlying medieval allegory of faith as sea voyage to the marine imagery in Pasternak’s “Vse naklonenija i zalogi”. Citing Werner Vordtriede’s *Novalis und die französischen Symbolisten* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1963, 69-71), she mentions Novalis’s image of the poet as traveller always heading home. She does not, however, elaborate on the significance of the Novalisian image of the “homeward path” for Pasternak’s poetic system. See *Die Lyrik Pasternaks in den Jahren 1928-1934* (München: Verlag Otto Sagner [Slavistische Beiträge, Band 64], 1973), 87.

³⁷The connection of this poem to *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* was confirmed to me by Omry Ronen, who pointed out the link between the poem’s lines “Projdu, kak obraz v xodit v obraz/ I kak predmet sechet

one cited above in the first part of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, in which Heinrich meets with his beloved Mathilde in a dream, after their death. She drowns in a boating accident, and he leaps in to save her and finds himself on the other shore, where she greets him. They have a conversation, similar to the one quoted from Part II of the novel, also consisting of questions and answers. Part of this conversation reads:

“Wo ist der Strom?” rief er mit Tränen. — “Siehst du nicht seine blauen Wellen über uns?” Er sah hinauf, und der blaue Strom floß leise über ihrem Haupte. “Wo sind wir, liebe Mathilde?” — “Bei unsern Eltern.” — “Bleiben wir zusammen?” — “Ewig”, versetzte sie [...] (I: 278-279; IV: 161)³⁸

In this context, one can understand the underlying significance of the motif of the journey home from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* for the following excerpt from Pasternak’s “Uzhe temneet”. Makedonskij has just invited Relikvimini to come visit his fiancée:

—Что ты делаешь теперь, Реликвимини?
—Погибаю, а ты, Македонский?
—Еду с тобой к невесте. (IV: 722)

In the context of the above excerpt, the two statements mean one and the same thing. We have seen, then, how twice in “Uzhe temneet” Pasternak refers ironically to Novalis subtexts: in the excerpt just quoted, and in his reference to the “Maloozhivlennaja linija”. His early technique of referring comically or ironically to a serious subtext, whose meaning his text nevertheless bears, is later changed into a tendency to refer in an early variant to a subtext, only to hide or destroy that reference in a later variant. The latter tendency will be discussed below. In this regard it is significant that Pasternak never published his early experiments, which so clearly reveal their sources.

predmet”, I: 375, and the lines “Vertreibt die Geister durch die Geister” from another poem in Novalis’s novel, “Ich kenne wo ein festes Schloß”, in the fifth chapter (I: 250; IV: 125).

³⁸Novalis makes the connection between death and the journey home explicit in another work, his sixth *Hymn an die Nacht*: “Gelobt sei uns die ewge Nacht, / Gelobt der ewge Schlummer. / Wohl hat der Tag uns warm gemacht, / Und welk der lange Kummer. / Die Lust der Fremde ging uns aus, / Zum Vater wollen wir nach Haus.” (I: 153)

There is a subtextual connection between Novalis and Pasternak on another aspect of the theme of death—death as the principle of de-individualization. Novalis writes in one of his Fragments:

Wir springen, wie ein electrischer Funken, in die Andre Welt hinüber etc. Zunahme der Capazitaet. Tod ist **Verwandlung — Verdrängung des Individualprincipis** — das nun eine neue **haltbarere, fähigere** Verbindung eingeht. (III: 259, #100; II: 312, #429)

In another early sketch, also published only posthumously, “G. von Klejst. Ob asketike v kul'ture”, Pasternak writes:

И мы внесем свой долг, если отделим от его судьбы *идею*, скрытую в ней, и в ней найдем вечный мотив его канонизированной смерти.

[...] Тогда—, “только самоубийство”, —как последнее положительное звено трагедии, **свободно сочтанное самим убийцей в одну общую гармонию** [...]

[...] без второго, без участника блуждание гонимого было ли личным, случайным событием, немым и безотносительным к слову; а ведь этот *замысел* погнал его за порог, замысел, который хочет быть мировым, [...] а для этого нужно хотя бы присутствие второго, в чистом, толкующем внимании которого разыгрывается значащая вечность.³⁹

Pasternak repeats this thought in his sketches for *Doktor Zhivago*:

В самоубийстве Стрельникова взять самоубийство всякого человека, а не отдельное определение с какими-то причинами... (III: 621)

To Pasternak, not only death—suicide, to be more precise in this case—but also immortality has a generic quality, as he expressed it in his early paper, “Simvolizm i bessmertie”:

Чувство бессмертия сопровождает пережитое, когда в субъективности мы поучаемся видеть **нисколько не принадлежность личности, но свойство, принадлежащее качеству вообще.** (IV: 682)

Pasternak’s interest in the “mystical” Novalis continued to the period of his first published verse. His 1913 poem, “Kak bronzovoj zoloz zharoven” includes the

³⁹Quoted from *Boris Pasternak ob iskusstve*, ed. E. B. i E. V. Pasternak, introductory article by V. F. Asmus (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1990), 254-255.

“Symbolist”-sounding lines: “I kak v neslyxannuju veru,/ ja v ètu noch’ perexozhu.” (I: 48).

These lines remained unchanged in his 1928 revision of the poem. In 1928, however, he removed a final stanza which praises the night:

О ночь, немая беззащитность
 Пред натиском тенет — имен,
 Что нашей мысли ненасытность
 Расставила под твой Эон! (I: 639)

This stanza points to the source, the *Hymnen an die Nacht*, in a general sense, that of a hymn of praise to the night. More concretely, though, the two lines cited above have a subtext in the third Hymn:

—Es war der erste, einzige Traum—und erst seitdem fühl ich ewigen,
unwandelbaren Glauben an den Himmel der Nacht und sein Licht,
 die Geliebte. (I: 135; I: 17)

Finally, Pasternak’s poem “Èdem” is an interesting case as it serves as an example of Pasternak’s shift from reception of the Romantic, “mystical” Novalis in his work from the period 1910-1913, to reception of the more worldly, philosophical (in the non-mystical sense) Novalis not so well known through the Zhirmumskij study, Romantic accounts including Tieck’s short biography, “Novalis’ Lebensumstände”, published in the 1846 Schlegel-Tieck edition, or Ivanov’s translations, but reflected rather in Petnikov’s—and Carlyle’s before him—choice of Fragments for translation.⁴⁰

In the 1913 version of “Èdem”, Pasternak borrows Novalis’s notion of the flame serving as a border between being and nothingness from the following Fragment.

Aller Zufall ist wunderbar — Berührung eines höhern Wesens —
 ein Problem *Datum* des thätig religiösen *Sinns*.
 (Verwandl[ung] in Zufall.)
 Wunderbare *Worte* — und *Formeln*. (Synth[esis] d[es]
 Willkürlichen und Unwillk[ürlichen].)

⁴⁰See “Novalis”. Etjud T. Karlejlja. *Perevod s anglijskogo V Lazurskogo* (Moscow: Tovarishchestvo Tipografij A. I. Mamontova, 1901), translated from Thomas Carlyle, “Novalis”, in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (Boston: Philipps, Sampson & Co., 1856); Novalis, *Fragmenty v perevode Grigoriya Petnikova*. I (Moscow: Knigoizdatel’stvo “Liren”, 1914).

(**Flamme zwischen nichts und Etwas.**) (III: 441, #901; III: 50, #244)

One of the main motifs of the early version of “Èdem”, as Fleishman points out, is that of existence and non-existence or legend, the edge of reality.⁴¹ Pasternak takes the Novalisian motif of the flame between existence and non-existence, by which Novalis characterizes the power of chance, and transforms this motif to signify love, which spans all time. The poem reads:

Когда за лиры лабиринт
 Поэты взор вперят,
 Налево глины слижет Инд,
 А вправо уйдет Евфрат.

Горит немислимый Эдем
 В янтарных днях вина,
 И небывалым бытием
 Точатся времена.

Минуя изменную тень,
 Их ангелы взнесут.
 Земля — сандалии ремень,
 И вновь Адам — разут.

И солнце — мертвых губ пробел
 И снег живых мощей
 Того, — кто всей вселенной бдел
 Предсолнечных ночей.

Ты к чуду чуткость приготовь
 И к тайне первых дней:
 Курится рубежом любовь
 Между землей и ней. (I: 427)

The significance of the sun as the flame “zwischen nichts und Etwas” is hinted at in line 13, but it is love that is the border flame between the real (this earth) and the unreal (the secret of the first days).

Pasternak responds to this and many other writings of Novalis on chance in his 1912 poem “Fevral”, but *not* in its 1912 version, but rather in its revised, 1928 version, in the famous lines:

⁴¹Lazar' Fleishmann, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody* (München: Wilhem Fink Verlag, 1981), 96.

И чем случайней, тем вернее
Слагаются стихи навзрыд. (I: 47)

For that reason, I will return to this motif and its links to Novalis later in the chapter.

It is evident, however, that Pasternak was on some level aware of the Novalisian presence in his early poem “Èdem” when he was revising the poem in 1928; what takes place in this revision is a remarkable transition from one side of Novalis to another, through a change in subtexts. As Fleishman has pointed out, the primary theme of the poem changes in its 1928 version from “byl’” to the “historical forest”, a motif which in another poem of Pasternak’s middle period and again in *Doktor Zhivago*.⁴² The historical process is depicted in these three works as something organic, like the growth of a forest. In the 1928 “Èdem”, the motif appears as follows, beginning with the second stanza:

А посреди меж сим и тем
Со страшной простотой
Легенде ведомой Эдем
Взывает свой ствольный строй.

Он вырастет над пришлецом
И прошумит: мой сын!
Я историческим лицом
Вошел в семью лесин. (I: 50)

In Pasternak’s 1927 poem, “Kogda smertel’nyj tresk sosny skripuchej”, the same image appears in these lines:

Всей рощей погребает пережной,
История, нерубленную пущей
Иных деревьев встаешь ты предо мной. (I: 548)⁴³

And in *Doktor Zhivago*, Pasternak characterizes Zhivago’s thoughts on history using a variant of the same motif:

Он снова думал, что историю, то, что называется ходом
истории, он представляет себе совсем не так, как принято, и ему
она рисуется наподобие жизни растительного царства. (III: 448)

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³For a brilliant analysis of this poem, see Ju. I. Levin, “Razbor odnogo malopopuljarnogo stixotvorenija Borisa Pasternaka”, *Russian Literature*, vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1978), 39-45.

Pasternak's revision of the early poem "Èdem" thus involves the replacement of one Novalis subtext by another. In the 1913 version, which reflects more closely the mystical tendencies of late Symbolism, in whose spirit Pasternak wrote the poem,⁴⁴ Pasternak refers to a Novalis fragment of a mystical bent, one which would have attracted the second-generation Symbolists. The lines which contain that subtext are abandoned in the 1928 version of the poem, and Pasternak chooses instead another Novalis subtext which corresponds to his own turn toward historical themes, a less mystical Fragment on history as an organic being, or a tree. The significance of Novalis remains the same in this shift; the switch itself is consistent with Pasternak's poetics of metonymy in which all objects of his attention are equally valid, and one can replace another, the part standing for the whole.⁴⁵

This motif has a subtext in another Novalis Fragment:

[...] Die Naturlehre muß nicht mehr capitelweise — fachweise behandelt werden — Sie muß (ein Continuum) **eine Geschichte — ein organisches Gewächs — ein Baum werden — oder ein Thier — oder ein Mensch.** (III: 574, #140; III: 40, #198)

As we have seen, Pasternak's reception of Novalis in the earliest period of his literary activity, 1910-1913, bears the mark of the Symbolist era. Those aspects of Novalis which are most congenial to the art and philosophy of the second-generation Symbolists, particularly to Vjacheslav Ivanov in his papers and translations, are reflected in Pasternak's reception.⁴⁶ This is the Novalis of the *Hymnen an die Nacht*, which provide subtexts to several Pasternak prose sketches, particularly his "Uzhe temneet", and to an early poem; the fragmentary second, highly mystical part of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, entitled "Die Erfüllung", whose "Song of the Pilgrim" and subsequent scene of epiphany provided

⁴⁴For an analysis of Symbolist poetics in the poetry of Pasternak's first book, *Bliznec v tuchax*, see Christopher Barnes, *The Poetry of Boris Pasternak with Special Reference to the Period 1913-1917* (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969), 119-159.

⁴⁵The classic works on metonymy in Pasternak are Roman Jakobson, "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak", *Slavische Rundschau*, 8, 1935, 357-374; and Ju. M. Lotman, "Stixotvorenija rannego Pasternaka i nekotorye voprosy strukturnogo izuchenija teksta", *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, Tartu, 4, 1969, 206-238.

material for the same Pasternak sketch; and some of the more mystical Fragments, for example, the Fragment on poetry as a “spiritual dance”, and the one on death as de-individualizing principle. Moreover, motifs from the “mystical” which appear as reiterations or subtexts in Pasternak’s earliest work, such as that of the ashes and dew of inspiration and that of the homeward path of death and transfiguration, appear later in Pasternak’s work, generally in the context of verses on inspiration or epiphany. Later, however, these appear not with the trappings of Symbolist or highly romantic language, which Pasternak gradually and so zealously abandoned beginning in the mid-1910s, but in subtler form. They nevertheless reveal a deeper meaning to verses in which they appear, as in the case of “Mne xochetsja domoj”, written at a time of great changes and disturbances both in his personal life and in historico-political circumstances. The only exception to the “mystical” tendency in Pasternak’s choice of material from Novalis is the Leibniz-inspired Fragment on points, lines, and infinity. Even then, Pasternak “re-romanticizes” the subtext within the context of his sketch and its long discourse on the nature of Romanticism. Moreover, Pasternak’s ironic play on Novalis subtexts in two instances in “Uzhe temneet” does not strip the subtexts of their essentially Romantic meaning.

Like his predecessor Ivanov and others, Pasternak is highly selective in his choice of Novalis texts, which reflect the creative context in which they appear. This is most evident from the last example under discussion, the revision of “Èdem”. Pasternak alters the choice of subtext along with the text itself. In his revision, Pasternak chooses a different side of the *oeuvre* of this many-sided writer for his own poetic revisions. This is highly significant for the late 1920s, a period during which Pasternak was reassessing his own views on aesthetics and preparing to explain them in *Oxrannaja gramota*.

We see, then, for the later period, about 1928-1931, a dual phenomenon with regard to Novalis subtexts: on the one hand, the continued use of a mystically-oriented subtext in the context of purposefully mundane imagery (“Mne xochetsja domoj”), and on

⁴⁶ On Ivanov’s reception of Novalis, see Wachtel, *op. cit.*

the other hand, the rejection of a “mystical” Novalis subtext for a more scholarly one in Pasternak’s revised “Èdem”. I will discuss this phenomenon in more detail below, when examining Novalis’s presence in Pasternak’s middle period.

2.2 Reception of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*

One of the most influential Novalis texts for Pasternak in the period 1914-1921 — and later as well — was his prose work *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*. That the text should have strong resonance in Pasternak is hardly surprising since the work is perhaps Novalis’s most important from the point of view of his *Naturlehre*.⁴⁷ Pasternak’s colleague, Grigorij Petnikov, translated the work in 1913; the translation was published in 1919. In addition, Lazurskij’s 1901 translation of Thomas Carlyle’s essay on Novalis, which included large excerpts from Novalis works, including *Lehrlinge*, can be seen as reiterations in Pasternak’s reception of the Novalis work.⁴⁸ Although the translation remained unpublished until 1919, there is textual evidence that Pasternak had access to the text prior to its publication. There are images in Pasternak which reflect both the original Novalis and the translations, particularly the Petnikov translation, in some cases more strikingly than the original. In citing examples of subtexts, I will follow the order of the Novalis original, rather than the chronological order of the related Pasternak texts or the order of their significance in the context of the intertextual relationship.

Describing man’s difficulty in interpreting the signs of nature, Novalis writes:

In ihnen ahndet man den Schlüssel dieser Wunderschrift, die Sprachlehre derselben; allem die Ahndung will sich selbst in keine feste Formen fügen, und scheint kein höherer Schlüssel werden zu wollen. **Ein Alkahest scheint über die Sinne der Menschen ausgegossen zu sein.** Nur augenblicklich scheinen ihre Wünsche, ihre Gedanken zu verdichten. **So entstehen ihre Ahndungen,** aber nach kurzen Zeiten schwimmt alles wieder, wie vorher, vor ihren Blicken. (I: 79; IV: 3)

⁴⁷One example of a subtextual link to this work on the theme of the poet and nature can be found in Evans-Romaine, op. cit., 15.

⁴⁸Thomas Carlyle, op. cit.

Petnikov translates the excerpt as follows:

В них предчувствует ключ к этому чудесному писанию, его грамматику, но предчувствие само не хочет принять стойких форм и, кажется, не хочет стать высшим ключем. Кажется, что алкагест пролит на чувство людей. Кажется, только мгновениями сгущаются их желания, их мысли. Так возникают их предчувствия, но скоро все попрежнему расплывается пред их взорами. (3; 162)⁴⁹

Two Pasternak poems show the mark of this excerpt. In one case, it is purely the image which is striking; in the other case, Pasternak repeats Petnikov's language almost verbatim.

In "Zerkalo" ("The Mirror"), from *Sestra moja žizn'*, appears the remarkable image of collodion pouring over the mirror, combined with the image of hypnosis.⁵⁰

Beginning with the third stanza:

И к заднему плану, во мрак, за калитку
В степь, в запах сонных лекарств
Струится дорожкой, в сучках и в улитках
Мерцающий жаркий кварц.

Огромный сад тормозится в зале
В трюмо — и не бьет стекла!
Казалось бы, все коллодий залил
С комода до шума в стволах.

Зеркальная все б, казалось, нахлынь
Непотным льдом облила,
Чтоб сук не горчил и сирень не пахла,—

⁴⁹ The first page number is from Novalis, *Ucheniki v Saise*. V perevode Grigorija Petnikova (Moscow: Centrifuga, 1919). The second page number is from the recent reprint of the Petnikov translations in Novalis. *Gejnrif fon Osterdingen. Fragmenty. Ucheniki v Saise* (St. Petersburg: Evrazija, 1995).

⁵⁰ There have been two excellent studies of this poem: Jean Marie Schulz, "Pasternak's 'Zerkalo'", *Russian Literature*, 13, 1983, 81-100; and Anna Ljunggren, "'Sam' i 'Ja sam': smysl i kompozicija stixotvoreniya 'Zerkalo'", in *Boris Pasternak and His Times*, 224-237. Lazar Fleishman mentions the image of the mirror as a metaphor for perception, going back to Plato and the Apostle Paul: Fleishman, "K karakteristike rannego Pasternaka", *Stat'i o Pasternake*, 38. Vjacheslav Ivanov has pointed out the importance of the mirror image in regard to the subject-object relationship and the theme of mesmerism and hypnosis for Rainer Maria Rilke. See Vjach. Vs. Ivanov, "Pasternak i OPOJaZ (K postanovke voprosa)", *Tynjanovskij sbornik. Tret'i Tynjanovskie chtenija* (Riga, 1988), 70-82. There has been an unpublished term paper devoted to the history of mirror imagery and its significance to the poetics of Aleksandr Blok: O. A. Gavrilova, "Motiv zerkala i otrazhenie v tvorcheskom soznanii A. A. Bloka" (Diplomnaja rabota, Moscow State University, 1992). I am grateful to Irina Stepanovna Prihod'ko for giving me access to her notes on this paper.

Гипноза залить не могла.

Несметный мир семенит в месмеризме,
И только ветру связать,
Что ломится в жизнь и ломается в призме
И радо играть в слезах.

[...]

И вот, в гипнотической этой отчизне
Ничем мне очей не задуть.
Так после дождя проползают слизи
Глазами статуй в саду. (I: 114-115)

Common to both texts, then, are the image of a liquid being poured over one's consciousness or senses with the resultant inability to come to one's senses, as if under hypnosis, and the linked image of swimming and pouring.⁵¹

Later in the Novalis/Petnikov excerpt is a phrase which indicates Pasternak's awareness of the translation. Petnikov writes, "Tak vznikajut ix predchuvstvija" ("So entstehen ihre Ahnungen"). Pasternak responds to this two years after the publication of Petnikov's translation, in his poem "Tak nachinajut..." from the book of verse *Temy i variacii*, with the line "Tak vznikajut podozrenija." (I: 202) The meter of Petnikov's prose line is preserved, as is the "p" sound from the variant word. Both lines appear in discussions of momentary inspiration.

The next example links a portion of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* to a later work of Pasternak's, *Oxrannaja gramota*. The relevant Novalis excerpt reads:

Durch Übung werden Entwicklungen befördert, und in allen Entwicklungen gehen Teilungen, Zergliederungen vor, **die man bequem mit den Brechungen des Lichtstrahls vergleichen kann.** So hat sich auch nur allmählich unser Innres in so mannichfaltige Kräfte zerspaltet, und mit fortdauernder Übung wird auch diese Zerspaltung zunehmen. (I: 82; IV: 8)

Petnikov's translation reads:

⁵¹ On the line "Niche mne ochej ne zadut", see Ju. M. Lotman, "Stixotvorenija rannego Pasternaka i nekotorye voprosy strukturnogo izuchenija teksta", *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, 4, Tartu, 1969, 206-238.

Упражнение способствует развитиям, а во всех развитиях происходят деления, расчисления, кои можно сравнить с преломлениями светового луча. Точно также и наше внутреннее существо лишь постепенно раздробилось на столь разнообразные силы, а с продолжительным упражнением это дробление будет еще возрастать. (6; 166-167)

In one of the most often quoted passages of *Ohrannaja gramota*, Pasternak defines his aesthetics in terms of force and symbol. To define this force he uses the same image employed here by Novalis.⁵² Pasternak writes:

Если бы при знаньях, способностях и досуге я задумал теперь писать творческую эстетику, я построил бы ее на двух понятиях, на понятии силы и символа. Я показал бы, что, в отличие от науки, берущей природу в разрезе светового столба, искусство интересуется жизнью при прохождении сквозь нее луча силового. (IV: 187)⁵³

Thus in both texts there is the dual image of force and a light beam. Later in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* is a passage relating this light beam to emotion, which Pasternak characterizes as the dominating force. Pasternak continues later in the passage:

Я пояснял бы, что в рамках самосознания сила называется чувством. (IV: 187)

Novalis writes in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*:

[...] das Element des Gefühls ist ein inneres Licht, was sich in schönern, kräftigern Farben bricht. (I: 96; IV: 25-26)

And in Petnikov's translation:

[...] элемент чувства—это свет внутренний, который разбивается на более прекрасные и сильные краски. (17; 178)

Once again, then, in both the Novalis and Pasternak texts the three notions of a light beam broken against a prism, force, and feeling are combined. The Novalis text quoted here is significant for an excerpt cited earlier in this chapter, from the 1931 poem from

⁵²Victor Terras quotes this passage in "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics", *Papers on Language and Literature*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Winter 1967), 52-53. He discusses the origins of Pasternak's notion of power, Kraft, in the German Romantics and Goethe. He does not, however, note this textual parallel.

⁵³Sergej Dorzweiler has connected Pasternak's light beam imagery with Leibniz. See Dorzweiler, "Boris Pasternak und Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz".

“Volny”, “Mne xochetsja domoj”, with its image of inner light. There he reiterates his image of inner man as light, and there, too, appears the motif of a light beam breaking against an object. The second stanza reads:

Перегородок тонкоробрость
 Пройду насквозь, пройду, как свет.
 Пройду, как образ входит в образ
 И как предмет сечет предмет. (I: 375)

This passage, in which the poet’s spirit breaks through objects around it, has another Novalis subtext on the motif of the light beam, from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* :

“Die Natur”, versetzte Klingsohr, “ist für unser Gemüt, was ein Körper für das Licht ist. Er hält es zurück; er bricht es in eigentümliche Farben; er zündet auf seiner Oberfläche oder in seinem Innern ein Licht an, das, wenn es seiner Dunkelheit gleich kommt, ihn klar und durchsichtig macht, wenn es sie überwiegt, von ihm ausgeht, um andere Körper zu erleuchten.” (I: 280; IV: 165)

This passage recalls the line on “inner light” being turned on from earlier in “Mne xochetsja domoj”: “Ognjami ulic ozarjus” (I: 375). Inside and outside interact in both excerpts. I will return to the passage later, in regard to another Pasternak text.

Two other texts are involved in Pasternak’s reception of this image: one from the German Romantic-era writer Jean Paul Richter, and one from Pasternak’s Centrifuga colleague, Sergej Bobrov, who was himself a great admirer of Novalis, as one can see from the frequent references to Novalis in his 1913 book of verse, *Vertogradari nad lozami* (Gardeners Over the Vines).⁵⁴

Jean Paul’s text is also related to a motif to be discussed later, that of the mill. This “mill text” is much more important for Bobrov’s positive image than for Pasternak’s negative one. The relevant text, from Jean Paul’s first novel, *Die unsichtbare Loge*, reads:

Als jetzt die **Mühle der Schöpfung** mit allen Rädern und Strömen rauschte und stürmte: wollten wir in süßer Betäubung kaum gehen, es war

⁵⁴On Pasternak’s youthful interest in the works of Jean Paul, see A. L. Pasternak, *Vospominanija* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1983), 185; also E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii* (Moscow: Sovetskij pisatel’, 1989), 89; Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, Vol. I: 1890-1928 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 65.

uns überall wohl; wir waren Lichtstrahlen, die jedes Medium aus ihrem Wege brach [...] ⁵⁵

Bobrov picks up this image of the poet's reception of nature as the breaking of a light beam against a prism or lens, from both Jean Paul and from Novalis. The second stanza of Bobrov's poem "Lira lir" reads:

Дай мне, о, золото жизни,
Врата безконечных смыслов
Ударяя, как луч по линзе—
По трепету мысленных обрывов. (34) ⁵⁶

The image of man's perception of nature as a prism breaking a light beam, then, has a rich literary tradition.

Later in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* is a possible source for Pasternak's "culinary" imagery, a motif which appears in Pasternak's work from his 1910 "Zakaz dramy" to his last verses, but particularly in his verse of the 1920s, soon after the 1919 publication of the Petnikov translation of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*. Examples of this leitmotif in Pasternak's work include "Zakaz dramy" (IV: 140-41, 1910), "Vstrecha" (I: 177, 1921), "Mefistofel'" (I: 180, c. 1919), "Pamjati Rejsner" (I: 246, 1926), "Vysokaja bolezn'" (I: 560, 1923; I: 277-78, 1928, with a different "culinary" image), ⁵⁷ "Spektorskij" (I: 337, 345, 1924-1930), "Volny" (I: 374, 376-7, 1931), "Smert' poëta" (I: 390-1, 1930), "Vse sneg da sneg", (I: 397, 1931), "Zhit' na zemle ne tjazhelo" (II: 566, variant 567).

One of the probably numerous sources for Pasternak's recurring "culinary" or "gastronomic landscape" is found in Novalis's *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*. He writes:

⁵⁵Jean Paul Richter, *Werke*. Erster Band, hrsg. von Norbert Miller, Nachwort von Walter Höllerer (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1960), 387.

⁵⁶Sergej Bobrov, *Lira lir* (Moscow: Centrifuga, 1917).

⁵⁷For other examples of "gastronomic landscape" in Pasternak and its subtextual connection to Cvetaeva, see Omry Ronen, "Chasy uchenichestva Mariny Cvetaevoj" *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 1992, 188-190, and Mikhail Gasparov, "Gastronomicheskij pejzazh v poëme Mariny Cvetaevoj 'Avtobus'", *Russkaja rech'*, 4, 1990, 20-26. On the function of gastronomic imagery to make the macrocosmos ordinary in Pasternak's poetic system, see Aleksandr Zholkovskij, "Mesto okna v poëticheskom mire Pasternaka", *Russian Literature*, VI-1 (January 1978), 1-38.

[...] So entstehn mannichfache Naturbetrachtungen,⁵⁸ und wenn an einem Ende die Naturempfindung ein lustiger Einfall, **eine Mahlzeit** wird, so sieht man dort zur andächtigen Religion verwandelt, einem ganzen Leben Richtung, Haltung und Bedeutung geben. Schon unter den kindlichen Völkern gab's solche ernste Gemüter, denen die Natur das Antlitz einer Gottheit war, indessen andre fröhliche Herzen sich nur auf sie zu Tische baten; **die Luft war ihnen ein erquickender Trank**, die Gestirne Lichter zum nächtlichen Tanz, und Pflanzen und Tiere nur köstliche Speisen, und so kam ihnen die Natur nicht wie ein stiller, wundervoller Tempel, sondern **wie eine lustige Küche und Speisekammer** vor. (I: 85-86; IV: 12)

In particular, Pasternak repeats the image of the air as a thirst-quenching drink in "Spektorskij":

Закрыв глаза, он ночь, как сок арбуза,
Впивал, и снег, вливаясь в душу, рдел. (I: 345)

Like Novalis's image, Pasternak's culinary images have the effect of a reaction against the view of nature as a temple, espoused by his Symbolist predecessors, and image which goes back to Baudelaire's "Correspondances".

One other example of culinary imagery in Pasternak is aimed ironically at Romanticism and the Romantic hero, in his 1916 "Marburg":

Достаточно, тягостно солнце мне днем,
Что стынет, как сало в тарелке из олова,
Но ночь занимает весь дом соловьем
И дом превращается в арфу Элову. (I: 492)

This excerpt, from a poem famous as an example of Pasternak's turn away from the "romantic manner" as he saw it, contains two clichés of the Romantic movement, images which appear in Novalis's work: the image of the nightingale, and the image of nature or man as an Aeolian harp. On the latter, Novalis writes in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*:

[...] er wußte, wo und wie er dies und jenes finden, und erscheinen lassen konnte, und griff so selbst in den Saiten nach Tönen und Gängen umher. (I: 80; IV: 4)

In Petnikov's translation:

⁵⁸Once again in the translation appears Petnikov's "Tak nachinajut", which Pasternak echoes, as I have discussed earlier.

[...] он играл силами и явлениями, знал, где и как ему найти то или иное и повелеть ему явиться и, так, перебирал струны, сам старался извлечь из них тоны и их переходы. (4; 164)

Closer to the point, Novalis makes the Aeolian harp analogy in two of his

Fragments:

Unermeßliche Mannigfaltigkeit der WindharfenTöne und *Einfachheit* der bewegenden Potenz. So mit dem *Menschen*. Der Mensch ist die Harfe, soll die Harfe seyn. (III: 434, #855; III: 387, #182)

Wolkenspiel — Naturspiel äußerst poetisch. Die Natur ist eine Aeolsharfe — sie ist ein musikal[isches] Instrument — dessen Töne wieder Tasten höherer Saiten in uns sind. (*Ideenassociation.*) (III: 452, #966; III: 93, #423)

A portion of the latter fragment was published in the 1901 Lazurski translation of Thomas Carlyle's essay, "Novalis":

Природа—эолова арфа, музыкальный инструмент, звуки которого в свою очередь затрагивают более высокие струны, находящиеся в нас. (56)⁵⁹

Pasternak responds to the quintessentially Romantic image of the Aeolian harp ironically in his verse. He takes the motif of "höherer Saiten in uns" and transforms it, to make the lofty harp a somewhat earthier guitar and to make himself, the poet, the victim of torture by the plucking of these strings in "Neskuchnyj" (1917):

И, окуная парк за старой
Беседкою в заглохший пруд,
Похож и он на тень гитары,
С которой, тешась, струны рвут. (I: 205)

This ironic portrait has another subtext in Heine, which I will discuss in Chapter Four.

In a poem from the more joyous *Sestra moja zhizn'*, "Dozhd'", Pasternak works with an image closer to the second Fragment and the excerpt from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, in that nature is depicted as the harp (once again a guitar in Pasternak):

Теперь бежим сощипывать,
Как стон со ста гитар,
Омытый мглою липовой

⁵⁹ Quoted from Lazurski's translation, "Novalis. Edjud T. Karlejlja" (Moscow, 1901).

Садовый Сен-Готард. (I: 119)

Here again Pasternak chooses the guitar over the Romantic harp, and again the guitars' song is forced. Here, though, nature is the instrument which the perceptive poet plucks, as in the excerpt from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*.

Thus Pasternak takes the Novalisian culinary imagery and his image of man or nature as an Aeolian harp upon which the other force (nature or man) acts, and he debunks these images in his "anti-Romantic" poem "Marburg". Typically for his technique, it is neither the poet/man nor exactly nature which is the Aeolian harp in Pasternak's poem, but the house with which his emotions are metonymically associated. It is actually he who is the harp, who "turns into" the harp; the poet/man is victim, as he is in the final stanza of "Neskuchnyj", quoted above (and as he is in the Heine subtext, to be discussed later).⁶⁰

Later in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, "several" express the opinion that man has the ability to read the great clockwork mechanism of nature. The passage reads as follows:

Sie haben recht, sprechen mehrere; hier oder nirgends liegt der Talisman. [...] Wir brauchen nicht erst lange nachzuforschen, eine leichte Vergleichung, nur wenige Züge im Sande sind genug um uns zu verständigen. So ist uns alles eine große Schrift, wozu wir den Schlüssel haben, und nichts kommt uns unerwartet, weil wir voraus **den Gang des großen Uhrwerks wissen**. Nur wir genießen die Natur mit vollen Sinnen, weil sie uns **nicht von Sinnen bringt, weil keine Fieberträume uns ängstigen** und helle Besonnenheit uns zuversichtlich und ruhig macht. (IV: 17-18)

⁶⁰The motif of the tortured instrument is not unique to the verses cited here, nor does Pasternak paint portraits only of tortured guitars. The piano is victim in his 1931 poem "Opjat' Shopen ne ishchet vygod". Once again, as in the other two poems, Pasternak ends the poem with the dramatic image of the tortured instrument: "Opjat'? I, posvjativ sovet'jam/ Rojalja gulkij ritual./ Vsem devjattnadcatym stolet'cm/ Upast' na staryj trotuar." (I: 407)

In its earlier variant, published in *Krasnaja nov'*, 9, 1931, Pasternak elaborates on the gruesome death scene of the piano: "Vsej chernoj kryshkoj vniz s ploshchadki./ Vsem ètim tret'im ètazhom/ Kogda my v dome lampu zhzhem." (I: 723)

As in the metonymic poet/house transformation in "Marburg", the artist's tragic fate in general, as portrayed here, is metonymically associated with the dramatic death of the instrument. On this Chopin poem and the theme of artist as martyr in Pasternak's poetic system, see Krystyna Pomorska, "Music as Theme and Constituent of Pasternak's Poems", *Slavic Poetics. Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1973), 338-344. See also Boris Kac, "Iz kommentarijev k tekstam A. A. Axmatovoj i B. L. Pasternaka", *De Visu*, 5/6 (16), 1994, 72-78.

This passage is translated both by Petnikov in his version of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* and by Lazurskij in his translation (from the English) of Carlyle's essay on Novalis. Petnikov translates the phrase "Gang des großen Uhrwerks" as "ход великого часового механизма" (Petnikov, 12; 173—as opposed to Lazurskij's translation from the Carlyle essay "ход великих часов", 48). Pasternak plays with both the notion of the great world clock and of "Fieberträume", "feverish dreams", in his 1917 poem, "V lesu":⁶¹

Луга мутило жаром лиловатым,
В лесу клубился кафедральный мрак.
Что оставалось в мире целовать им?
Он весь был им, как воск на пальцах мяк.

Есть сон такой,— не спишь, а только снится,
Что жаждешь сна; что дремлет человек,
Которому сквозь сон палит ресницы
Два черных солнца, бьющих из-под век.

Текли лучи. Текли жуки с отливом,
Стекло стрекоз сновало по щекам.
Был полон лес мерцаньем кропотливым,
Как под щипцами у часовщика.

Казалось, он уснул под стук цифири,
Меж тем как выше, в терпком янтаре,
Испытаннейшие часы в эфире
Переставляют, сверив по жару.

Их переводят, сотрясают иглы
И сеют тень, и мают, и сверлят
Мачтовый мрак, который ввысь воздвигло,
В истому дня, на синий циферблат.

Казалось, древность счастья облетает.
Казалось, лес закатом снов объят.
Счастливые часов не наблюдают,
Но те, вдвоем, казалось, только спят. (I: 208)

In this forest, there is a tension between the clockwork mechanism and the heat by which it is being reset and synchronized, between the dreamless sleep and the dream, between the flow of the sun's rays and the ticking by which he seemed to have fallen

⁶¹For an equally valid proposal of a subtext to this poem, see Victor Terras, "'Im Walde': Goethe und Boris

asleep. The contrast reflects the clear thinking, reading the world's obvious script, and the "feverish dreams" which govern a mind not so disposed to read these signs. The implication in the Novalis text is clearly that the "several" who express this opinion are misguided, for the Teacher voices a quite different opinion at the end of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*.

So, too, in the Pasternak poem. If in the Petnikov translation "lixoradochnye sny" (Fieberträume) are opposed to "svetlaja soznatel'nost'" (helle Besonnenheit), and nothing is unexpected—

Таким образом все для нас—это великие письма, к которым у нас есть ключ, и ничто не является для нас неожиданным, ибо мы знаем заранее ход великого часового механизма. Только мы наслаждаемся природой с полными чувствами, ибо она нас не сводит с ума, потому что нас не тревожат лихорадочные сны, и светлая сознательность делает нас доверчивыми и спокойными. (12; 173)

—then in the Pasternak poem all is unexpected—thus the anaphoric "Kazalos',...". The darkness is emphasized ("kafedral'nyj mrak", "Machtovyj mrak", "zakatom snov"). There is a play between sleeping and dreaming ("ne spish', a tol'ko snitsja/ Chto zhazhdesh' sna; chto dremlit chelovek"). Finally, the motif of heat, *žar*, appears twice; it is etymologically related to fever, "žhara" (which can also mean "heat"). As in the German Romantic tradition, fever or illness in Pasternak is closely associated with creativity, as I will discuss later in this chapter. Thus "V lesu" reflects the same opposition to the rational view of the universe as does the Novalis excerpt from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*.

Another Pasternak nature poem reflects the response to this excerpt from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, namely another very famous excerpt from this Novalis work on man's relationship to nature. E. B. and E. V. Pasternak write of the opposition between the "false" garden of *Temyi variacii* and the "natural" garden of *Sestra moja žizn'*:

Если *Сестра*—это настоящий сад, во всей его свежести и благополучии, или сад души как богатство и щедрость

Pasternak", *Welt der Slaven*, 16 (1973), 283-288.

человеческого духа, то Нескучный сад—это... сад показной, увеселительный и публичный, то есть обратная сторона настоящего сада, его противоположность, его тень.⁶²

The “real” garden described by Pasternak’s biographers can be seen in Pasternak’s poem from *Sestra moja zhizn’*, “Plachushchij sad”:

Ужасный! — Капнет и вслушается,
 Все он ли один на свете
 Мнет ветку в окне, как кружевце,
 Или есть свидетель.

Но давится внятно от тягости
 Отеков — земля ноздревая,
 И слышно: далеко, как в августе,
 Полуночь в полях созревает.

Ни звука. И нет соглядатаев.
 В пустынности удостоверюсь,
 Берется за старое — скатывается
 По кровле, за желоб и через.

К губам поднесу и прислушаюсь,
 Все я ли один на свете,—
 Готовый навзрыд при случае,—
 Или есть свидетель.

Но тишь. И листок не шелохнется,
 Ни признака зги, кроме жутких
 Глотков и плескания в шлепанцах
 И вздохов и слез в промежутке. (I: 113)

Pasternak’s direct parallel between the poet’s behavior and that of the garden in the rain very closely reflects the following climactic excerpt from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*:

Drückt nicht die ganze Natur so gut, wie das Gesicht, und alle Gebärden,
 der Puls und die Farben, den Zustand eines jeden der höheren,
 wunderbaren Wesen aus, die wir Menschen nennen? Wird nicht der Fels
 ein eigentümliches Du, eben wenn ich ihn anrede? Und was bin ich anders
 als der Strom, wenn ich wehmütig in seine Wellen hinabschaue, und die
 Gedanken in seinem Gleiten verliere? Nur ein ruhiges, genußvolles Gemüt

⁶²E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 383. On the history of garden imagery in verse, see I. S. Prikhod’ko, *Mifopoëtika A. Bloka* (Vladimir: Vladimirskaia gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskij institut, 1994), 76-82. Of particular interest for Pasternak is the “Song of Songs” (Ibid., 78): “Zamknutyj sad, — sestra moja, nevesta”, which could be of importance to Pasternak’s title *Sestra moja zhizn’*, with its extensive garden imagery.

wird die Pflanzenwelt, nur ein lustiges Kind oder ein Wilder die Tiere verstehn. (I: 100-101; IV: 32)

The underlying image of water and reflection in its literal and figurative meanings is manifested as well in the Pasternak text, with its motif of rain and flowing ("Strom" in Novalis).⁶³

The motif of rain and water is symbolically important in both Pasternak's oeuvre and Novalis's, in fact; in the work of both writers, the motif of water has both erotic and philosophical components, as Zholkovskij has pointed out in his analyses of Pasternak's "poetic world" with the concepts of "intensity" and "contact", the latter indicating an underlying unity of all things.⁶⁴

Water imagery is related to a common motif in the writings of Pasternak and Novalis—that of the world as a work of literature. Boris Paramonov has pointed out the link between the two writers on this motif, but he did not point out its subtextual manifestations in Pasternak's work.⁶⁵ There is one particularly interesting case in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* and Pasternak's 1916 poem "Ballada". Novalis describes Hyazinth, the hero of the tale, in the following context in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*:

[...] Er blieb aber immer mürrisch und ernsthaft ungeachtet sich das Eichhörnchen, die Meerkatze, der Papagei und der Gimpel alle Mühe gaben ihn zu zerstreuen, und ihn auf den richtigen Weg zu weisen. Die Gans erzählte Märchen, **der Bach klimperte eine Ballade dazwischen**, ein großer dicker Stein machte lächerliche Bockssprünge, die Rose schlich sich freundlich hinter ihm herum, kroch durch seine Locken, und der Efeu streichelte ihm die sorgenvolle Stirn. (I: 91-92; IV: 20)

⁶³ On water imagery in Pasternak, see Marina Cvetaeva, "Svetovoj liven"; Viktor Frank, "Vodjanoj znak" "See, for example, A. K. Zholkovsky, "'Window' in the Poetic World of Boris Pasternak", in Zholkovsky and Yuri Shcheglov, *Themes and Texts. Towards a Poetics of Expressiveness* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1984). Trans. from "Mesto okna v poeticheskom mire Pasternaka", *Russian Literature*, 6, 1978, 1-38; also "Invarianty i struktura poeticheskogo teksta. Pasternak", in Zholkovskij and Ju. K. Shcheglov, *Poëtika vyrazitel'nosti. Sbornik statej* (Vienna: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 2, 1980).

⁶⁴ Boris Paramonov, "Pasternak protiv romantizma", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1990. Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Lev Loseff (Northfield, Vermont: Russian School of Norwich University, 1991), 15-17.

The motifs of water and the ballad are combined in Pasternak's "Ballada" as well. It is not a brook which is first identified as a "ballad", but the rustling of branches; then, however, the ballad is associated with the sound of the rain falling:

Мне надо
 Видеть графа!
 Затем, что ропот стволов — баллада,
 Затем, что, дыханья не переводя,
 Мутясь, мятется ночь измлада,
 Затем, наконец, что — баллада, баллада,
 Монетный двор дождя. (I: 476)

The sound of rain, like falling coins, is associated with the ballad or creativity, in the Pasternak text. It is, of course, far more complex than the trope in Novalis's *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, but the images are essentially linked.

The Novalis trope appears in another Pasternak poem, again in altered form, "Vesenneju poroju l'da", from *Vtoroe rozhdenie*:

Когда ручьи поют романс
 О непролазной грязи,
 И ветер явно не про нас
 Таинственен и черномаз [...] (I: 422)

The underlying phrase "der Bach klimperte eine Ballade dazwischen" is thus present in "split" form in the two Pasternak poems, "Ballada" and "Vesenneju poroju l'da". In the earlier work, the "literary game" remains, and in the later one, the body of water does. In both cases, water is associated with creativity.

In *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, Novalis discusses the importance of water in both the erotic and philosophical aspects I mentioned above. This excerpt provides several subtexts for Pasternak. I will quote only portions of this quite long passage:

Das Wasser, dieses erstgeborne Kind lustiger Verschmelzungen, kann seinen wollüstigen Ursprung nicht verleugnen und zeigt sich, als Element der Liebe und der Mischung mit himmlischer Allgewalt auf Erden. Nicht unwahr haben alle Weisen im Wasser den Ursprung der Dinge gesucht, und wahrlich sie haben von einem höhern Wasser als dem Meer- und Quellwasser gesprochen. In jenem offenbaret sich nur das Urflüssige, wie es im flüssigen Metall zum Vorschein kommt, und darum mögen die Menschen es immer auch nur göttlich verehren. Wie wenige haben sich noch in die Geheimnisse des Flüssigen vertieft und manchem ist diese Ahndung des höchsten Genusses und Lebens wohl nie in der trunkenen

Seele aufgegangen. Im Durste offenbaret sich diese Weltseele, diese gewaltige Sehnsucht nach dem Zerfließen. Die Berauschten fühlen nur zu gut diese überirdische Wonne des Flüssigen, und am Ende sind alle angenehme Empfindungen in uns mannichfache Zerfließungen, Regungen jener Urgewässer in uns. (I: 104; IV: 36-37)

[...] Nur Dichter sollten mit dem Flüssigen umgehn, und von ihm der glühenden Jugend erzählen dürfen [...] (I: 105; IV: 38)

Вода, это первородное дитя воздушных таяний и слияний, не может отрицать своего сладострастного происхождения, и она является на земле в небесном всемогуществе стихией любви и смещения. Древние мудрецы не ложно искали происхождения вещей в воде и, воистину, говорили они о более возвышенной воде, чем воде морей и родников. В той воде открывается только изначально-текущее, каким проявляется оно в жидком металле, и потому нужно, чтобы люди также всегда почитали ее за божество. Как мало еще людей углубилось в тайны текучего, а у иного это чужие высшего наслаждения и высшей жизни, верно, никогда не являлось в опьяненной душе. В жажде сказывается эта Мировая Душа, эта необоримая тоска по расплыванию. Опьяненные чувствуют, но уж слишком хорошо эту неземную негу текучего, и в конце концов все приятные в нас ощущения—это многообразные движения в нас тех изначально водных пространств. (24; 184)

[...] Только поэты должны б были обращаться с текучим и рассказывать о нем пламенеющему юношеству. (25; 185)

Pasternak echoes Petnikov's translation of the opening of the large excerpt quoted

above:

И, на всех остервенясь,
Дождик, первенец творенья. ("Лейтенант Шмидт", I: 330)

The notion of thirst as inspiration, expressed in the Novalis excerpt as contact with the world soul, appears in Pasternak's 1922 poem "Pей i pishi", from the cycle "Son v letnjuju noch'":

Пей и пиши, непрерывным патрулем
Ламп керосиновых подкарауленный
С улиц, гуляющих под руку в июле
С кружкой пива, тобою пригубленной.

Зеленоглазая жажда гигантов!
Тополь столы осыпает пикулями,
Шпанкой, шиповником.— Тише, не гамьте! —
Шепчут и шепчут пивца загогулины.

Бурная кружка с трехгорным Рембрандтом!
 Спертость предгрозя тебя не испортила.
 Ночью быть буре. Виденья, обратно!
 Память, труби отступление к портерной! (l: 219)

In this poem, both the approaching storm and the beer-drinking are signals for inspiration. The signs of the approaching storm and their link with creativity can be seen in poems of *Poverx bar'erov*, to be discussed below.

There is an intermediate text involved in the image of drinking (specifically beer-drinking, in fact) and poetic inspiration — Arthur Rimbaud's "L'Oraison du soir":

Je vis assis, telqu'un ange aux mains d'un barbier,
 Empoignant une chope à fortes cannelures,
 L'hypogastre et le col cambrés; une Gambier
 Aux dents, sous l'air gonflé d'impalpables voilures.

Tels que les excréments chauds d'un vieux colombier,
 Mille Rêves en moi font de douces brûlures:
 Puis par instants mon cœur triste est comme un aubier
 Qu'ensanglante l'or jeune et sombre des coulures.

Puis, quand j'ai ravalé mes rêves avec soin,
 Je me tourne, ayant bu trente ou quarante chopes,
 Et me recueille, pour lâcher l'âcre besoin:

Doux comme le Seigneur du cèdre et des hysopes,
 Je pisse vers les cieus bruns, très haus et très loin,
 Avec l'assentiment des grands héliotropes.⁶⁶

The poem "Pej i pishi" is significant because of its linked images of drinking and rain, tying it closer to the Novalis subtext, in which various manifestations of liquid as a means of access to some higher force are combined into one phenomenon, with thirst as only one aspect.

The connection between rain and creativity, which Novalis does not specifically discuss, is so prevalent in Pasternak that it hardly requires examination. In two texts, however, he makes it obvious that rain in its higher sense means something only to the

⁶⁶Arthur Rimbaud, *Oeuvres* (Paris: Editions Baudelaire, 1966), 76. Compare also Aleksandr Blok: "I vnov', i vnov' tvoj dux tainstvennyj. V gluxoj nochi, v nochi pustoj. Velit k tvoej mechte edinstvennoj. Pril'nut' i pit' napitok tvoj.// Vnov' prichastis' dushi neistovoj. I jad, i bol', i sladost' pej. I tixo knugu

receptive poet, reflecting Novalis's statement, "Nur Dichter sollten mit dem Flüssigen umgehen..." (IV: 38). These texts are "Vstav iz groxochushchego romba" and perhaps his most famous poem, "Sestra moja—zhizn'...". In the former, both the 1913 and the 1928 versions express the exclusive nature of the poet's relationship to rain. In 1913 he writes:

О, все тогда — в конце поэмы:
Опалины опалых роз,
И тайны тех, кто — тайно немые,
И тех, что всходят восходом гроз (I: 432)

And in 1928:

Под ясным небом не ищите
Меня в толпе сухих коллег.
Я смок до нитки от наитий,
И север с детства мой ночлег. (I: 59)

In both versions the poem opens:

Встав из грохочущего ромба
Передраассветных площадей,
Напев мой опечатан пломбой
Неизбываемых дождей. (I: 59, 432)

The first stanza of the 1917 poem "Sestra moja—zhizn'" suffices to show the same exclusivity of the poet's perception of rain:

Сестра моя — жизнь и сегодня в разливе
Расшиблась весенним дождем обо всех.
Но люди в брелоках высоко брюзгливы
И вежливо жалят, как змеи в овсе. (I: 112)

Another excellent example of this is "Vstrecha", which will be discussed in another context below.

In the works of both poets, water and rain are linked not only to inspiration and a higher state of being, but also to the erotic. Novalis states this in the excerpt quoted above, and demonstrates it in several different scenes from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. In Pasternak the connection between rain and eros is expressed in "Sestra moja—zhizn'" and

perelistyvaj, Vpivajas' v zerkalo tenej..." ("Valenju Brjusovu"), Aleksandr Blok, *Sobranie sochinenij v vos'mi tomach*, Vol. III, 139.

“Dozhd””, among various others. The relationship here is not a subtextual one *per se*, but only a general motivic similarity.

Soon after the excerpts quoted above from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* appears a phrase which, along with the Petnikov translation, serves as a subtext for Pasternak in his 1931 “Volny”. The relevant Novalis excerpt reads:

So wird auch keiner die Natur begreifen, der kein Naturorgan, kein innres naturerzeugendes und absonderndes Werkzeug hat, der nicht, wie von selbst, überall die Natur an allem erkennt und unterscheidet und **mit angeborner Zeugungslust, in inniger mannigfaltiger Verwandtschaft mit allen Körpern**, durch das Medium der Empfindung, sich mit allen Naturwesen vermischt, sich gleichsam in sie hineinfühlt. (I: 105; IV: 38)

The Petnikov translation reads:

Точно так же никто не поймет природы, у кого нет органа восприятия природы, внутреннего природотворческого и различительного орудия, кто не самопроизвольно везде признает и различает во всем природу и с врожденной страстью к оплодотворению и рождению, в близком, многообразном родстве со всеми телами, через посредство ощущения смешивается со всеми существами природы и как бы всем чувством своим, входя, сливается с ними. (25; 185)

The phrase referring to “Zeugungslust” is significant in another context, to be discussed in another section of this chapter. The phrase following it, “v blizkom, mnogoobraznom rodstve so vsemi telami”, has an exact analogue in Pasternak’s “Volny”:

**В родстве со всем, что есть, уверясь,
И знаясь с будущим в быту,
Нельзя не впасть к концу, как в ересь,
В неслышанную простоту.** (I: 381)

The last two lines of the excerpt, on simplicity, are also linked to Novalis; however, this, too, will be discussed later.

Having come to the end of the text of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* in regard to its impact on Pasternak’s oeuvre, I have skipped over the most complex of the subtextual links in Pasternak with this Novalis work. I will turn to it now.

2.3 Reception of Mill Imagery

Pasternak deals with the image of the mill in several different works, from the very beginning to the very end of his career. It appears in an early verse sketch, probably from 1910; in his 1915 poem “Mel’nicu”, revised in 1928; in his essay “Neskol’ko polozenij” from 1918-1922; and in the 1956 poem “Dusha”. The core work exploring the image of the mill is his poem “Mel’nicu” is, in turn, is related to other works or portions of works which deal with the mill image. The two variants of the poem read as follows:

МЕЛЬНИЦЫ (1928)

Стучат колеса на селе.
Струятся и хрустят колосья.
Далеко, на другой земле
Рыдает пес, обезголосев.

Село в серебряном плену
Горит белками хат потухших,
И брешет лес, и бьет в луну
Цепной, кудлатой колотушкой.

Мигают вишни, спят волю,
Слезят щетки первых жнивьев,
И кукурузные стволы
Сопят и ищутся, завшивев.

А над кишеньем всех естеств,
Согбанных бременем налива,
Костлявой мельницы крестец,
Как крепость, высится ворчливо.

Плакучий Харьковский уезд,
Русалочьи начесы лени,
И ветел, и плетней, и звезд,
Как сизых свечек шевеленье.

Как губы,— шепчут, как руки,— вяжут,
Как вздох,— невнятный, как кисти,— дряхлы,
И кто узнает, и кто расскажет,
Чем тут когда-то дело пахло?

И кто отважится и кто осмелится
Из сонной одури хоть палец высвободить,
Когда и ветряные мельницы
Окоченели на лунной исповеди?

Им ветер был роздан, как звездам — свет.
Он выпущен в воздух, а нового нет.
А только, как судна, земле вопреки,
Воздушною ссудой живут ветряки.

Ключицы сутуля, крыла разбросав,
Парят на ходулях степей паруса.
И сохнут на срубках, висят на горбах
Рубахи из луба, порты-короба.

Когда же беснуются куры и стружки,
И дым коромыслом, и пыль столбом,
И падают капли медяшками в кружки,
И ночь подплывает во всем голубом.

И рвутся оборки настурций, и буря,
Баллоном раздув полотно панталон,
Вбегают и видит, как тополь, зажмурясь,
Нашествием снега слепит небосклон,—

Тогда просыпаются мельничные тени.
Их мысли ворочаются, как жернова.
И они огромны, как мысли гениев,
И несоразмерны, как их права.

Теперь перед ними всей жизни умолот.
Все помысли степи и все слова.
Какие жара в горах придумала,
Охапками падают в их постова.

Завидевши их, паровозы тотчас же
Врезаются в кашу, стремя к ветрякам,
И хлопают паром по тьме клокочущей,
И мечут из топок во мрак потроха.

А рядом, весь в пеклеванных выкликах,
Захлебываясь кулешом подков,
Подводит шлях, в пыли по щиколку,
Под их свой сусличий подкоп.

Они ж, уставая от далей, пожалованных
Валам несчастной шестерни,
Меловые обвалы пространств обмалывают
И судьбы, и сердца, и дни.

И они перемалывают царства проглоченные,
И, вращая белками, пылят облака,
И, быть может, нигде не найдется вотчины,

Чтоб бездомным мозгам их была велика.

Но они и не жалуются на каторгу.
Наливаясь в грядущем и тлея в былом,
Неизвестные зарева, как элеваторы,
Преисполняют их теплом. (I: 98-100)

МЕЛЬНИЦЫ (1915)

Над свежевзрытой тишиной,
Над вечной памятию лая
Семь тысяч звезд за упокой,
Как губы бледных свеч, пылают.

Как губы шепчут, как руки вяжут,
Как вздох невнятный, как кисти дряхлы,
И кто узнает, и кто расскажет
Чем, в их минувшем, дело пахло?

И кто отважится, и кто осмелится,
Звездами связанный, хоть палец высвободить,
Ведь даже мельницы, *о даже мельницы!*
Окоченели на лунной исповеди.

Им ветер был роздан,
А нового нет,
Они же, как звезды,
Займствуют свет
У света.

И веянье крыл у надкрыльев
Жуков — и головокруженье голов,
От пыли, головокружительной пыли
И от плясовых головешек костров.

Когда же беснуются куры и стружки,
И дым коромыслом, и пыль столбом,
И падают капли медяшками в кружки
И резко, и изредка лишь — серебром,—

Тогда просыпаются мельничные тени,
Их мысли ворочаются, как жернова,
И они огромны, как мысли гениев,
И тяжеловесны, как их слова;

И, как приближенные их, они приближены
Вплотную, саженные, к саженым глазам,
Плакучими тучами досуха выжженным
Наподобие общих могильных ям.

И мозгами, усталыми от далей пожалованных,
И валами усталых мозгов
Грозовые громады они перемалывают
И ползучие скалы кучевых облаков.

И они перемалывают царства проглоченные
И, вращая белками, пылят облака —
И в подобные ночи под небом нет вотчины,
Чтоб бездомным глазам их была велика. (I: 465-466)

The two variants of the poem from 1915 and 1928 reflect the general trend of Pasternak's revisions toward the theme of history, as discussed by Fleishman.⁶⁷ Pasternak's 1928 revision also reflects his increasing interest in Pushkin, as reflected, for example, in his answer to a questionnaire published in 1927 in *Na literaturnom postu*. "Nashi sovremennye pisateli o klassikax":

В своей работе я чувствую влияние Пушкина. Пушкинская эстетика так широка и эластична, что допускаются разные толкования в разном возрасте. Порывистая изобретательность Пушкина позволяет понимать его и импрессионистически, как я понимал его лет пятнадцать назад, в соответствии с собственными вкусами и царившими тогда течениями в литературе. Сейчас это понимание у меня расширилось, и в него вошли элементы нравственного характера.

[...] Под эстетикой же художника я понимаю его представление о природе искусства, о роли искусства в истории и о его собственной *ответственности* перед нею. (IV: 622)

Pasternak wrote this one year before his published revisions of poems from *Poverx bar'erov*. He indicates the contrast between his current conception of Pushkin and that of about fifteen years earlier, roughly the period of his earlier "Mel'nicy".

In this context, one can certainly agree with Rima Salys's characterization of "Mel'nicy" as "a kind of mood variation on 'Poltava' with its famous description of the

⁶⁷See also Fleishman's mention of the mill imagery in its transformation to historically significant imagery as in the phrase "nesorazmery, kak ix prava" (I: 98), *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 269. Fleishman also mentions two other brief appearances of the mill image in Pasternak: in "Spektorskij", comparing the artist to "Pushkin's mill", and at the end of *Oxranajagramota*, the image of "zhernov ravnomernogo sharkan'ja". Mixail Polivanov briefly mentions Pasternak's "Mel'nicy" as the image of a poet's transformation of the world: "'Vtoraja vselejnaja' u Pasternaka", *Pasternak-Studien*, 143.

Ukrainian night".⁶⁸ The statement is particularly apt in regard to the second, 1928 version, in which the Pushkinian associations are not only with "Poltava" but, for example, with "Rusalki" as well, in the phrase "rusaloch'i nachesy leni" (I: 98).

For the 1915 version, however, the Pushkinian solution to the subtextual riddles posed by Pasternak remains unsatisfactory. Clues to the mill image here are to be found in, among other sources, Novalis. The poem in its 1915 version is built on the extended double metaphor of, on the one hand, the destructive mill of creation, and its flip-side, the mill of exhausted mindless writing, and on the other hand, the voracious mill of nature or history.⁶⁹

Both meanings of the mill in "Mel'nicy" have their beginnings in an earlier Pasternak verse sketch from 1910: The sketch reads as follows:

Рванувшейся земли педаль,
Твоей лишившаяся тайны,
Как мельниц машущая даль
В зловещий год неурожайный.

Как этих мельниц взлет бесцельный
И смысл предания забыт
О крысолове из Гамельна. (I: 576)

Two images are intertwined in this text: the image of a dangerous creative force, implied by the reference to the Pied Piper, and the image of nature as a hostile force, expressed through the metaphor of the poor harvest and famine. The latter image is revived in Pasternak's essay on aesthetics, "Neskol'ko polozhenij":

⁶⁸See Rima Salys, "Izmeritel'naja edinica russkoj zhizni: Pushkin in the Work of Boris Pasternak", *Russian Literature*, XIX, 1986, 351.

⁶⁹As Omry Ronen has pointed out to me, the saying underlying the image of the mill of hack writing is "molot' vzdor". Common sayings and proverbs are, as Professor Ronen has brought to my attention, often of extraordinary importance to Pasternak's verse. As to the second main aspect of the mill metaphor, that of nature or especially history, that aspect of the mill is, as I have noted earlier, strengthened in the 1928 revision of the poem. For examples of literary and folk phrases on mills and milling in the metaphorical sense indicated here, see Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' zhivogo velikogo russkogo jazyka* (St. Petersburg/Moscow: M. O. Vol'f, 1881), Vol. II, 317, 343; and *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka* (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1957), Vol. VI, 826, 1200-1201.

Так мы вплотную подходим к чистой сущности поэзии.
Она тревожна, как зловещее кружение десятка мельниц на краю
голового поля в черный, голодный год. (IV: 370)

Poetry is double-sided, both an act of inspiration, a kind of movement,
("kruzhenie"), yet one which can be essentially useless, milling nothing. It can even verge
on evil ("zloveshchee kruzhenie"—"ill-boding turning").

In the early sketch, Pasternak works with two generally familiar legends of
European culture, that of the Pied Piper and that of Don Quixote. As Omry Ronen has
pointed out to me, the "aimless flight" of the mills negates the Quixotic association of
windmills with fantasy. If Don Quixote poeticizes the real world, turning windmills into
giants, then Pasternak depoeticizes the mill, making it churn uselessly in a time of famine,
and thus depriving it of its romantic mythos.⁷⁰ In the 1915 version of "Mel'nicy",
however, he still preserves the illusion of windmills as giants:

И, как приближенные их, они приближены
Вплотную, саженные, к саженым глазам [...] (I: 466)

The wording and imagery already in the 1910 Pasternak sketch suggest a subtext in
Novalis, from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, particularly in the 1901 translation of Carlyle's essay.
The subtext from Novalis deals with man's view of nature as a horrible mill of death, a
perception which prevents man from perceiving its secrets. Novalis writes:

Nun dünkt es Einigen, es sei der Mühe gar nicht wert, den endlosen
Zerspaltungen der Natur nachzugehen, und überdem ein gefährliches
Unternehmen, ohne Frucht und Ausgang. So wie man nie das kleinste
Korn der festen Körper, nie die einfachste Faser finden werde, weil alle
Größe vor- und rückwärts sich ins Unendliche verliert, so sei es auch mit
den Arten der Körper und Kräfte; auch hier gerate man auf neue Arten, neue
Zusammensetzungen, neue Erscheinungen bis ins Unendliche. Sie
schiene dann nur still zu stehn, wenn unser Fleiß ermatte, und so
verschwende man die edle Zeit mit müßigen Betrachtungen und
langweiligem Zählen, und werde dies zuletzt ein wahrer Wahnsinn, ein
fester Schwindel an der entsetzlichen Tiefe. Auch bleibe die Natur, so weit

⁷⁰ Cf. Pasternak's 1920 letter to Petrovskij about his colleague, Novalis translator Grigorij Petnikov,
whose translations are significant as subtexts to Pasternak: "Byl tut Petnikov. On tozhe ved', est' grex, iz
Lamanchi. S nim ne tak odinoko sebja chuvstvoval." Boris Pasternak, letter to D. V. Petrovskij, 1 June
1920 (V: 113). Naum Berkovskij writes that the early Romantics saw a reflection of themselves in Don
Quixote: Naum Berkovskij, *Romantizm v Germanii* (Leningrad: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1973), 122.

man käme, immer eine furchtbare Mühle des Todes: überall ungeheurer Umschwung, unauflösliche Wirbelkette, ein Reich der Gefräßigkeit, des tollsten Übermuts, eine unglücksschwangere Unermeßlichkeit; die wenigen lichten Punkte beleuchten nur eine desto grausendere Nacht, und Schrecken aller Art müßten jeden Beobachter zur Gefühllosigkeit ängstigen. (I: 87-88; IV: 15)

Various portions of this long excerpt are relevant to Pasternak's mill imagery in various different ways.

The 1901 Lazurskij translation of Carlyle's introductory essay on Novalis, which itself includes many excerpts of Novalis's work in order to familiarize the reader with a broad spectrum of his oeuvre, is significant for Pasternak's 1910 sketch. The relevant Pasternak lines:

Как мельниц машущая даль
В зловещий год неурожайный.

Как этих мельниц взлет бесцельный
И смысл предания забыт
О крысолове из Гамельна. (I: 576)

Lazurskij translates a portion of the *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* excerpt as follows:

Природа, с тех пор как появились люди, все остается странной мельницей смерти: повсюду невероятные перевороты, нескончаемые вихри, царство прожорливости и безрассуднейшей тирании, зловещая беспредельность [...] (46)

For Nature too remains, so far as we have yet come, ever a frightful Machine of Death: everywhere monstrous revolution, inexplicable vortices of movement; a kingdom of Devouring, of the maddest tyranny; a baleful Immense [...] (178)⁷¹

The word "zloveshchaja" and play on the prefix "bez" are echoed in Pasternak's sketch, as is the meaning of the relevant phrase on the senselessness ("bezrassudnejshej") of the mill's flight.

Interestingly, Pasternak responds to a later translation, Petnikov's, in "Neskol'ko polozhenij". Petnikov translates the following phrase—

[...] und werde dies zuletzt ein wahrer Wahnsinn, ein fester Schwindel an der entsetzlichen Tiefe. (I: 88; IV: 15)

⁷¹ Carlyle, op. cit. Translated Lazurskij, op. cit.

thus:

[...] и это становится наконец настоящим безумием, стойким головокружением над ужасной глубиной. (11; 171)

Pasternak responds to Petnikov's translation in his description not of nature, but of inspiration:

[...] это во всяком случае — чистейшее безумье! (IV: 370)

And in his words about poetry:

Она тревожна, как злое круженье десятка мельниц на краю голого поля в черный, голодный год. (IV: 370)

Here Pasternak splits Petnikov's (and his own, from 1915) word "golovokruzhenie" into two parts, the first uttered after the second in an echo effect: "golovo" - "golo" - "go".

Thus Pasternak in these two texts, the early verse sketch and "Neskol'ko polozhenij", presents the ominous dark side of nature, the very opposite of the ecstatic landscapes for which he is best known. So, too, does Pasternak depict the negative side of creative inspiration in both texts: poetic creation is associated with the Pied Piper's dangerous and seductive song in the early sketch and with a nightmarish vision of a storm in the essay. Man is helpless before this storm. He can only:

[...] заводить порою глаза и при быстро поднимающейся температуре крови слышать, как мах за махом, напоминая конвульсии молний на пыльных потолках и гипсах, начинает ширяться и шуметь по сознанию отраженная стенопись какой-то нездешней, несущейся мимо и вечно весенней грозы [...] (IV: 370)

The storm is described in "Mel'nicy" also, as is the dizziness. I will quote from the 1915 version:

И веянье крыл у надкрыльев
Жуков — и головокруженье голов,
От пыли, головокружительной пыли
И от плясовых головешек костров. (I: 465)

Thus, as in "Neskol'ko polozhenij", inner and outer are intertwined: with the beginning of the storm starts the motion of the windmill, which itself is associated with

thought (“mysli vorochajutsja kak zhernova”). The metaphor of coins falling like rain as inspiration appears in the early variant of “Ballada” as well:

Затем, наконец, что — баллада, баллада,
Монетный двор дождя. (I: 476)

If the horrendous picture of the mill itself has a subtext in Novalis’s *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, then the nightmarish image of the storm as a metaphor for thought, combined with the image of a mill, has a subtext from Jean Paul Richter, a favorite writer of Pasternak’s youth, whose *Vorschule der Ästhetik* Pasternak translated. In this work, Jean Paul describes a state of “inner night”, a feeling:

welches der romantische Dichter nur verklärter aufweckt, nämlich das ungeheure, fast hilflose Gefühl, womit der stille Geist gleichsam in der wilden Riesenmühle des Weltalls betäubt steht und **einsam**. Unzählige unüberwindliche Welträder sieht er in der seltsamen Mühle hintereinander kreisen — und hört das Brausen eines **ewigen treibenden Stroms** — um ihn her donnert es, und der Boden zittert — **bald hie, bald da fällt ein kurzes Klingeln ein in den Sturm** — hier wird zerknirscht, dort vorgetrieben und aufgesammelt — und so **steht er verlassen in der allgewaltigen blinden einsamen Maschine**, welche um ihn mechanisch rauschet und doch ihn mit keinem geistigen Ton anredet [...]”⁷²

Here the images of man’s helplessness before the storm and the blind, solitary, enormous mill are combined, just as Pasternak writes of the “burnt out”, homeless eyes of the mills in the storm in the last and antepenultimate stanzas of “Mel’nicy”:

И, как приближенные их, они приближены
Вплотную, саженные, к саженым глазам,
Плакучими тучами досуха выжженным
Наподобие общих могильных ям.

И мозгами, усталыми от далей пожалованных,
И валами усталых мозгов
Грозовые громады они перемалывают
И ползучие скалы кучевых облаков.

И они перемалывают царства проглоченные
И, вращая белками, пылят облака —
И в подобные ночи под небом нет вотчины,
Чтоб бездомным глазам их была велика. (I: 466)

⁷²Jean Paul Richter, *Werke*. Fünfter Band, hrsg. von Norbert Miller (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1963), 96-97.

Jean Paul's description of this state as man's "inner night" corresponds to Pasternak's phrase "v podobnye nochi".

Novalis, too, describes the monstrous mill of nature in *Die Lehrlinge zu Saïs*:

[...] die wenigen lichten Punkte beleuchten nur eine desto **grausendere Nacht**, und Schrecken aller Art müßten jeden Beobachter zur Gefühllosigkeit ängstigen. [...] Gerade jenes Streben nach Ergründung dieses riesenmäßigen Triebwerks sei schon ein Zug in die Tiefe, ein beginnender Schwindel: denn jeder Reiz schein ein wachsender Wirbel, der bald sich des Unglücklichen ganz bemächtigt, und ihn dann durch **eine schreckenvolle Nacht** mit sich fortreiße. (I: 88; IV: 15)

The notion of a mill as a giant, echoing the Quixotic theme, appears in both translations, in terms different from Pasternak's. The Lazurskij translation reads:

Уже это стремление познать гигантский механизм есть шаг к бездне, начало безумия, потому что с каждым возбуждением как бы усиливается вихрь, который быстро овладевает своей жертвой и уносит ее вместе с собой сквозь страшную ночь. (46)

The Petnikov translation:

Как раз то стремление к измерению этого исполинского двигателя есть уже неодолимое влечение в глубь в бездну, начинающееся головокружение: ибо всякое возбуждение кажется возрастающим вихрем, который скоро совсем обуяет несчастного и умчит с собой через полную ужасов ночь. (11; 171)

The image of the growing whirlwind from both the Novalis original and the translations is reflected in Pasternak's image of the coming storm in "Mel'nicy" and, to a lesser degree, in "Neskol'ko polozhenij". In "Mel'nicy" of 1915, this image, together with the notion of dizziness, appears in the fifth and sixth stanzas.

The image of blindness also appears in the Carlyle essay, in its English and (Lazurskij's) Russian translations from the Novalis original, which does not have the image of blindness.

Хорошо еще, что детское неведение и невинность держат людей в ослеплении относительно тех ужасных опасностей, которые повсюду, подобно странным громовым тучам, облегают их мирное жилище и каждую минуту готовы обрушиться на их головы. (46-47)

Hail to that childlike ignorance and innocence of men, which kept them blind to the horrible perils, that everywhere, like grim thunder-clouds, lay round their peaceful dwelling, and each moment were ready to rush down on them. (178)

Here, as in “Mel’nicu” of 1915, images of the mill, blindness, and storm clouds are combined.

The Novalisian image of the windmill-giant appears in both translations as well. The Lazurskij translation has textual “reverberations” not only in Pasternak’s “Mel’nicu”, with its description of the giant (“sazhennye”) windmills. The following excerpt from Lazurskij’s 1901 translation is echoed in an earlier Pasternak poem.

[...] это превращение божеского и человеческого в необузданные силы есть дух природы, этого страшного прожорливого гиганта. Разве все, что мы теперь видим, не разрушения неба, не великие развалины прежнего величия, не остатки от страшного пиршества? (47)

[...] this Metamorphosis, and dissolution of the Divine and the Human, into ungovernable Forces, is even the Spirit of Nature, that frightfully voracious Power: and is not all that we see even now a prey from Heaven, a great Ruin of former Glories, the Remains of a terrific Repast? (179)

Pasternak’s 1913 poem “Pirshestva” (“Feasts”), from his first book of verse *Bliznec v tuchax*, describes the creative process as a nighttime feast, the remains of which are gathered in the morning as poetry:

И крохи яств ночных скитальческих анапест
Наутро подберет, как крошка Сандрильон. (I: 439)

The image remains in veiled form in the 1928 version, which Pasternak renames “Piry”; this is the term Petnikov uses in his translation of the same passage, “ostatki strashnogo pira” (11; 172—“the Remains of a terrific Repast” in Carlyle’s translation). As the feat is “strashnyj” (“terrific” in the sense of frightening) in the Novalis text, so is the feat of inspiration negatively portrayed in the Pasternak poem, both of whose variants begin “P’ju gorech tuberoz, nebes osennix gorech” (I: 58, 439). Nature in the Novalis text is translated to the creative process in this Pasternak poem. The two are linked in “Mel’nicu” and “Neskol’ko polozhcnij” in the image of a storm moving the windmills of the mind.

While Pasternak depicts in both texts the insanity of creativity, he also creates a brilliant landscape. The Quixotic metaphor of windmills to giants remains on one level.

The ringing sound of the mill from the Jean Paul text appears in an important intermediary text, Sergej Bobrov's poem "Lira lir", dedicated to Pasternak, published first in the 1914 *Centrifuga* miscellany *Rukonog*, then in a 1917 collection of the same name.⁷³

The poem reads:

Необыкновенная поступь времени
 Костями ложится перед сим летом.
 Совершаем над быстрым льдом
 Этот лет мы—одни.
 Жизнь, как мельница невозможностей
 Собирает тайное зерно:
 Цвет и звон усталостей
 И несравненный колокол.

Дай же мне, о золото жизни,
 Врата безконечных смыслов
 Ударяя, как луч по линзе—
 По трепету мысленных обрывов.
 Дай, богиня, воспеть несравненно
 Золота текучего прозрачный жир;—
 Дай мне мою умышленную
 Лиру лир. (33-34)⁷⁴

The Bobrov text, in fact, reflects another excerpt from Jean Paul—from his first novel, *Die unsichtbare Loge*. Here, as in the Bobrov poem, are both the images of the mill of creation (or life) and the image of a split light beam, which we recall from the Pasternak and Novalis texts examined earlier. The excerpt from *Die unsichtbare Loge* reads:

Als jetzt die **Mühle der Schöpfung** mit allen Rädern und
 Strömen rauschte und stürmte: wollten wir in süßer Betäubung kaum
 gehen, es war uns überall wohl; **wir waren Lichtstrahlen, die jedes
 Medium aus ihrem Wege brach [...]**⁷⁵

⁷³Vladimir Markov discusses this poem briefly in his *Russian Futurism: A History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 244.

⁷⁴Sergej Bobrov, *Lira lir* (Moscow: Centrifuga, 1917).

⁷⁵Jean Paul Richter, *Werke*. Erster Band, hrsg. von Norbert Miller, Nachwort von Walter Höllerer (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1960), 387.

Like the second Jean Paul text, the Bobrov text is ecstatic; his mill is a positive image. Pasternak, on the other hand, responds not to Jean Paul's positive image of the mill of creation, but to his nightmarish vision of the "inner night" and the blind fury of the mills.

The Bobrov poem is significant as an intermediary text in another regard as well: his poem introduces the theme of the exhausted mill of creation in the artistic sense, as the mill of mindless creation, with his line "Cvet i zvon *ustalostej*". He reiterates the thought in much clearer and strongly polemical form in his essay "Liricheskaja tema": "Ot bezdarnyx poetov my otmezhevyvaemsja, ibo forma ix dushi tol'ko forma dvizhenij rotacionnoj mashiny."⁷⁶

Pasternak picks up Bobrov's theme of exhausted brains milling senselessly in his 1915 poem:

И мозгами, усталыми от далей пожалованных,
И валами усталых мозгов
Грозовые громады они перемалывают
И ползучие скалы кучевых облаков.

И они перемалывают царства проглоченные [...] (I: 466)

The last words, "carstva proglochennye", echo both Lazurskij's and Petnikov's phrases "carstva prozhorlivosti" from their translations of Novalis's phrase "Reich der Gefraßigkeit" from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, in regard to the violence of the natural world (I: 88; IV: 15).

The notion of the exhausted mill-minds, however, in both the Pasternak and the Bobrov poems, has its source in another Novalis text, from his essay "Die Christenheit oder Europa", the relevant excerpt of which appeared in translation in Viktor Zhirminskij's influential 1914 book *Nemeckij romantizm i sovremennaja mistika*, though it is likely that both Pasternak and Bobrov would have read the essay earlier. Novalis, in attacking what

⁷⁶Sergej Bobrov, "Liricheskaja tema"; in *Die Manifeste und Programmschriften der russischen Futuristen*, hrsg. von Vladimir Markov. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag [Slavische Propyläen, Band 27], 1967), 100.

he perceives the danger of the Enlightenment love of sterile reason and hatred of religion, writes:

Noch mehr — der Religions-Haß [...] machte die unendliche schöpferische Musik des Weltalls zum *ein förmigen Klappern einer ungeheuren Mühle*, die vom Strom des Zufalls getrieben und auf ihm schwimmend, ein Mühle an sich, ohne Baumeister und Müller und eigentlich ein ächtes Perpetuum mobile, eine sich selbst mahlende Mühle sey. (III: 515; II: 33)

This text thus serves as the basis for the other aspect of Pasternak's mill, the notion of the dreaded monotony of thought, the "waves of exhausted brains" — the very negation of the Quixotic depiction of the mill. This mill is that which re-mills "devoured kingdoms". Sterile reason in Novalis, or mindless creation in Pasternak, can lead its victim to his doom; this is the dark side of creation which Pasternak depicts.

This aspect of the Pasternak-Bobrovian dialogue on the subject of the mill with its basis in subtexts from German Romanticism, serves, in turn, as a starting point for a Futurist debate: Vladimir Majakovskij responded to Pasternak's and Bobrov's texts, apparently without any awareness of the Romantic texts underlying them, in his agitational 1918 poem "Poët rabochij". Bengt Jangfeldt, noting that the poem was published as an editorial, considers it a direct response to criticism which Majakovskij received from workers during his appearances before them.⁷⁷

⁷⁷Bengt Jangfeldt, "Notes on 'Manifest Letuchej Federacii Futuristov' and the Revolution of the Spirit", in *Vladimir Majakovskij. Memoirs and Essays*, ed. Jangfeldt and Nils Åke Nilsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International [Stockholm Studies in Russian Literature, 2], 1975), 160-161; idem, *Majakovskij and Futurism, 1917-1921*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1976), 30-31, 93-94. On Pasternak and Majakovskij, see also E. V. Mireckaja, "Majakovskij i Pasternak 1910-1920-x godov", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 203-212; L. F. Kacis, "K tvorcheskoj istorii cikla B. Pasternaka 'Neskol'ko stixotvorenij'", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 213-224; Hans-Bernd Harder, "Pasternak oder Majakovskij? Wege der russischen Literatur", *Pasternak-Studien*, 75-80. For other discussions of the poem "Poët rabochij", mainly as Majakovskij's defense of the poet as a useful member of society, in the context of his new poetry of revolutionary engagement, see A. Metchenko, *Tvorcestvo Majakovskogo 1917-1924 gg.* (Moscow: Sovetskij pisatel', 1954), 106-107; Metchenko, *Majakovskij* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1964), 136; K. G. Petrosov, *Tvorcestvo V. V. Majakovskogo* (Moscow: Vysshaja shkola, 1985), 80; Edward J. Brown, *Mayakovsky: A Poet in the Revolution* (New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1973), 193; Victor Terras, *Vladimir Mayakovsky* (Boston: Twayne Publishers [Twayne's World Author Series, 706], 1983), 71-72.) Cf. Majakovskij's poem "Razgovor s fininspektorom o poëzii", brought to my attention by Assya Humesky: "Trud moj ljubimomu - trudu rodstven. [...] Poëzija — / ta zhe dobycha radija." Vladimir Majakovskij, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij v trinadcati tomax* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1955-1961), VII: 119-126.

The second half of Majakovskij's poem reads:

Кто выше—поэт
или техник,
который
ведет людей к вещественной выгоде?
Оба.
Сердца—такие ж моторы.
Душа—такой же хитрый двигатель.
Мы равные.
Товарищи в рабочей массе.
Пролетарии тела и духа.
Лишь вместе
Вселенную мы разукрасим
и маршами пустим ухать.
Отгородимся от бурь словесных молотом.
К делу!
Работа жива и нова.
А праздных ораторов—
на мельницу!
К мукомолам!
Водой речей вертеть жернова. (II: 19)

Majakovskij responds in this excerpt both to Pasternak and to Bobrov texts.⁷⁸ His lines:

А праздных ораторов—
на мельницу!

respond to Bobrov's image of the mill in both his polemical essay "O liricheskoj teme", and his poem "Lira lir", published in 1917 with the subtitle "Oratorija" ("Oratorio").

Majakovskij's rhyme "molom — mukomolam" plays on the triple meaning of the root "mol", to indicate speech and to indicate milling, besides its meaning here as a barrier—a pier or sea-wall. This prepares the reader for his final metaphor, "Vodoj rechej vertet' zhernova".

This metaphor differs significantly from the Pasternak and the Bobrov texts in one sense: Majakovskij depicts poetry not as a windmill, as do Pasternak and Bobrov (in the

⁷⁸Majakovskij's characterization of the soul as "takoj zhe xitryj dvigatel'" "industrializes" Pasternak's own already "anti-romantic" image of the soul as "ten' bez osobyx primet'" ("Dusha", II: 75). Later in the poem, Majakovskij's "Otgorodimsja ot bur' slovesnyx molom" responds quite obviously to a line from the opening poem of *Poverx bar'erov*, "Posvjashchen'e" (renamed "Dvor" in 1928): "Ogorodites' ot vjugi v stixax / Shuboj, ot nochi v poëme — / svechoju" (I: 453) On Majakovskij's love and thorough

poem), referring back to Novalis, with the Quixotic image of creativity, but as a watermill. Here Majakovskij reaches back through Aleksandr Blok to another Romantic tradition, from Wilhelm Müller's cycle *Die schöne Müllerin*, known best through Schubert's famous setting. In this cycle, the brook's and mill's song is a dominant image. We know from the memoirs of Majakovskij's mother that he knew this song cycle.⁷⁹ There is, of course, no question that with Pasternak's musical background, he knew the cycle as well. In fact, one stanza of Pasternak's 1915 "Mel'nicy" picks up the balladic meter of Müller's poem "Der Müller und der Bach":

Wo ein treues Herze
In Liebe vergeht,
Da welken die Lilien
Auf jedem Beet.⁸⁰

Majakovskij drew the metaphor from an intermediary source as well: Aleksandr Blok's essay, "O lirike", published in 1907 in *Zolotoe runo* (No. 6):

Но умеющий слушать и умеющий обратить шумный водопад
лирики на колесо, которое движет тяжкие и живые жернова,
знающий, что все стихийное и великое от века благотельно и
ужасно вместе, знающий это и не хотящий признаться—ему мы
посылаем свое презрение.⁸¹

knowledge of Pasternak's poetry from this era, see L. Ju. Brik, "Chuzhie stixi", in *V. Majakovskij v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1963), 342.

⁷⁹Majakovskaja recalls his singing the first song from the cycle, "Das Wandern". See *V. Majakovskij v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1963), 64, 618. I am grateful to Lev Loseff for pointing me toward these memoirs.

⁸⁰Quoted from Arnold Feil, Franz Schubert. *Die Schöne Müllerin. Winterreise. Mit einem Essay "Wilhelm Müller und die Romantik" von Rolf Vollmann. Mit 88 Notenbeispielen.* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975), 161. Mixail Gasparov derives this common balladic meter from the two-beat dol'nik of *Sturm und Drang*. See M. L. Gasparov *Očerki istorii russkogo stixa*. (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 122. The 1928 version of Pasternak's "Mel'nicy" takes not the balladic meter of some of the poems of this cycle, but the image of *rusalki*, thus with its source not only from Pushkin. See, for example, in the poem "Wohin?" from the Müller cycle, where the image of *Nixen* is juxtaposed with that of the watermill: "Was sag ich denn von Rauschen?! Das kann kein Rauschen sein:/ Es singen wohl die Nixen/ Dort unten ihren Reihn./! Laß singen, Gesell, laß rauschen./ Und wandre fröhlich nach!! Es gehn ja Mühlenräder/ In jedem klaren Bach." Quoted from Wilhelm Müller, *Gedichte. Vollständige kritische Ausgabe. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen besorgt von James Taft Hatfield* (Berlin: B. Behr's Verlag, 1906), 6. (See also Feil, 153.) Cf. Al'mi, who notes that the galloping rhythms in Pasternak's "Ballada" recall the Schubert setting of "Erlkönig". See I. L. Al'mi, "Ballady B. L. Pasternaka", *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Seriya literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 49 (1990). No. 5, 420-431.

⁸¹Quoted from Aleksandr Blok. *Sobranie sochinenij v vos'mi tomax*, Vol. 5, 133.

Pasternak responds to the Müller, Blok, and Majakovskij in the only truly positive manifestation of this motif in his work, in a passage from *Doktor Zhivago*:

Тогда подобно катящейся громаде речного потока, самым движением своим обтачивающей камни дна и ворочающей колеса мельниц, льющаяся речь сама, силой своих законов создает по пути, мимоходом, размер, и рифму, и тысячи других форм и образований еще более важных, но до сих пор не узанных, не учтенных, не названных. (III: 431)

This passage appears in the context of a discussion of the *independence* of speech, and thus implicitly against Majakovskij's use of the same metaphor for his more practical purposes.⁸² This polemical use of Romantic subtexts against Majakovskij is not at all surprising in the era of his second, anti-Majakovskian and pro-Blokian, autobiography, *Ljudi i položenija*.

The final manifestation of mill imagery in Pasternak is his 1956 poem, "Dusha", from his last book of verse, *Kogda razgidjaetsja*.⁸³ The last two stanzas of the poem read:

Душа моя, скудельница,
Все виденное здесь,
Перемолов, как мельница,
Ты превратила в смесь.

И дальше перемалывай
Все бывшее со мной,
Как сорок лет без малого
В погостный перегной. (II: 75)

The reference to "sorok let bez malogo" points to the period of his previous poem on the mill, in its first variant. As in the 1915 "Mel'nicy", Pasternak here uses the word "peremalyvat'/peremolot"; and, as in "Mel'nicy", he writes of remilling events or objects in the natural world, "Vse vidennoe zdes'", "Vse byvshee", or, in the case of the more dramatic early poem, "Grozovye gromady". The repetitive nature of this milling hints at

⁸²In fact, Guy de Mallac found a subtext to the passage immediately preceding the one just quoted, on the independence of language, from Novalis's *Monolog*. See de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views", *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, 6, 1973, 520-522, 529-530; and his *Boris Pasternak: His Life and Art*, 352-353.

⁸³On "Dusha" see Angela Livingstone, "Pasternak's Last Poetry", *Meanjin Quarterly*, 22, 388-396.

the Novalisian sense of the mill as deadened thought; however, the rest of the imagery in the poem hints more strongly at the second Novalisian mill, that of the voracious mill of nature, from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*. It hints at the Bobrov poem “Lira lir” as well, both in the image of the lyre (“Rydajushcheju liroju”) and in the image of death, from Bobrov’s first stanza:

Необыкновенная поступь времени
Костьюми ложится перед сим летом.

which are followed directly by Bobrov’s simile with the mill:

Жизнь, как мельница невозможностей,
Собирает тайное зерно.

Thus the Bobrov poem and the Novalis and Jean Paul texts behind it remain significant to the end of Pasternak’s career, albeit in “distilled”, much more subtle, form. Pasternak takes Romantic, “neo-Romantic” (the Blok passage), and Futurist sources and transforms them in his own Futurist texts. The 1915 poem “Mel’nicij”, in turn, together with the Bobrov texts, becomes the object of Futurist-oriented polemics on the usefulness of art. Pasternak’s poem “Mel’nicij”, his essay “Neskol’ko polozhenij”, and the 1910 verse sketch, which served as the germ to both texts, reflect two “dark” aspects of the image of the mill, each related to a key text from Novalis, and each closely related to the other. Nature, as Novalis wrote in *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, is itself a terrifying, monstrous mill of death. Poetic creativity, according to Pasternak, reflects the violence and terror of nature in that it, too, is terrifying; it renders the poet a helpless victim, who can no more control the process of inspiration than he can a coming storm. Poetry puts one at the edge of an abyss: in the hands of a Pied Piper, an evil seducer of minds about whom we have forgotten (I: 466), or in the power of the “purest insanity” (IV: 470). This horrific image of the creative process is reflected in his nightmarish image of nature, as mentioned above, and thus in Pasternak’s choice of the violent landscape of “Poltava”, with Pushkin’s depiction of the land in which the bones of historical figures who gave birth to legend are buried. Like the natural world, the creative process depicted through the metaphor of the

mills inspires fear, revulsion, and a sense of helplessness in the writer. On the other hand, the image of the mill is even more terrifying in its other aspect, with its subtextual sources in the Novalis essay and the two Bobrov texts: the demon of mental exhaustion, the very negation of the Quixotic which is positively reflected in the image of the insanity of creativity. The lack of inspiration, the exhaustion, is more terrifying than the storm and violence of inspiration.

As we have seen, Novalis's *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* found tremendous resonance in Pasternak's work, from his earliest sketches to his very last verses. Pasternak responded not only to many varied aspects of the work itself, but to its two translations, only one of which was complete, and to responses to this work by his contemporaries. The Novalis text, in turn, was one of several Romantic texts to which Pasternak responded. Finally, the Novalis and Jean Paul texts inspired works which themselves sparked a Futurist-oriented debate on the uses of creativity, in which one writer involved (Majakovskij) was most likely unaware of the sources behind the works toward which his polemic was aimed. The Novalis text thus found an astoundingly rich and productive series of responses in Pasternak's work and that of his contemporaries, in texts which in turn responded to each other as well.

2.4 Reception of Other Motifs

There are a number of cases like the one examined above involving Pasternak's reception of *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* in which Pasternak transforms a Romantic subtext to create a Futurist one in verses from *Poverx bar'erov*, *Sestra moja zhizn'*, and *Temy i variacii*. In none of the instances to be examined below does a single subtext inspire so rich a reception as that of the longer *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*. Here, rather, we have to do with cases in which a single text inspires, or at least serves as a key subtext to, a single text. In some cases, I have found intermediary texts which may or may not also respond to the Novalis original.

Igor' Smirnov considers the image of the "sticky green leaves" in Pasternak's 1914 poem "Vesna" to derive from that same image in Dostoevskij's *Idiot* and *Brat'ja Karamazovy*.⁸⁴ The image of the bench comes, according to Smirnov, from the green bench in Pavlovsk Park where Myshkin meets with Aglaja and Nastas'ja Filippovna; the "sticky green leaves", in Smirnov's analysis, come from Ivan Karamazov's mention of "klejkie, raspuskajushchiesja vesnoj listochki".

There is, however, another subtext to the image of the birth of poetry on a garden bench and its comparison to the "early sprouts of spring": Novalis's poem "An Tieck".

The relevant stanzas from Pasternak's poem read:

Поэзия! Греческой губкой в присосках
 Будь ты, и меж зелени клейкой
 Тебя б положил на мокрую доску
 Зеленой садовой скамейки.

Расти себе пышные брыжи и фижмы,
 Вбирай облака и овраги,
 А ночью, поэзия, я тебя выжму
 Во зравие жадной бумаги. (I: 81)

The relevant stanzas (the second and third) from the Novalis poem read:

Nach langem Suchen, langem Warten,
 Nach manchem mühevollen Gang,
Fand es in einem öden Garten
Auf einer längst verfallnen Bank

Ein altes Buch mit Gold verschlossen,
 Und nie gehörte Worte drin;
Und, wie des Frühlings zarte Sprossen,
 So wuchs in ihm ein innerer Sinn. (I: 411; I: 224-5)

⁸⁴I. P. Smirnov, "Dostoevskij i poëzija Pasternaka (Marburg)", *Dostoevskij und die Literatur* [=Schriften des Komitees der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur Förderung der Slawischen Studien. Herausgegeben von Hans Rother. 7.] (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1983), 257-296. See also Henry Gifford, *Pasternak. A Critical Study* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), and Jerzy Faryno, "Grecheskaja gubka na zelenoj skamejke v 'Vesne' Pasternaka", in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila Jozseff Nominatae Sectio historiae litterarum Slavicae*, No. 19 (Szeged: Józseff Attila Tudományegyetem Összehasonlító Pítő Irodalomtudományi Tanszéke, 1988), 181-222.

Pasternak thus takes one aspect of the image from Dostoevskij, who may or may not have known the Novalis poem, and one from the Novalis poem itself. This combining of two subtexts is typical for Pasternak, as Smirnov has written elsewhere.⁸⁵

In another poem from *Poverx bar'erov*, "Èxo", Pasternak takes another subtext from a Novalis poem. The Pasternak poem is strongly reminiscent of Majakovskij in its use of violent imagery to depict the creative process. The poem reads:

Ночам соловьем обладать,
 Что ведром полнодонным колодцам.
 Не знаю я, звездная гладь
 Из песни ли в песню ли льется.

Но чем его песня полней,
 Тем полночь над песнью просторней.
 Тем глубже отдача корней,
 Когда она бьется об корни.

И если березовых куп
 Безвозгласно великолепье,
 Мне кажется, бьется о сруб
 Та песня железною цепью,

И каплет со стали тоска,
 И ночь растекается в слякоть,
 И ею следят с цветника
 До самих закраинных пахот. (I: 87)

The Novalis subtext is the poem "Die Nachugall". The relevant portions of the poem read:

Auch uns sing hier in fernen Schattentale
 Du kleine, frohe Liederkönigin
**Dein wirbelnd Lied, wenn aus der vollen Schale
 Voll Milch wir schöpfen frohen Sinn**

Und uns, mit unserm Schicksal wohl zufrieden,
 Der Scherz, die Freude hier im Kühlen blüht,
 Wenn draußen noch von fernen Flammensüden
 Der Hundstern die Gefilde glüht.

O, streite mit dem wachen Echo immer,
 Ergötze uns, dein Weib, den Hain und dich,
 So lange bis mit blasser Wangen Schimmer

⁸⁵See I. V. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*. See also Podgaeckaja, *op. cit.*

Der Mond von seinem Lager schlich.

[...]

Denn du bist reich an süßen Harmonien,
Die wonnevoll und **seelenschmelzend** sind,
Dich einen guter Seelen Sympathien,
Du wirkst aufs Herz so süß und lind. (I: 529-530; I: 143)

Pasternak takes several of the metaphors from the Novalis poem and transforms them. For example, he takes Novalis's image of pouring song from a bowl full of milk and "lowers" the stylistic register to describe a well with its bucket pouring song.

Typically for Pasternak (a famous example is "Zimnee nebo"), the focus immediately shifts from low to high:

Не знаю я, звездная гладь
Из песни ли в песню ли льется. (I: 87)

At the same time, the basic image of pouring song remains.

Pasternak makes concrete Novalis's image of the burning and melting that results from the warmth of the song, in the word "seelenschmelzend", to describe the harmonies and the lines:

Wenn draußen noch von fernen Flammensüden
Der Hundstern die Gefilde glüht. (I: 530; I: 143)

In Pasternak's Futurist reworking of the metaphor, the iron of the chain melting, dripping from it, produces a heat that turns the night, along with the fields in the last stanza, to slush. He maintains the image of the field melting or burning from the heat of the song.

Thus Pasternak takes the highly Romantic text and realizes its metaphors in Futurist style, while still maintaining the underlying meaning of the text — the power of song to echo everywhere and to warm everything around it. The image of the nightingale's duel with its echo from the Novalis poem, "O, streite mit dem wachen Echo immer",

is “split” among two Pasternak poems, “Èxo” (where no echo is mentioned, other than the main one implied, the reverberations of the song everywhere) and “Opredelenie poèzii”, in the phrase “Èto — dvux solov’ev poedinok.” (I: 134).

The imagery from “Opredelenie poèzii” directly corresponds to another Novalis text, a Fragment. The relevant excerpt reads:

[...] Alle Töne, die die Natur hervorbringt, sind rauh — und geistlos — **nur der musikalischen Seele dünkt oft das Rauschen des Waldes — das Pfeifen des Windes, der Gesang der Nachtigall, das Plätschern des Bachs** melodisch und bedeutsam. Der Musiker nimmt das Wesen seiner Kunst aus sich — auch nicht der leiseste Verdacht von Nachahmung kann ihn treffen. (II: 573-574, #226)

The Pasternak text echoes the Novalis images:

Èто—круто налившийся свист,
(das Pfeifen des Windes)
Èто—щелканье сдавленных льдинок,
(das Plätschern des Bachs — modified to add winter imagery)
Èто—ночь, ледящая лист,
(das Rauschen des Waldes — again, modified, but the underlying sound imagery and instrumentation on hushers, sibilants, and “d”, “l” remains)
Èто—двух соловьев поединок.
(das Gesang der Nachtigall)
[...]
Èто—с пультов и с флейт—Фигаро. (I: 134)
(nur der musikalischen Seele...)

Pasternak maintains the sound play reflecting the wind or rush of water: that on hushers (Plätschern/shchelkan’e, rauschen/ledenjashchaja), sibilants (das Pfeifen des Windes/nalivshijsja svist), obstruents (das Pfeifen des Windes/Èto — kruto nalivshijsja svist). The underlying significance of the sound play to emphasize the musicality of the underlying equivalence between nature and art in both excerpts remains the same.⁸⁶

There is, on the other hand, a Novalis Fragment with which Pasternak polemicizes in his “Definition of Poetry”:

⁸⁶See Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics”, on the Romantic roots of Pasternak’s writings on art and nature. Terras specifically mentions “Echo” and “Definition of Poetry” as examples of Pasternak’s work, the aesthetics of which has its roots in Novalis. He does not, however, point out the subtexts discussed here. On sound orchestration in Pasternak, see Dale Plank, *Pasternak’s Lyric. A Study of Sound and Imagery* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1966).

[...] Die Poësie ist durchaus personell und darum unbeschreiblich und *indefinissabel*. Wer es nicht unmittelbar weiß und fühlt, was Poësie ist, dem läßt sich kein Begriff davon beybringen. Poësie ist Poësie. Von *Rede(Sprach)kunst* himmelweit verschieden.⁸⁷ (III: 685, #668; II: 299, #379)

Another poem of *Poverx bar'erov*, like “Èxo”, involves a strongly Futurist-style transformation of a Romantic text. The poem is “Dusha”, probably from 1915:

О, вольноотпущенница, если вспомнится,
О, если забудется, пленница лет.
По мнению многих, душа и паломница,
По-моему — тень без особых примет.

О,— в камне стиха, даже если ты канула,
Утопленница, даже если — в пыли,
Ты бьешься, как билась княжна Тараканова,
Когда февралем залило равелин.

О внедренная! Хлопоча об амнистии,
Кляня времена, как клянут сторожей,
Стучатся опавшие годы, как листья,
В садовую изгородь календарей. (I: 73)

The poem ties together two key excerpts from Novalis’s unfinished novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*: the image of the pilgrim, discussed earlier in this chapter in reference to Pasternak’s early prose fragments, and the image of the drowning woman, also discussed earlier in reference to the Novalisian theme of the homeward journey and its connection to an early Pasternak prose fragment and a passage from his 1931 poem “Mne xochetsja domoj”, from the cycle “Volny”.⁸⁸ As I discussed earlier, the scene from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, after which Heinrich sings the “Song of the Pilgrim”, and the scene in which he dreams of drowning, are parallel in structure. In each, the hero meets Mathilde, in each he poses a series of questions to her and receives enigmatic answers, and in both her

⁸⁷Zelinsky mentions the indefinability of poetry in his analysis of Pasternak’s poem. See Bodo Zelinsky, “Selbstdefinition der Poesie bei Pasternak”, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, Band 38, Heft 2, 1975, 268-78. On “Opredelenie poëzii” see also Peter Alberg Jensen, “Boris Pasternak’s ‘Opredelenie poëzii’”, in *Text and Context. Essays to Honor Nils Åke Nilsson* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987), 96-110. Jensen points out Fet and Pushkin, as well as Futurist, subtexts to this poem.

answers are associated with a kind of epiphany. Pasternak connects these two images as well, those of the pilgrim and of the drowned woman: the soul is defined as both in his poem. He conceals the connection to the Novalisian link soul/pilgrim/drowned woman through an allusion to a Russian historical event and a famous painting depicting that event. The Romantic origin of the source is further concealed by Pasternak's Futurist technique—his use of an extraordinarily long word leading to a ternary phyrrie foot, his “depoeticization” of the soul by calling it “ten' bez osobyx primet”, and his use of prosaic terminology from the political sphere, like “xlopocha ob amnistii”.⁸⁹

Pasternak compares poetry to a drowned woman in another Futurist-related context, a review of Majakovskij's book of verse *Prostoe kak mychanie*:

Он подходит к поэзии все проще и все уверенней, как врач к утопленнице, заставляя одним уже появлением своим расступиться толпу на берегу. По его движениям я вижу: он живо, как хирург, знает, где у ней сердце, где легкие; знает, что надо сделать с ней, чтобы заставить ее дышать. (IV: 366)

The roots to the significance of the metaphor of poetry as a drowned woman can be found in the following lengthy passage from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Here, as in the Pasternak poem “Dusha”, drowning is associated with a spiritual epiphany.

In wunderliche Träume flossen die Gedanken seiner Seele zusammen. Ein tiefer blauer Strom schimmerte aus der grünen Ebene heraus. Auf der glatten Fläche schwamm ein Kahn. Mathilde saß und ruderte. Sie war mit Kränzen geschmückt, sang ein einfaches Lied, und sah nach ihm mit süßer Wehmut herüber. Seine Brust war beklommen. Er wußte nicht warum. Der Himmel war heiter, die Flut ruhig. Ihr himmlisches Gesicht spiegelte sich in den Wellen. Auf einmal fing der Kahn an sich umzudrehen. Er rief ihr ängstlich zu. Sie lächelte und legte das Ruder in den Kahn, der sich immerwährend drehte. Eine ungeheure Bangigkeit ergriff ihn. Er stürzte sich in den Strom; aber er konnte nicht fort, das Wasser trug ihn. Sie winkte, sie schien ihm etwas sagen zu wollen, der Kahn schöpfte schon Wasser; doch lächelte sie mit einer unsäglichen Innigkeit, und sah heiter in den Wirbel hinein. **Auf einmal zog es sie hinunter.** Eine leise Luft

⁸⁸ On the history of Princess Tarakanova (imprisoned for being an impostor) and its significance for the image of soul as impostor, see Jerzy Faryno, “Knjaginja Stolbunova-Enrici i ee syn Evgraf (Arxeopoëtika ‘Doktora Zhivago’. I.)”, *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 206.

⁸⁹ The image of a drowning woman appears as well at the beginning of *Oxrannajagramota*, as his first image of woman as naked and suffering, because of a woman who went mad after a student who leapt into the water to save her drowned (IV: 150).

strich über den Strom, der ebenso ruhig und glänzend floß, wie vorher. Die entsetzliche Angst raubte ihm das Bewußtsein. Das Herz schlug nicht mehr. Er kam erst zu sich, als er sich auf trockenem Boden fühlte. Er mochte weit geschwommen sein. Es war eine fremde Gegend. Er wußte nicht wie ihm geschehen war. Sein Gemüt war verschwunden. Gedankenlos ging er tiefer ins Land. Entsetzlich matt fühlte er sich. Eine kleine Quelle kam aus einem Hügel, sie tönte wie lauter Glocken. Mit der Hand schöpfte er einige Tropfen und netzte seine dünnen Lippen. Wie ein banger Traum lag die schreckliche Begebenheit hinter ihm. Immer weiter und weiter ging er, Blumen und Bäume redeten ihn an. Ihm wurde so wohl und heimatlich zu Sinne. Da hörte er jenes einfache Lied wieder. Er lief den Tönen nach. Auf einmal hielt ihn jemand am Gewande zurück. "Lieber Heinrich", rief eine bekannte Stimme. Er sah sich um, und Mathilde schloß ihn in ihre Arme. "Warum liefst du vor mir, liebes Herz?" sagte sie tiefatmend. "Kaum konnte ich dich einholen." Heinrich weinte. Er drückte sie an sich. — **"Wo ist der Strom?" rief er mit Tränen.** — **"Siehst du nicht seine blauen Wellen über uns?" Er sah hinauf, und der blaue Strom floß leise über ihrem Haupte.** **"Wo sind wir, liebe Mathilde?" — "Bei unsern Eltern."** — **"Bleiben wir zusammen?" — "Ewig"**, versetzte sie, indem sie ihre Lippen an die seinigen drückte, und ihn so umschloß, daß sie nicht wieder von ihm konnte. **Sie sagte ihm ein wunderbares geheimes Wort in den Mund, was sein ganzes Wesen durchklang.** Er wollte es wiederholen, als sein Großvater rief, und er aufwachte. Er hätte sein Leben darum geben mögen, das Wort noch zu wissen. (I: 278-279; IV: 161-163)

Typically for Pasternak, one source closer to the Romantic subtext ("Dusha") serves in turn as a subtext for a second Pasternak text, in which the subtext which inspired the first Pasternak text can barely be traced. The imagery in Pasternak's review of the Majakovskij book is so couched in Futurist imagery of the prosaic, concrete, and violent, that the Romantic source is virtually obliterated; nevertheless, the basic connection remains.

In fact, the image of the poet as doctor also inherent in the review of *Prostoe kak mychanie* has a subtext from Novalis. This connection will be discussed later in the chapter.

Typical for Pasternak's use of subtexts is to take one or more texts from the Romantic canon and one or more Futurist texts. This is the case with "Dusha". Pasternak takes the image of drowning poetry from a 1913 Bobrov poem, dedicated to the Cubo-Futurist Bol'shakov, called "Sud'ba stixa":

**Каждый стих, отплывая, тонет
В разгневанных полдневных парах,
Полдень луч распаленный гонит и стонет,**

Испаряя маленький прах.

Каждый стих, отплывая, гибнет
В равнодушную прорубь луны,
Она его не отринет,
Сеть мертвой, жестокой волны.

Вы же, легкие колоссы—звезды,
Вы встречаете радостно его!
И стихов налитые грозды
Не отнимет у вас никто.

Вы единое мерите сердце
Разномерным вашим лучом,—
И родного приветите стрельца вы
В несравненный эфирный дом. (33)

This poem, written in 1913 and published in the 1917 collection *Lira lir*, immediately before his “Oratorio”, “Lira lir”, discussed above, was quite possibly shown to Pasternak before its publication, since Pasternak and Bobrov worked together closely at that time. It combines two images important to Pasternak, both with their sources in Novalis—drowning poetry (connected in the Romantic vision with the soul and love) and the light beam. Here the light beam, discussed earlier in this chapter, is not a manifestation of the force of poetry, but is rather an inimical force which chases poetry away (stanza 1) or acts indifferently toward it (stanza 2). Pasternak thus uses a text from one branch of Futurism—Centrifuga—to review a collection from another branch—Cubo-Futurism. That text is itself linked to Cubo-Futurism through its dedication to a poet of that branch, though not Majakovskij. As is frequently the case, the subtextual network is quite complex.

Pasternak’s “anti-Romantic” poem *Marburg* from 1916, though it cannot be called a “transformation” of a Romantic text, refers at several points to famous scenes in Novalis’s *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. The reference to Novalis’s image of nature or the poet as an Aeolian harp on which higher forces play has already been discussed in regard to “Marburg”. Two key excerpts from Novalis’s novel are at play here as well, as subtexts which help clarify the interpretation of the poem.

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the contrast between the “true” and “false” gardens, the latter depicted in “V lesu”. The motif of ticking and sleeping from that poem appears also in the earliest (1916) version of “Marburg”:

И лишь насекомые к солнцу с куста
Слетают, как часики спящего тикая.
[...]
По стенам испуганно мечется бой
Часов и несется оседланный маятник, [...] (I: 492)

As in “V lesu”, this motif is associated both with the daytime sun and with a kind of falseness in creativity. Two of the three stanzas between the excerpts quoted read:

В тот день всю тебя от гребенок до ног,
Как трагик в провинции драму Шекспирову,
Носил я с собою и знал назубок,
Шатался по городу и репетировал.

Достаточно, тягостно солнце мне днем,
Что стынет, как сало в тарелке из олова,
Но ночь занимает весь дом соловьем
И дом превращается в арфу Эолову. (I: 492)

Thus the day is experienced as a time of falsehood and poor performances, while the night is associated with the rebirth of creativity, manifested in the common metaphor of the nightingale, mentioned earlier. The clock in the day is “the ticking watch of a sleeping man”. The clock at night is a wall clock which beats as if startled, the pendulum racing along, “saddled”; it, too, changes with the hero, who has awoken emotionally.⁹⁰

The motif of the clock, and its association with the both image of night sleep and the opposition of a stultifying lack of creativity and an awakening of the creative spirit, has a subtext in the opening to *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*:

Die Eltern lagen schon und schliefen, die Wanduhr schlug ihren
einförmigen Takt, vor den klappernden Fenstern sauste der Wind;
abwechselnd wurde die Stube hell von dem Schimmer des Mondes. Der
Jüngling lag unruhig auf seinem Lager, und gedachte des Fremden und
seiner Erzählungen. (I: 195; IV: 53)

⁹⁰ Rima Salys analyzes the imitation of the sound of a ticking clock in the sound play of “V lesu”, as in “Marburg”. See Salys, *Boris Pasternak's 'Temy i variacii': A Commentary* (Dissertation, Harvard University, 1978), 201-202.

Two translations of these lines appeared before the writing of “Marburg”: the 1901 Lazurskij translation of the Carlyle essay and the translation by Zinaida Vengerova and Vasilij Gippius of the entire novel, published in 1914. Both translations used the sound “tik-tak”, as does Pasternak (“tikaja” in “Marburg”); the later translation uses the same verb as Pasternak uses. The Carlyle reads (without the last sentence from Novalis, included only to set the context):

Родители уже легли спать. Стенные часы отбивали свое монотонное тик-так. Ветер шумел и стучал окнами. По временам комната освещалась лунным светом. (64)

And in the Vengerova-Gippius version:

Родители уже лежали и спали, стенные часы однообразно тикали, за хлопающими окнами свистел ветер; комната по временам озарялась лунным сиянием. (7; 11)⁹¹

In both poems the contrast between the ordinary and the extraordinary is set off by the moonlight. In Novalis the sound of the wind is set in opposition to the sounds of the ticking clock. The moonlight is, of course, associated with the former force as coming from outside and thus unpredictable. In Pasternak, the contrast remains, but is made more complex: the heat of the “onorous” or “burdensome” (“tjagostno”) daytime sun is linked with the monotonous ticking of a sleeping man’s watch, while the moon, “povsemestna i celostna”, is associated with the “animated” ticking of the transformed clock. The contrast goes back to the day/night contrast of Pasternak’s early prose sketches, with their own roots in Novalis’s *Hymnen an die Nacht*. The complex network of associations between ticking and the light from outside, from the “daytime” or the “nighttime sun”, brings the relationship between “Marburg” and the Novalis texts beyond the simple coincidence of two manifestations of the same widely-known genre of night poetry.

⁹¹ The first page number is from the original printing of the Vengerova/Gippius translation: *Gejnrix fon Ofterdingen (posmertnyj roman)*. Perevod s nemeckogo Zin. Vengerovoj i Vasilija Gippiusa (stixi) (Moscow: K. F. Nekrasov, 1914). The second page number is from the reprint of this translation in Novalis. *Gejnrix fon Ofterdingen. Fragmenty. Ucheniki v Saise* (St. Petersburg: Evrazija, 1995).

The last line in “Marburg”, “Ja beloe utro v lico uznaju” (I: 493), also has a subtext from a key scene in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. The epiphany associated with this scene in the Novalis novel, in which Heinrich recognizes his love for Mathilde, underlines the irony of this line in the Pasternak poem, in which the hero decides to step away from the love in which he was rejected.⁹²

The Novalis text reads:

Er trat ans Fenster. Der Chor der Gestirne stand am dunklen Himmel und im Morgen kündigte ein weißer Schein den kommenden Tag an.

Mit vollem Entzücken rief Heinrich aus: “Euch, ihr ewigen Gestirne, ihr stillen Wanderer, euch rufe ich zu Zeugen meines heiligen Schwurs an. Für Mathilden will ich leben, und ewige Treue soll mein Herz an das ihrige knüpfen. Auch mir bricht der Morgen eines ewigen Tages an. Die Nacht ist vorüber. Ich zünde der aufgehenden Sonne mich selbst zum nieverglühenden Opfer an.” (I: 277-278; IV: 161)⁹³

The excerpt from Lazurskij’s translation of the Carlyle essay reads:

Он подошел к окну. Хор светил стоял на темном небе, а на востоке белый свет возвещал наступление дня.

Полный восторга, Генрих воскликнул: “вы, вечные светила, вы, молчаливые путники! Призываю вас в свидетели моей священной клятвы: я буду жить для Матильды, и вечная верность будет соединять мое сердце с ней. Для меня также наступает заря вечного дня. Ночь прошла; перед восходящим солнцем я сам горю, как жертва, которая никогда не потухает. (67-68)

The Vengerova/Gippius translation reads:

Он подошел к окну. Хор звезд стоял на темном небе и светлая полоса на востоке возвещала день.

Восхищенный Гейнрих воскликнул: — Вас, вечные звезды, тихие путники, вас призываю в свидетели моей клятвы. Я буду жить для Матильды и вечная верность сплотит мое сердце с ее сердцем. И для меня наступает утро вечного дня. Ночь миновала. Я возжигаю себя самого, как неугасимую жертву восходящему солнцу. (112-113; 81)

⁹² On the theme of second birth in “Marburg”, see Olga Raevsky Hughes, “Stixotvorenie ‘Marburg’ i tema ‘vtorogo rozhdenija’: Nabljudenija nad raznymi redakcijami stixotvoreniija ‘Marburg’”, in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de Cérisy-la-Salle*, 289-301.

⁹³ Compare Aleksandr Blok: “Razverzlos’ utrennee oko, / Sijan’e l’etsja bez konca. / Moj dux letit tuda, k Vostoku. / Navstrechu pomysljam tvorca. / Kogda ja den’ molitvoj vstrechu / Na svetloj utrennej cherte. —, Novorozhdenному navstrechu / Pojdu v duxovnoj chistote.” Blok, *Sobranie sochinenij v vos’mi tomah*, Vol. I, 39.

Like the Novalis texts, the Pasternak text combines the motifs of the rising sun and the outside witness to the scene. Pasternak metonymically shifts the role of witness from the night stars to passion itself:

Ведь ночи играть садятся в шахматы
Со мной на лунном паркетном полу.
Акацией пахнет, и окна распахнуты,
И страсть, как свидетель, сидит в углу. (I: 493)

This stanza, and the one following (with the exception of half a line of verse), were preserved in the 1928 version of the poem. Obviously the connection to the Novalis text remained important to Pasternak; this can be the case without strong evidence of “track covering”, because Pasternak takes the Romantic text and makes it underline the irony of the poet/hero’s position. For Novalis’s hero, love and the poetic gift arrive hand-in-hand (“Schon nahte sich ein Dichter, ein liebliches Mädchen an der Hand”, I: 268; IV: 149); for Pasternak’s hero, one comes as the other rejects him (“Ja tjanus’ k solovju.”). The Romantic image of the nightingale underlines Pasternak’s source.

Examination of Pasternak’s 1917 poem “Slozha vesla” reveals an interesting link to the Petnikov translation of one of Novalis’s Fragments.⁹⁴

The relevant fragment:

[...] Über *Vignetten*. (Alle Asche ist *Blüthenstaub* — der Kelch ist der Himmel.) (III: 301, #339; III: 357, #1059)

The translation reads:

Всякий пепел — это цветень, — чашечка — небо. (5; 145)⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Analyses of this poem can be found in Nils Åke Nilsson, “Life as Ecstasy and Sacrifice: Two Poems by Boris Pasternak”; idem, “‘With Oars at Rest’ and the Poetic Tradition”, in *Boris Pasternak. Essays*, 180-202, in which the poem’s Romantic predecessors are discussed; Dale Plank, *Pasternak’s Lyric. A Study of Sound and Imagery* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1966); Aleksandr Zholkovskij, “I jubovnaja lodka, uprjazh’ dlja Pegasa i poxoronnaja kolybel’ naja (Tri stixotvoreniija i tri perioda Pasternaka)”.

⁹⁵ The first page number is from the original printing of Petnikov’s translations: Novalis. *Fragments v perevode Grigorija Petnikova*. I (Moscow: Liren’, 1914). The second page number is from the reprint in Novalis. *Gejnriz fon Ofterdingen. Fragmenty. Uchemki v Saise* (St. Petersburg: Evraziija, 1995).

This is the first of the Fragments in Petnikov's translation. For that reason it is hardly surprising that it would be memorable.

The translation not only works with the same imagery as Pasternak's poem, but also with the same sound "orchestration". The following is the relevant excerpt from Pasternak's poem:

Это ведь значит — пепел сиреневый,
Роскошь крошеной ромашки в росе,
 Губы и губы на звезды выменивать!

Это ведь значит — обнять небосвод,
 Руки сплести вокруг Геракла громадного (I: 129)

The connection ashes/flowers/sky from the Novalis Fragment remains in the Pasternak poem. In the general context of Pasternak's adoption of the Romantic connection of the micro- and macrocosmos, as discussed by Terras,⁹⁶ this link of the small detail to the cosmic is not terribly surprising. That the very objects remain the same is more surprising. Still more intriguing is that Pasternak maintains and expands Petnikov's sound play, based on the vowel "e", the cluster "en", and hushers "ch", "sh". This sound play, based on Petnikov's, is present in an earlier version, published in 1918 in *Vesennij salon poetov*, though the word "ashes", which exactly corresponds to Novalis's and Petnikov's, is not yet present:

Это ведь значит шорох сиреневый,
 Роскошь крошенных черемух в росе,
 Губы и пряди на звезды выменивать! (I: 658)

The added word "ashes", combined with "dew", brings us back to the discussion earlier in this chapter of echoes from Novalis's first *Hymn to the Night* and its reverberations in Pasternak's verse for decades after its first mark in his early prose sketches. Ashes and dew, separately and in combination, are associated with creativity in Pasternak's oeuvre.

*Victor Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics".

Another case in which the Petnikov translation of the Fragments is possibly present in Pasternak's verse involves his 1915 poem "Improvizacija". Here the tie is much less close, but the basic image of poets using their language and surroundings like keyboards harks back to a Novalis Fragment which appears in Petnikov's collection. The Novalis Fragment reads as follows:

Der Poët braucht die Dinge und Worte, wie *Tasten* und die ganze Poesie beruht auf thätiger Idéenassociation — auf selbstthätiger, absichtlicher, idealischer *Zufallproduktion*. — (zufällige — freye *Catenation*.) (Casuisik — Fatum. *Casuation*.) (*Spiel*.) (III: 451, #953; II: 300, #384)

The Fragment in translation reads:

Поэт пользуется вещами и словами как клавишами, и вся поэзия покоится на действительной сопряженности идей, на самодейственном, умышленном, идеальном созидании случая. (21; 155)

The first two lines of Pasternak's poem read:

Я клавишей стаю кормил с руки
Под хлопанье крыльев, плеск и клекот. (I: 93)

The additional notion in the Novalis original of "play", plus the presence in both original and translation of "Ideenassociation", brings this Fragment even closer to the Pasternak poem. The connected notion of chance is quite significant both to Pasternak ("Chem sluchajnej, tem vernee/ slagajutsja stixi navzryd", I: 47) and to Novalis, in whose work the theme of chance appears frequently. I will return to this connection later in the chapter.

Pasternak's poem "Vstrecha" explores the themes of time and space in an extraordinarily Futurist style.⁹⁷ As with "Exo" and "Dusha", the poem actually transforms Novalis texts in the context of this style. Unlike the other two texts, however, "Vstrecha" does not work with typically Romantic texts, with those that could be considered part of the

⁹⁷ On Pasternak's treatment of space and time, see Bajara Arutjunova, "Zemlja i nebo. Nabljudemija nad kategorijami prostranstva i vremeni v rannej lirike Pasternaka", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de*

canon of Romanticism; rather, the Novalis texts which serve as subtexts to this poem count among those of the lesser known Novalis. As is the case with some other texts studied here, the presence of Sergej Bobrov can be seen as well.

“Vstrecha” reads as follows:

Вода рвалась из труб, из луночек,
Из луж, с заборов, с ветра, с кровель,
С шестого часа пополуночи,
С четвертого и со второго.

На тротуарах было скользко,
И ветер воду рвал, как вретнице,
И можно было до Подольска
Добраться, никого не встретивши.

В шестом часу, куском ландшафта
С внезапно подсыревшей лестницы,
Как рухнет в воду, да как треснется
Усталое: “Итак, до завтра!”

Автоматического блока
Терзанья дальше начинались,
Где в предвкушеньи водостоков
Восток шаманил машинально.

Дремала даль, рядясь неряшливо
Над ледяной окрошкой в иней,
И вскрикивала и покашливала
За пьяной мартовской ботвиньей.

И мартовская ночь и автор
Шли рядом, и обоих спорящих
Холодная рука ландшафта
Вела домой, вела со сборища.

И мартовская ночь и автор
Шли шибко, вглядываясь изредка
В мелькавшего как бы взаправду
И вдруг скрывавшегося призрака

То был рассвет. И амфитеатром,
Явившимся на зов предвестницы,
Неслось к обоим это завтра,

Cérisy-la-Salle, 195-224. See also Victor Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Time”, *Canadian Slavic Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1968), 264-270.

Произнесенное на лестнице.

Оно с багетом шло, как рамошник.
Деревья, здания и храмы
Нездешними казались, тамошними,
В провале недоступной рамы.

Они трехъярусным гекзаметром
Смещались вправо по квадрату.
Смещенных выносили замертво,
Никто не замечал утраты. (I: 177-178)

To begin, there are two motifs in the poem which are frequently found in Pasternak's oeuvre and which have subtexts in Novalis: water and "edible" nature.⁹⁸ Both of these have been discussed in regard to the connection with Novalis texts earlier in this chapter.

In addition to these general correspondences, there exist more specific ones, related to the themes of time and space.⁹⁹ Early in the poem, in the third stanza, appears the former theme, that of time; it is then hinted at in the fourth stanza's reference to the East, and appears again in the eighth stanza. All of the references to time are couched in spatial imagery: the "till tomorrow" drops as if into the water, the East hints at both landscape and time (dawn is then explicitly mentioned only in stanza eight), and the words spoken are described as moving in stanza eight. It continues to "move" in stanza nine, where the imagery is strongly spatial.

The physical presence of the phrase "till tomorrow, then" dropping into the water, and then its manifestation as a frame-maker, has a subtext in a Novalis Fragment:

**Die Körper sind in den Raum *precipitirte* und
angeschossene Gedanken — [...] (III: 449, #942; III: 96, #437)**

⁹⁸ On water imagery in Pasternak, see Marina Cvetaeva, "Svetovoj liven"; Viktor Frank, "Vodjanoj znak"; Angelika Meyer, "Sestra moja zhizn'" von Boris Pasternak. *Analyse und Interpretation* (Munich: Otto Sagner [Slavistische Beiträge, Band 207], 1987). On the significance of rain imagery as universal contact, see Aleksandr Zholkovskij, "Mesto okna v poeticheskom mire Pasternaka", *Russian Literature*, VI-1 (January 1978), 1-38.

⁹⁹ On the theme of time in Pasternak, see Victor Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Time".

Pasternak thus “realizes” Novalis’s metaphor in a manner typical for Futurist poetics. He also realizes the metaphor described in the following portion of the same Fragment —

/Die Zeit ist ein successiver Wechsel 3er Kräfte — Die Gegenwart ist die Schwebung — gleich einem Gefaße, das einen aufnehmenden und abführenden Gang hat./ (III: 449, #942; III: 96, #437)

— using the description of water flowing through the pipes in his urban landscape at a transitional time of day:

Вода рвалась из труб, из луночек,
Из луж, с заборов, с ветра, с кровель,
С шестого часа пополуночи,
С четвертого и со второго. (I: 177)

The metaphor water/time/pipe or gutter is capsulized in Pasternak’s word play “vostok/vodostok”.

Где в предвкушеньи водостоков
Восток шаманил машинально. (I: 177)

The last three stanzas of “Vstrecha” develop the striking image of the framer or frame-maker, the metaphor for the uttered words “till tomorrow”, shifting to the right along the grid and disappearing. All this, in turn, serves as a metaphor for the disappearance of night, the passing of time. Time and space are thus intertwined. The bizarre and distinctly Modernist image of “shifting to the right along the grid (or square)” actually has a subtext in Novalis:

Damit schließt sich dies vortrefflich an meine Ideen von der bisherigen Verkennung von *Raum* und *Zeit* an — deren Persönlichkeit — und Urkraft mir unbeschreiblich einleuchtend geworden ist. *Die Thätigkeit des Raums und der Zeit ist die Schöpfungskraft und ihre Verhältnisse sind die Angel der Welt.* (IV: 274; II: 295, #365)¹⁰⁰

And the disappearance in a Novalis Fragment:

[...] **Natürlicher Raum — künstlicher Raum. Ein Körper ist ein consonirter Raum. Der ferne Körper lößt sich wieder in Raum auf, verschwindet in Raum.** [...] Alles soll wieder *Raum* werden. (III: 304, #356; II: 311, #427)

¹⁰⁰ This excerpt is noted in the 1907 edition as a Fragment; however, later research showed that it is a portion of Novalis’s letter to Friedrich Schlegel in Berlin, dated 20 January 1799.

Pasternak takes the Novalis Fragment and once again “realizes” the metaphor to make both the spoken words and the landscape in its predawn state disappear into space, unnoticed:

Смещенных выносили замертво,
Никто не замечал утраты. (I: 178)

The notion of the frame or frame-maker has a subtext in Pasternak’s own early prose sketches. In “Uzhe temneet”, a text discussed earlier in this chapter, Pasternak discusses the notion of frames and borders (within the context of his “improvization” on the theme of lines discussed earlier) as being “infected” with life:

—это значит, что жизнь была в рамках, и рамы были неизменными,
неподвластными; но и они заразились жизнью, стали ею und man
muss die Götter die Liebe, alle Rahmen die Leben geworden umrahmen.
(IV: 721)

Viewed in the context of this subtext from Pasternak’s own work and of the presence of an “author” in the twilight scene of “Vstrecha”, the presence of the frame-maker and his “shift” can be seen as the manifestation of a creative force. Of course, rain is associated with creativity throughout Pasternak’s work.¹⁰¹ As in the first Novalis Fragment, then, the interactions of space and time in the Pasternak text are manifestations of a creative force, Novalis’s “Schöpfungskraft”; the landscape in Pasternak’s poem is not merely the setting of a scene, but actually a “Landschaft”. We turn out to be reading a verse description of a graphic depiction of a landscape.

The lines “Xolodnaja ruka landshafta / Vela domoj, vela so sborishcha” have two subtexts from consecutive poems in Bobrov’s collection *Liralir*, “Vot den’, razlamyvajushchij okna” and “Den’skoe metanie”, the latter dedicated to Pasternak:

Опускай онемелые руки,
Вот холодная рассвета рука:
Нестерпимо спокойные звуки,
А безудержной ночи поступь легка. (1913, 4)

Принимайте холодную ласку эту—

¹⁰¹ Cvetaeva, “Svetovoj liven’”; Frank, “Vodjanoj znak”; Zholkovskij, “Mesto okna...”.

Васильков и жасмина;
Тебе, поэту,
Одна, все одна горюет година. (1913, 4)

It will be recalled that Bobrov refers with fair frequency to Novalis texts in this collection; thus it is not a surprising association for Pasternak to link subtexts from Novalis and Bobrov, though they are in this case unrelated. As we have seen throughout this chapter, Novalis and Bobrov texts are frequently present together as subtexts to one Pasternak poem.

There is in Pasternak's poetry a theme which runs parallel to the themes of time and space—and their interaction, as in "Vstrecha"— as creative forces: This is the theme of love for space and the poet's close relationship to it. This, too, is linked to a Novalis subtext, in fact to a later portion of the first text quoted in regard to "Vstrecha", on the "angles of the world". The relevant portion reads:

— Beyde [Christianity and the religion of Antiquity] halten das Universum, als den Körper des Engels, in ewigen Schweben — in ewigen *Genuß* von Raum und Zeit. (IV: 274; IV: 296)

Pasternak writes in verse of the mid-twenties of his intimacy with space and of space's love for itself. In "Dvadcat' strof s predisloviem":

Одна оглядчивость пространства
Хотела от меня поэм,
Одна она ко мне пристрастна,
Я только ей не надоем.

Когда, снуя на задних лапах,
Храпел и шерсть ерошил снег,
Я вместе с далью падал на пол
И с нею ввязывался в грех.

По барабанной перепонке
Несущихся, как ты, стихов
Суди, имею ль я ребенка,
Равнина, от твоих пахов? (I: 252)

And in *Spektorskij*, which grew from the previously quoted work, the love is "switched" to that of space for space:

Пространство спит, влюбленное в пространство. (I: 341)

In this complex of texts related to time and space, then, we have to do with a series of poems which work with typically Modernist conceptions of time and space. One is depicted in terms of the other. Each is depicted through multiple metaphors or metonyms (as in the last text cited, with space doubling for the poet). Each is depicted in abstracted or fragmented form: players in the scene shift across a geometrical plane and perish, a word uttered becomes a moving object, while the night becomes a companion walking with the “author”, also an abstraction. At the same time, this text fits intertextually both within a network of other Futurist texts (Bobrov’s), and within a network of Romantic texts (Novalis’s), which themselves did not fit early twentieth-century stereotypes of Novalis or Romanticism. We are not dealing here, for example, with texts quoted in Zhirmunskij’s study on the mysticism of Romantic texts and its modern influence, or in Carlyle’s introductory essay, translated into Russian at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, the Novalis texts cited are clearly a part of his quintessential Romantic philosophy—the notion of unifying forces underlying all things, for example, of that of an underlying creative force in time and space. Pasternak takes these “atypical” texts and weaves them into the fabric of a text that could be seen as typically Futurist.

Besides the relationship of time and space, there are two other semantic fields in which Pasternak draws on Novalis texts, one minor and one major: these are the rather small field of childhood and the enormous and complex field of illness with its correlates in unconsciousness, reproduction and infection (related in Pasternak’s work), and hypochondria. The larger semantic field includes the field of the thunderstorm, because it renders the poet a victim of sorts in the work of both authors.

The link between Pasternak and the Romantic idealization of childhood has been discussed by Terras.¹⁰² It has, however, subtextual corollaries which have not, to my knowledge, been discussed before. In two texts—one poem and one story—Pasternak

¹⁰²Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics”.

quotes Novalis on various themes related to childhood and the development of consciousness.

One is a rather minor instance which, however, is striking. Pasternak opens “Klevetnikam”, from *Temy i variacii* with the following stanza, ending with a baffling metaphor:

О детство! Ковш душевной глубин!
 О всех лесов абориген,
 Корнями вросший в самолюбье,
 Мой вдохновитель, мой регент! (I: 199)

The subtext for this odd comparison comes from Novalis’s “Glauben und Liebe oder Der König und die Königin.”¹⁰³

Ein wahrhafter Fürst ist der Künstler der Künstler; das ist, der Director der Künstler. Jeder Mensch sollte Künstler seyn. Der Stoff des Fürsten sind die Künstler; sein Wille ist sein Meißel: er erzieht, stellt und weist die Künstler an, weil er nur das Bild im Ganzen aus dem rechten Standpunkte übersieht, weil ihm nur die große Idee, die durch vereinigte Kräfte und Ideen dargestellt exekutirt werden soll, vollkomment gegenwärtig ist. **Der Regent führte ein unendlich mannichfaches Schauspiel auf, wo Bühne und Parterre, Schauspieler und Zuschauer Eins sind, und er selbst Poet, Direktor, und Held des Stücks ist.** (II: 497-498, #39; II: 162)

Thus childhood is inspiration to Pasternak, the way the Regent acts as an inspiring force in the prince’s court. This image ties the poem to Pasternak’s “Ballada”, in which the “count” could be seen as a kind of muse, to whom the poet is a mere messenger.

Поэт или просто глашатай,
 Герольд или просто поэт (I: 475, 94)

Впустите, мне надо видеть графа.
 О нем есть баллады. Он предупрежден. (I: 95)

Мне надо его видеть — с железного ската
 Стекая гербом по каретной коре,
 Из слякоти ливень чеканит дукаты
 И лепит копейки на медном дворе. (I: 476)

¹⁰³We know that Pasternak was familiar with this essay because of another subtext from it found by Victor Terras, to the image of “Abbreviator” in “Chernyj bokal”. See Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics”, 50. The excerpt noted by Terras was translated by Petnikov in his *Fragmenty*, published in 1914: “Moja vozljublennaja — èto abbreviatura vseleñnoj, vseleñnaja — èlongatura moej vozljublennoj.”, 15: 150.

The subtext to this notion of prince as director of artists is earlier in the same essay:

Ein wahrhafter Fürst ist der Künstler der Künstler. Das ist, der Direktor der Künstler. (II: 497, #39; II: 162)

This can be supported in "Ballada" by the dual images of inspiration—in rain and in coins, as I have discussed earlier—and of false inspiration:

Шуршат со смертельной фальшью
В паденьи, — шепот пшена,
А дальше — пруды, а дальше —
Змеею гниет тишина.

И также фальшивит фашинник,
И как-то сквозь сон, не всерьез
В паденьи повисли вершины
Пастушески-пестрых берез.

Довольно,
Мне надо
Видеть
Графа. (I: 476)

This interpretation, of the prince whom the hero needs desperately to see precisely as his *muse*, also ties the poem together with other poems of 1914-1915 on the forces frustrating creativity: "Mel'nicy", "Ne kak ljudi", "Raskovannyj golos", "Metel'".¹⁰⁴ As Fleishman has pointed out, the poem is altered in 1928 toward the autobiographical and historical, and the count in this version can clearly be seen as Tolstoj, whose image as an inspiring force is intertwined with that of Chopin.¹⁰⁵

The image of the prince or regent as inspiring force thus ties together "Ballada" and "Klevetnikam". The two texts are linked by other images as well, which have their origins in Novalis texts: that of dew or water as an inspiring force; and that of the keyboard, present as the organist in "Ballada" (which links the poem to Pasternak's early story

¹⁰⁴On "Metel'", see I. P. Smirnov, "B. Pasternak: 'Metel'", in *Poëticheskij stroj russkoj liriki* (Leningrad, 1973), 236-253.

¹⁰⁵See *Boris Pasternak v dvadtsatye gody*, 102-106, 80 on poet/herald. On "Ballada", see also Per Arne Bodin, "The Count and His Lackey. An Analysis of Boris Pasternak's Poem 'Ballada'", *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 37-63; Jerzy Faryno, *Poëtika Pasternaka ("Putevye zapiski" — "Oxrannaja gramota")* (Vienna: Wiener

“Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”) and in “Improvizacija”, discussed earlier in this chapter.

From “Klevetnikam”:

Что вдавленных сухих костяшек,
Помешанных клавиатур,
Бродячих, черных и грустящих,
Готовят месть за клевету! (I: 199)

It is, of course, no accident that “Klevetnikam” was placed in the same cycle of poems within *Temy i variacii* as “Tak nachinajut”, which also depicts the link between childhood and the birth of poetry. There too, as I have discussed earlier in this chapter, exist subtexts from Novalis.

The other Pasternak text from this period which discusses the development of an “inspired” childhood is in prose, his story “Detstvo Ljuvers”. Not surprisingly, here too one can find subtexts from Novalis; however, they concern not childhood as the birth of inspiration or as an inspiring force, but themes peripheral to the main theme of Zhenja’s development.

One aspect of the girl’s development is her realization that the name does not reveal the essence of the thing. Pasternak describes this discovery as the first important one in her intellectual development:

Девочка ничего не поняла и удовлетворительно сглотнула катившуюся слезу. Только это ведь и требовалось: Узнать, как зовут непонятое, — Мотовилиха. В эту ночь [...] имя имело еще полное, по-детски успокоительное значение.

Но наутро она стала задавать вопросы о том, что такое Мотовилиха и что там делали ночью, и узнала, что Мотовилиха — завод [...] (IV: 36)

This excerpt polemicizes with Novalis’s notion of the “magic word”, which appears at the end of Heinrich’s dream, in which Mathilde whispers the word to him (I: 279), and in the following Fragment:

Jeder Mensch hat seine eigne Sprache. Sprache ist Ausdruck des Geistes. Individuelle Sprachen. Sprachgenie. Fertigkeit in und aus andern

Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 22), 1989; I. L. Al’mi, “Ballady B. L. Pasternaka”, *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 49 (1990), No. 5, 420-431.

Sprachen zu übersetzen. Reichthum und Euphonie jeder Sprache. Der ächte Ausdruck macht die klare Idee. **Sobald man nur die rechten Namen hat, so hat man die Ideen mit.** Durchsichtiger, leitender Ausdruck. (II: 560, #163; III: 71, #347.)

Another passage in “Detstvo Ljuvers”, on the dubious virtues of psychology, has two subtexts in Novalis, to which Pasternak responds positively, rather than polemically.

The passage reads:

Жизнь посвящает очень немногих в то, что она делает с ними. Она слишком любит это дело и за работой разговаривает разве с теми только, кто желает ей успеха и любит ее верстак. Помочь ей не властен никто, помешать — может всякий. Как можно ей помешать? А вот как. Если доверить дереву заботу о его собственном росте, дерево все сплошь пойдет проростью, или уйдет целиком в корень, или расточится на один лист, потому что оно забудет о вселенной, с которой надо брать пример, и, произведя что-нибудь одно из тысячи, станет в тысячах производить одно и то же.

И чтобы не было суков в душе, чтобы рост ее не застаивался, чтобы человек не замешивал своей тупости в устройство своей бессмертной сути, заведено много такого, что отвлекает его пошлое любопытство от жизни, которая не любит работать при нем и его всячески избегает. Для этого заведены все заправские религии, и все общие понятия, и все предрассудки людей, и самый яркий из них, самый развлекающий, — психология. (IV: 38)

Novalis describes the process in strikingly similar fashion in a Fragment:

Durch allzuhäufiges Reflectiren auf sich selbst, **wird der Mensch für sich selbst abgestumpft** und verliert den gesunden Sinn für sich selbst. (II: 558, #144; II: 69, #336)

And in another, Novalis writes of psychology as a distracting and questionable discipline:

Sonderbar, daß das Innre der Menschen bisher nur so dürftig betrachtet und so geistlos behandelt worden ist. Die sogenannte Psychologie gehört auch zu den Larven, die die Stellen im Heiligthum eingenommen haben, **wo ächte Götterbilder stehn sollten.** (III: 574, #138; II: 190)

Here one sees the common image of psychology as a replacement for more inspired forces.

One could argue further in regard to the connection between “Detstvo Ljuvers” and Novalis that the description of Zhenja’s intellectual and moral development and her

exposure to outside forces echoes in general Novalis's description of Heinrich von Ofterdingen's creative and moral development. Both discover the powers of speech. Both realize the difference between themselves and those less gifted (Heinrich's parents, Zhenja's brother and her friend Liza).¹⁰⁶ Both experience a kind of moral awakening (Heinrich in the case of the woman captured from the crusades, Zhenja in the cases of Cvetkov and the prisoners). This analysis, however, falls more within the bounds of the general comparison two works, or even of one work's general inspiration of another, rather than within the bounds of the subtextual. Many other intermediary texts would complicate the analysis too much to allow a full examination of this topic here.

One of the most significant aspects of Pasternak's oeuvre in which he draws heavily on the romantic tradition is the semantic field of illness/insanity with its correlates of death, immortality, loss of consciousness, and, strikingly and consistently, the storm.¹⁰⁷ The storm for Pasternak is, as many have written before me, a time of revelation. As Nancy Pollak has noted, it is precisely in darkness that Pasternak's poet experiences visions, and precisely the sound of poetry that prevents one from hearing. This connection has subtexts from Novalis's oeuvre. For just as Pasternak writes in his most famous poem, "Sestra moja—zhizn'" (I: 112), quoted earlier in this chapter, of life as an inspiring force, like a storm, setting himself apart from others, Novalis writes of the storm and other "interruptions of the bourgeois life" as poetic eruptions:

Heftige Gewitter und andre Unterbrechungen des bürgerlichen Lebens sind poetische Irruptionen, und Heilkräfte des einschlummernden Lebensgenusses. (*Tagebuch*, den 25ten Junius, 1800, IV: 54; II: 101)

¹⁰⁶ On this theme see B. L. Gasparov, "'Gradus ad Parnassum' (Samosovershenstvovanie kak kategorija tvorcheskogo mira Pasternaka)", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 124-126. Gasparov associates Zhenja's development with the German Romantic tradition of balance between unconscious "infancy" and the grown-up world of rational knowledge.

¹⁰⁷ In her paper, "Pasternak's Obscure Universe", read in December 1992 at the AATSEEL conference in New York, Nancy Pollak discussed the relationship between the last two of these corollaries within the context of the semantic fields of blindness and deafness in Pasternak's work.

Like Novalis, Pasternak sets his hero's "awakeness" in contrast to the sound sleep of everyone around him. From "Sestra moja zhizn'":¹⁰⁸

Мигая, моргая, но спят где-то сладко,
И фата-морганой любимая спит
Тем часом, как сердце, плеща по площадкам,
Вагонными дверцами сыплет в степи. (I: 112)

To emphasize the contrast between the poet and the rest of the world, Pasternak even builds an anagram on the word "bürgerlich":¹⁰⁹

Сестра моя — жизнь и сегодня в разливе
Расшиблась весенним дождем обо всех,
Но люди в брелоках высоко брюзгливы
И вежливо жалют, как змеи в овсе. (I: 112)

The storm which leaves others, even his beloved, unaffected, has a profound effect on the poem's hero. Its inspiring effect, and his ability to be inspired, are powerful enough to transform the railway schedule into something more grandiose than scripture:

Что в мае, когда поездов расписание,
Камышинской веткой читаешь в купе,
Оно грандиозней святого писанья
И черных от пыли и бурь канаве. (I: 112)

This inspired transformation is also described by Novalis:

Es können Augenblicke kommen, wo Abcbücher und Compendia
uns poetisch erscheinen. (III: 683, #656; III: 6, #16)

Pasternak describes the state of an inspired loss of consciousness most eloquently in verse in the poems "Groza, momental'naja navek" (I: 165), "Nasha groza" (I: 138-139) and "Zerkalo" (I: 114-115) and in the essay "Neskol'ko polozhenij" (IV: 370). I have

¹⁰⁸ On "Sestra moja — zhizn'", see Fiona Björling, "Aspects of Poetic Syntax. Analysis of the Poem 'Sestra moja — zhizn' i segodnja v razlive'" by Boris Pasternak, in *Boris Pasternak. Essays*, ed. Nils Åke Nilsson; Angelika Meyer, "Sestra moja — zhizn'" von Boris Pasternak. *Analyse und Interpretation*; Katherine Tiernan O'Connor, *Pasternak's 'My Sister Life'. The Illusion of Narrative* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1988); Anna Majmieskulow, "Stixotvorenje Pasternaka 'Sestra moja — zhizn' i segodnja v razlive...'", *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 91-121.

¹⁰⁹ On the paranomasia in this stanza, see Kiril Taranovsky, "On the Poetics of Boris Pasternak", *Russian Literature*, 9, 1981, 339-358. In a case similar to this (but not involving an anagram), the name of Pasternak's hero from his early prose sketches, Reliquimini, could perhaps be derived not from the Latin, as

quoted from the essay earlier, in reference to the mill, but it bears repeating, as it is highly significant in this regard as well:

Безумье — доверяться здравому смыслу. Безумье — сомневаться в нем. Безумье — глядеть вперед. Безумье — жить не глядя. Но заводит порою глаза и при быстро поднимающейся температуре крови слышать, как мах за махом, напоминая конвульсии молний на пыльных потолках и гипсах, начинает ширять и шуметь по сознанию отраженная стенопись какой-то нездешней, несущейся мимо и вечно весенней грозы, это уж чистое, это во всяком случае — чистейшее безумье! (IV: 370)

Pasternak here depicts the state of poetic inspiration as that of being struck by lightning, of being a conductor of poetic electricity. This depiction echoes Novalis's statement on the subject, which was translated by Petnikov:

Poëten sind Isolatoren und Leiter des poetischen Stroms zugleich.
(III: 638, #504; II: 300, #383)

Поэты в одно и то же время изоляторы и проводники поэтического тока. (10; 147)

The same image of inspiration striking the poet by lightning appears at the opening of "Nasha groza":

Гроза, как жрец, сожгла сирень
И дымом жертвенным застлала
Глаза и тучи. Расправляй
Губами вывих муравья. (I: 138)

Here the *storn* is compared to a priest, not the poet: this is a case once again of a metonymical transformation by which Pasternak shifts away from the expected, the standard. Curiously, the Fragment immediately following the one quoted above in Petnikov's translation is on the poet as priest:

Поэт и жрец были вначале едины, и только позднейшие времена их разделили. Но истинный поэт всегда оставался жрецом так же, как и истинный жрец — поэтом. И не должно ли Грядущее вновь возратить древнее состояние вещей? (10; 147)

E. V. Pasternak has suggested (IV: 806), but from the German "Reliquien", "relics", which would be appropriate to the hero's character and situation relative to those around.

As we have seen in other examples, the closeness of Pasternak's choice of words and phrases to Petnikov's reveals close study. It is therefore not surprising that two consecutive fragments in Petnikov's translation of selected Novalis Fragments would bring about a chain of associations (storm — inspiration — priest — poet) in Pasternak's interrelated verses.

Pasternak works with the image of the poet as electrical conductor in other texts as well:

Но, исходяв от ваших первых книг,
Где крепи прозы пристальной крупницы,
Он и сейчас, как искры проводник,
Событья былью заставляет биться.
(“Мне кажется, я подберу слова”, 1929, I: 553)

Вы спросите, кто я? Здесь жил органист.
Он лег в мою жизнь пятеричной оправой
Ключей и регистров. Он уши зарниц
Крюками прибил к проводам телеграфа.
(“Баллада”, 1928, I: 95)

Я несся бедой в проводах телеграфа,
Вдали клокотали зарниц
В котлах, за зубцами лесных бойниц.
(“Баллада”, 1915, I: 476)

The last example has another Novalis subtext, which will be discussed later in regard to another theme.

The state of losing one's consciousness is, as Pollak discussed, tied in Pasternak to images of blindness and deafness which come with poetic inspiration. The blindness and deafness are also linked with the storm in Pasternak's work: with darkness interrupted by momentary flashes of light, and with a stopping of one's ears by a rush of water. Pasternak's poem “Groza, momental' naja navek” discusses the theme of consciousness and describes its loss more explicitly, and at the same time ambiguously, as a collapse or avalanche (“obval soznan'ja”):

И когда по кровле зданья
Разлилась волна злорадства
И, как уголь по рисунку,

Грянул ливень всем плетнем.

Стал мигать обвал сознания:
Вот, казалось, озарятся
Даже те углы рассудка,
Где теперь светло, как днем! (I: 165)

The first stanza of the poem describes the blinding associated with the storm/inspiration:

А затем прощалось лето
С полусветом. Снявши шапку,
Сто слепящих фотографий
Ночью снял на память гром. (I: 165)

Similarly, in “Zerkalo”, the storm both blinds and deafens. This process is part of the general hypnosis, like collodion being poured over a mirror, described earlier, in reference to Novalis’s *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*. The storm-inspired hypnosis has the following effects:

И вот, в гипноической этой отчизне
Ничем мне очей на задуть.
Так после дождя проползают слизи
Глазами статуй в саду.

Шуршит вода по ушам, и, чирикнув,
На цыпочках скачет чиж.
Ты можешь им выпачкать губы черникой,
Их шалостью не опоишь. (I: 115)

This state of being deprived of one’s senses has two subtexts from Novalis, both involving “vicumization” by inspiration. Novalis writes at the end of a Fragment on the sense for poetry having much in common with the sense for mysticism:

[...] Schwer ist schon zu entscheiden, doch einzig mögliche Entscheidung, ob etwas Poesie sei oder nicht. **Der Dichter ist wahrhaft sinnberaubt** — dafür kommt alles in ihm vor. (III: 685-686, #671; II: 298-99, #378)

Not only is the poet deprived of his senses; he is also deprived of his sanity through sensory overload:

Die Nacht ist zweyfach — indirecte und directe Asthenie — Jene entsteht durch Blendung — Übermäßiges Licht — diese aus Mangel an hinlänglichen Licht. So giebt es auch eine Unbesonnenheit aus Mangel an Selbstreiz. — und eine Unbesonnenheit aus Übermaaß an Selbstreiz. —

dort ein zu grobes — hier ein zu zartes Organ. [...] Die Unbesonnenheit aus Übermaß nennt man Wahnsinn. (II: 620, #438; III: 6, #326)

It is this very connection that is made in “Neskol’ko polozhenij”. While in the three poems, the blinding and/or deafening effect of the storm is tied to the overpowering force of inspiration, in the essay Pasternak repeatedly describes the state of lost consciousness and finally concludes that this state is actually insanity. See the following excerpts from the essay set in the context of other aesthetic precepts which echo Novalis:

1

Когда я говорю о мистике, или о живописи, или о театре, я говорю с той миролюбивой необязательностью, с какой рассуждает обо всем свободомыслящий любитель.

Когда речь заходит о литературе, я вспоминаю о книге и теряю способность рассуждать. Меня надо растолкать и вывести насильно, как из обморока, из состояния физической мечты о книге, и только тогда, и очень неохотно, преодолевая легкое отвращение, я разделю чужую беседу на любую другую литературную тему [...]

2

Современные течения вообразили, что искусство как фонтан, тогда как оно — губка.

Они решили, что искусство должно бить, тогда как оно должно всасывать и насыщаться.

Они сочли, что оно может быть разложено на средства изобразительности, тогда как оно складывается из органов восприятия.

Ему следует всегда быть в зрителях и глядеть всех чище, восприимчивей и верней, а в наши дни оно познало пудру, уборную и показывается с эстрады; как будто на свете есть два искусства и одно из них, при наличии резерва, может позволить себе роскошь самоизвращения, равную самоубийству. Оно показывается, а оно должно тонуть в райке, в неизвестности, почти не ведая, что на нем шапка горит, и что, забившееся в угол, оно поражено светопрозрачностью и фосфоренцией, как некоторой болезнью.

3

[...] Токование — забота природы о сохранении пернатых, ее вешний звон в ушах. Книга — как глухарь на току. Она никого и ничего не слышит, оглушенная собой, себя заслушавшаяся. (IV: 366-367)

All of the passages in boldface have subtexts from Novalis related to the semantic field under discussion. (Passages with subtexts from Novalis unrelated to this topic are being left until later in this chapter.)

Pasternak's discussion of the creative process is strangely imbued with biological imagery: the poetic gift involves the activity of organs of perception, the process of reproduction, the process of absorption, the process of death by drowning, and a kind of illness which causes phosphorescence. All of these effects (or symptoms) of inspiration emerge in addition to the loss of one's reason and senses discussed above. As the image of the creative process as drowning has been discussed earlier in this chapter, I will not discuss it further here.

The notion of art absorbing its surroundings has a subtext in the following Fragment: "Der Geist strebt den Reitz zu absorbieren" (II: 646, #468; II: 210, #132).¹¹⁰

The notion of a poetic perceptive "organ" arose in a long excerpt from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* quoted earlier. In this connection Novalis also mentions blindness:

Ein Blindgeborener lernt nicht sehen, und wenn man ihm noch so viel von Farben und Lichtern und fernen Gestalten erzählen wollte. So wird auch keiner die Natur begreifen, **der kein Naturorgan, kein innres naturerzeugendes und absonderndes Werkzeug hat, der nicht, wie von selbst, überall die Natur an allem erkennt und unterscheidet und mit angeborener Zeugungslust, in inniger mannigfaltiger Verwandtschaft mit allen Körpern, durch das Medium der Empfindung, sich mit allen Naturwesen vermischt, sich gleichsam in sie hineinfühlt.** (I: 105; IV: 38)

The Petnikov translation reads:

Слепорожденный не научится видеть, сколько бы не пожелали ему рассказывать о красках и сияниях и о дальних фигурах. Точно так же никто не поймет природы, у кого нет органа восприятия природы, внутреннего природотворческого и различительного орудия, кто не самопроизвольно везде признает и различает во всем природу и с врожденной страстью к оплодотворению и рождению, в близком, многообразном родстве со всеми телами, через посредство ощущения смешивается со всеми существами

¹¹⁰Smirnov has found a subtext to Pasternak's image of the sponge in Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*. See I.P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*. Terras discusses Pasternak's affinity for Novalis's notion of art absorbing, "herausholen, heraussehen" from nature, in "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics".

природы и как бы всем чувством своим, входя, сливается с ними.
(25; 185)

We are already familiar with the connection between Pasternak and Novalis in the phrase “in inniger mannigfaltiger Verwandtschaft mit allen Körpern”, especially through Petnikov’s translation. Once again, Petnikov’s translation is significant for Pasternak here. Though Novalis uses simply the term “Naturorgan”, Petnikov alters the term slightly in order to make its meaning clear: he calls it “organ vosprijatija prirody”, the “nature-perceiving organ”, which corresponds in its two first words exactly to Pasternak’s term. The third word, “prirody” is, of course, repeated in various contexts throughout the essay.

The other significant term in this excerpt is relevant without the Petnikov translation: Zeugungslust. Pasternak compares art to a mating grouse. Though the exact term is different from Petnikov’s, the meaning is the same: art tends naturally toward reproduction.¹¹¹ In “Materia prima” and “Vysokaja bolezn’”, Pasternak uses the same notion of “spreading” art and call it infection or illness; the underlying meaning remains unchanged.

There is another Novalis subtext, much closer in phraseology to Pasternak’s line “Kniga—kak gluxar’ na toku” (IV: 367): “<Dichten ist zeugen. Alles Gedichtete muß ein lebendiges Individuum seyn.>” (II: 534, #36; III: 9, #20) Yet another subtext reads: “Sprechen und Hören ist Befruchten und Empfangen.” (III: 273, #186; II: 210, #129).

The image of art as illness will be discussed in detail below. For the moment I will turn to the metaphor of phosphorescent art. The meaning is clear: art is an exact reproduction of nature, as Pasternak reiterates throughout his work. One can simply look through good art and see the object of its attention.

¹¹¹ Cf. Friedrich Schlegel, who also provides a subtext to Pasternak’s image: “Ein Fragment muß gleich einem kleinen Kunstwerke von der umgebenden Welt ganz abgesondert und in sich selbst vollendet sein wie ein Igel.” *Athenäums-Fragmente*, #47. Quoted from Friedrich Schlegel, *Kritische Schriften* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1964).

Pasternak takes here several motifs from Novalis and combines them.

Phosphorescence and transparency do not arise in combination in Novalis's work; rather, each is discussed in terms of nature and the poet's perception of it. Both images are discussed in terms of light beams, also equated with art in Pasternak. Novalis writes cryptically of phosphorous powder in a Fragment:

Lateral und figurirte Bew[egungen] des Lichts und der Wärme. Farbenbilder sind Lichtfiguren. Der Lichtstrahl ist der streichende Fiedelbogen. [...] (Bestreuung einer Tafel mit Phosphorpulver — das die Farben des *verschiednen Lichts* annähme, oder das bey einer gelinden *Erwärmung* verschiedengestalteter und mannichfach berührter Körper in sonderbaren Figuren brennte — und leuchtete — Bereitung eines solchen Pulvers.)

Reflex[ion] und Refraction und *Inflexion des Schalls* [...] /Über das Sprechen der *Staare*./ Natürliche, mimische, bildliche Sprache — Künstliche, zufällige, willkürliche Sprache. (III: 305, #362; III: 361, #1064)

Thus the phosphorus powder is somehow connected in Novalis's associative Fragment with speech and artistic speech, and with reflection. This image arises again in connection with an artistic gift in Klingsohr's Tale from Part I of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*:

Die Frau wandte sich zuseiten gegen Ginnistan und die Kinder, tauchte den Finger in die Schale, und spritzte einige Tropfen auf sie hin, die, sobald sie die Amme, das Kind, oder die Wiege berührten, in einen blauen Dunst zerrannen, der tausend seltsame Bilder zeigte, und beständig um sie herzog und sich veränderte. Traf einer davon zufällig auf den Schreiber, so fielen eine Menge Zahlen und geometrische Figuren meder, die er mit vieler Emsigkeit auf einen Faden zog, und sich zum Zierat um den magern Hals hing. (I: 294)

Here, then, liquid phosphorus, or something like it, is used to create extraordinary pictures and figures. It is associated with artistic creation.

Novalis writes of transparency also in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* in a passage on man's perception of nature as a light beam, quoted earlier in this chapter during the discussion of the light beam motif. Klingsohr tells Heinrich,

“Die Natur”, versetzte Klingsohr, “ist für unser Gemüt, was ein Körper für das Licht ist. Er hält es zurück; er bricht es in eigentümliche Farben; er zündet auf seiner Oberfläche oder in seinem Innern ein Licht an, das, wenn es seiner Dunkelheit gleich kommt, ihn klar und **durchsichtig macht**, wenn es sie überweigt, von ihm ausgeht, um andere Körper zu erleuchten. Aber selbst der dunkelste Körper kann durch

Wasser, Feuer und Luft dahin gebracht werden, daß er hell und glänzend wird." (I: 280; IV: 165)

Thus the image of a light beam making its object transparent and so bright that it lights objects around is reflected in Pasternak's notion of transparent art, as in "Neskol'ko polozhenij", and in his verse and prose statements on art or the artist as a light beam, as in "Mne xochetsja domoj" and *Oxranaja gramota*.

As we have seen, then, a tremendous portion of "Neskol'ko polozhenij" has subtexts in Novalis, many of which are related to the semantic field of illness/loss of consciousness/storm which is common to both Pasternak and Novalis. I will now turn to a broader examination of the semantic field of illness in Pasternak and its complex network of subtexts.

2.5 Reception of the Imagery of Illness

The image of illness in the work of Boris Pasternak is striking both in its relative frequency and in its tendency toward Futurist-style *épatage*. Titles of poems and cycles include "Bolezni", "Vysokaja bolezni", "Bolezni zemli". Tetanus (I: 136), diphtheria (I: 217), and typhus (I: 166, 276, 557) spread in his verses. The chandeliers seem to have pleunisy (I: 191), the air smells of death (I: 198), February coughs up blood (I: 274, 555).¹¹² The poet's place in Pasternak's ailing world is ambivalent: he is both patient and doctor, insane and the only sane one left. This inconsistency can be explained in part by an examination of the various texts to which he responds in his work.

Pasternak writes of poetry as illness in a 1930 letter to Sergej Spasskij:

[...] лирика сейчас редкостнейшая редкость и она сидит в Вас, сидит и болеет, потому что не болеть сейчас не может, а как именно внешне выражается эта ее болезнь через Вас, в отличие от ее симптомов в другой какой-нибудь палате, вопрос глубоко второстепенный. И если кто-нибудь, кто привык перегружать в выраженьи, скажет Вам, что Вы переблагораживаете, интересно

¹¹² Eliot Mossman discusses the metaphor of typhus for creative activity in *Doktor Zhivago*. See "Toward a Poetics of the Novel *Doktor Zhivago*: The Fourth Typhus", in *Boris Pasternak and His Times*, 389.

только кто именно Ваш собеседник. И если он—поэт, можете броситься друг другу в объятия: все Ваши разногласья—точки полного совпадения. Другое дело если в человеке нечему болеть, и область внешнего выраженья всего его исчерпывает.¹¹³

A particularly rich source of material on the semantic field of illness/ infection/ healing comes from the German Romantics, with their well-known cult of the ailing or insane artist.¹¹⁴ I would like to examine Pasternak's use of several sources from the early and late Romantic eras. I will turn first to the network of sources for the title "Vysokaja bolezn'" and related subtexts to Pasternak's notion of art as ailment. Then I will briefly examine the poem itself from the point of view of intertextual dialogue. Finally, I will examine antecedents to the opposite pole in Pasternak's thematic network, the image of artist as doctor.

Jurij Lotman has identified one source to the title of "Vysokaja bolezn'": Pushkin's characterization of poetry as "vysokaja strast'" ("lofty passion"). This is supported by the appearance of the word "strast'" indicating verbal art later in the poem (l: 555).¹¹⁵ Another possible source for the title comes from Novalis, who developed an entire philosophy of illness in its physical, psychological, moral, and metaphysical aspects.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Boris Pasternak, letter to Sergej Spasskij, 29 September 1930. Quoted from *Boris Pasternak ob iskusstve*, 325-326.

¹¹⁴See Franz Loquai, *Künstler und Melancholie in der Romantik* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1984 [= Helicon Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur, hsg. von Wulf Segebrecht, Band 4]) and Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 138-217.

¹¹⁵Ju. M. Lotman, *Roman A. S. Pushkina "Evgenij Onegin". Kommentarij* (Leningrad, 1980), 133. The relevant lines are "Vysokoj strasti ne imeja/ Dja zvukov zhizni ne shehadit'" I am quoting the lines and Lotman's comment from Omry Ronen's article "O 'russkom golose' Mandel'shtama", *Pjatyj Tynjanovskij sbornik* (Riga-Moscow: Zinatne Imprint, 1994), 191, 197. I am grateful to him for allowing me to see the typescript of the article before its publication. Renate Döring mentions another subtext to the title: Klebnikov's "Vysokoj ranoju boleja". See J. Döring "Semantizacija zvukovyx struktur v poëme Pasternaka 'Vysokaja bolezn'", in *Boris Pasternak 1890-1960. Colloque de Cérisy-la-Salle*, 143-153. Aleksandr Arxangel'skij mentions a possible subtext to the title from Majakovskij: "Mama! Ja prekrasno bolen!", from "Oblako v shtanax". See Arxangel'skij, "Dvizhushchaja rebus. Nad strokami 'Vysokoj boleznj' Boris Pasternaka i ne tol'ko", *Oktyabr'*, 12, 1990, 168.

¹¹⁶On illness in Novalis see John Neubauer, *Bifocal Vision: Novalis's Philosophy of Nature and Disease* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971); Heinrich Schipperges, "Krankwerden und Gesundsein bei Novalis", in *Romantik in Deutschland. Ein interdisziplinäres Symposium*, hsg. von Richard Brinkmann (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978), 226-242; Schipperges, "Zur

Pasternak, in hinting at the Pushkin text, also works with a series of Novalis texts on life as illness. The key work linking two subtexts, the Pushkin and one particular Novalis Fragment, is “passion”. For Novalis, life is an illness.

Leben ist eine Kranckheit des Geistes, — ein **leidenschaftliches** Thun. (III: 659, #597; II: 211, #135)

Petnikov chose this Fragment to be a part of his collection:

Жизнь это — болезнь духа, страстное деяние. (8; 147)

Heine alters this statement of Novalis’s to make *poetry* an illness in a line to be discussed in Chapter Four. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, it is thus not Novalis, but his literary descendants, who wrote of creativity or poetry as an illness. Novalis did, however, write a tremendous amount on the subject of illness. Several of Novalis’s Fragments on illness were chosen by Petnikov for his translations, so important did he consider them.

Without actually identifying art as illness—for this was done later in the Romantic era—Novalis identifies aspects of extreme pain, “höchster Schmerz” which isolate the sufferer and enclose him in a “paralysis of sensitivity”, just as the circle described by Pasternak is isolated. Other aspects of the inspiring pain described by Novalis are reflected in “Vysokaja bolezn” as well. Novalis writes:

Im **höchsten Schmerz** tritt zuweilen eine Paralysis der Empfindsamkeit ein. Die Seele zersetzt sich — daher **der tödtliche Frost — die freye Denkkraft** — [...] der Mensch steht, **wie eine verderbliche Macht, allein** — Unverbunden mit der übrigen Welt verzehrt er sich allmählig selbst — und ist seinem Princip nach — Misanthrop und Misotheos. (“Blüthenstaub”, II: 440, #69; II: 126)

The pain of the malady is reflected in Pasternak’s phrase “teplo i bol’ boleznii vysshiej” (I: 557), a metaphor for creative activity that also appears in his 1914 poem “Materia Prima” (I: 467), which I will discuss later. Pasternak’s circle is described in

‘Poetik des Übels’ bei Friedrich von Hardenberg”, in *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*. Festschrift für Richard Brinkmann (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978, 226-42. See also Loquai and Ziolkowski, op. cit.

“Vysokaja bolezn’” as both “muzykoj vo l’du” (I: 557) and “muzykoju mysli” (I: 559), reflecting the symptoms described by Novalis. Moreover, the “lofty malady” sets them apart in offensive isolation from others:

Всю жизнь я быть хотел как все,
Но век в своей красе
Сильнее моего нитья
И хочет быть как я.

Мы были музыкой объятий
С сопровождением обид. (I: 558)

The “musical” aspect of the illness has an antecedent in Novalis as well:

Jede Kranckheit ist ein musicalisches Problem — die Heilung eine
musicalische Auflösung. (III: 310, #386; II: 225, #194)

The Novalis subtexts in themselves, however, are not entirely satisfying, because he never explicitly characterizes art, including his own, as an illness. That is done later, by Heinrich Heine, in his ironic portrait of the Romantics in “Die romantische Schule”. I will discuss Heine’s significance to the image of ailing poetry in Pasternak in Chapter Four.

That Pasternak is responding to Novalis (among, of course, many other sources) in “Vysokaja bolezn’” is indicated by a quotation about poets from Novalis’s novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, cited also as an epigraph in Sergej Bobrov’s 1913 collection *Vertogradari nad lozami*: “Freie Gäste sind sie” (I: 267; IV: 148). Pasternak echoes: “Goshchu. — Gostit vo vsekh mirax/ Vysokaja bolezn’.” (I: 557) This statement by Novalis appears, significantly, in a passage contrasting poets and heroes, something which Pasternak does here as well, to the detriment of the “idiot heroes” he opposes.¹¹⁷ Other hints of Novalis in the poem are subtler.

Critics have pointed out that the illness in “Vysokaja bolezn’” is two-fold: it is both poetry and revolution.¹¹⁸ Moreover, along the principle of polarity in imagery typical for

¹¹⁷On another connection between Pasternak and Novalis on this theme in *Oxranajagramota*, see Evans-Romaine, op. cit., 16.

¹¹⁸See I. V. Fomenko, “Zametki k interpretacii ‘Vysokoj boleznii’ (O romanticheskix tendencijax v tvorčestve B. L. Pasternaka)”, *Romantizm v russkoj i zarubezhnoj literature*. Mezhvuzovskij

Pasternak as discussed by Fleishman, song itself can be divided into the “true” art associated with images of the earth and the “false” or “hypochondriac” art which is called on to absolve all sins, though it itself is called “sushchij sodom” (“absolute Sodom”, I: 554).¹¹⁹ Several aspects of the ambivalent imagery of illness explored in the poem, particularly in its first, 1923, version, to which I will limit myself here, have antecedents in the writings of Novalis.

The first of these is on revolution as an infectious illness. In stanza 8 of “Vysokaja bolezn'” February coughs up blood and quietly spreads stories:

Февраль нищал и стал неряшлив.
 Бывало, крякнет, кровь откашляв,
 И сплюнет, и пойдет тишком
 Шептать теплушкам на ушко
 Про то да се, про путь, про шпалы,
 Про оттепель, про что попало,
 Про то, как с фронта шли пешком,
 Уж ты и спишь и видишь рожь,—
 Рассказчику ж и горя мало:
 В ковшах оттаявших калош
 Припутанную к правде ложь
 Глотает платяная вошь
 И прясть ушами не устала. (I: 555)

In Novalis:

Die meisten Beobachter der Revolution, besonders die Klugen und Vornehmen, haben sie für eine lebensgefährliche und ansteckende Krankheit erklärt. (“Blüthenstaub”, II: 459, #105; II: 136-37)

Pasternak responds to both epithets in his lines from 1918:

А в наши дни и воздух пахнет смертью:
 Открыть окно, что жилы отворить. (I: 198)

tematicheskij sbornik (Kalinin: Kalininskij gosudarstvennyj universitet, 1979), 101; and Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 30.

¹¹⁹Fleishman, op. cit., 29-34. See also Olga Raevsky Hughes, *The Poetic World of Boris Pasternak* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Henry Gifford, *Boris Pasternak. A Critical Study*; Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, Vol. I, 321-326; E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 391-394.

There is a precedent for this image in Pasternak's work. In a 1914 prose fragment, Pasternak writes of "talented people" as the only healthy ones when governments are sick with war:

Опасности и болезни, обыкновенно подстерегавшие отдельных людей [...] стали знаться с целыми государствами [...]

Началось массовое лечение государств. От опасностей их стали леч<ить> солдаты; солдат—от увечий, причиненных опасностью государств—врачи.

[...] Исключением из всех были люди здоровые, те, которых принято называть талантливыми, те, которые наглухо заклепаны от всех остальных, и не так, как запечатывает эгоиста бессердечие, но так, как заливают лавой города [...] (IV: 439-440)

As has been noted by critics, Pasternak lashes out against the "idiot, hero, intelligent" who writes mindlessly for the new regime, working "vo slavu temnoj sily".²⁰

This class of people suffering from the illness of revolution and that of life as higher sensitivity also suffer from the desire for self-destruction. They seek their doom

А сзади, в зареве легенд,
Идеалист-интеллигент (1923: Идиот, герой, интеллигент, I: 555)
Печатал и писал плакаты
Про радость своего заката. (I: 276, 555)

Невыносимо тихий тиф,
Колени наши охватив,
Мечтал и слушал с содроганьем
Недвижно лившийся мотив
Сыпучего самосверганья. (I: 276, 557)

Here too is a subtext from Novalis:

Merckmal der *Kranckheit* — der **Selbstzerstörungsinstinkt** — So alles Unvollkommne — so selbst d[as] Leben — oder besser der organische Stoff. [...] (II: 644, #461; III: 33, #150)

A similarly ironic portrait of this class of thinkers and poets in the twenties appears in *Spektorskij*:

За что же пьют? За четырех хозяек.
За их глаза, за встречи в мясоед.
За то, чтобы поэтом стал прозаик,
И полубогом сделался поэт. (I: 346)

²⁰See previous note.

Here the “evolutionary toast” aims its irony at the presumed higher status of accepted poets. In this excerpt, and in the depiction of the malady/sin in “Vysokaja bolezn’”, Pasternak creatively reinterprets a philosophical fragment by Novalis on illness as a sin of transcendence.¹²¹

[...] Alle Krankheiten gleichen der Sünde, darein; daß sie Transcendenzen sind. Unsre Krankh[eiten] sind alle Phaenomene erhöhter Sens[ibilität], die in höhere Kräfte übergehn will. **Wie der Mensch Gott werden wollte, sündigte er.**

Kr[ankheiten] der Pflanzen sind Animalisationen. Krankh[eiten] d[er] Thiere Rationalisationen. Krankh[eiten] der Steine — Vegetationen. (III: 662-663, #601; II: 287, #336)

The fragment is intended positively, the evolution being a manifestation of the approaching Golden Age, an idea to which the second-generation Russian Symbolists responded.¹²² Pasternak, however, apparently perceived the notion of poetic evolution discussed here through the filter of Nietzsche’s and Przybyszewski’s supermen or sickly, highly sensitive “creative individuals”;¹²³ thus the connection of illness and sin was profoundly negative for him in this context.

On the other hand, Pasternak’s response to a Novalis Fragment on the illness of false enthusiasm and moral apathy is positive rather than polemical. Stanzas 2-5 not only quote the well-known proverb about hell paved with good intentions, but also echo Novalis. The relevant Pasternak stanzas read:

Мне стыдно и день ото дня стыдней,
Что в век таких теней
Высокая одна болезнь

¹²¹This fragment underwent a different kind of reinterpretation by Belgian Symbolist Georges Rodenbach. See Werner Vordtriede, *Novalis und die französischen Symbolisten*, 69-71. On Pasternak’s conception of poetry as sin, see E. V. Pasternak, “Znachenie npravstvennoj propovedi L. Tolstogo v formirovanii Pasternaka”, *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 154-163. On Tolstoj in the Pasternakian notion of biography, see E. F. Varlamova, “B. Pasternak i L. Tolstoj. K voprosu o tradicii”, *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 164-170.

¹²²On the mystic and religious affinities of the two eras see V. Zhirmunskij, *Nemeckij romantizm i sovremennaja mistika* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 196-199.

¹²³See, for example, Stanislaw Przybyszewski’s “Zur Psychologie des Individuums. I. Chopin und Nietzsche” (Berlin, 1890), which in turn is a response to Nietzsche’s *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Pasternak writes in *Ljudi i položenija* of his youthful “intoxication” with Przybyszewski (IV: 313). This will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

Еще зовется песнь.

Уместно ли песнью звать сущий содом,
Усвоенный с трудом
Землей, бросавшейся от книг
На пики и на штык?

Благими намереньями вымощен ад.
Установился взгляд,
Что, если вымостить ими стихи,—
Простятся все грехи. (I: 554)

Again, the word “passion” is significant in the Novalis subtext:

Affecten und Leidenschaften sind unterschieden. Jene [...] gehören zur *Untugend*. [...] *Moralische Apathie* — Folge tugendhafter Gesinnungen. *Enthusiasm* — Affekt des Guten — ist eine Krankheit — welche *Mattigkeit* hinterläßt. Das *Gemüth in Ruhe*, fest für das Gesetz entschlossen — ist der Zustand der *Gesundheit* im moralischen Leben. (II: 393, #53; III: 296-97, #799)

Thus the illness of enthusiasm is opposed to the mind at peace here, approximating Pasternak’s “tishina”, in contrast to the “Sodom” verse. (Of course, both kinds of song are manifestations of illness in “Vysokaja bolezn”; Pasternak thus complicates the scheme.)¹²⁴ In opposition to the latter type of verse Pasternak describes true “infectious” art.¹²⁵ This is the art of dust that keeps its own archive in stanza 13 (“Vedut svoj sobstvennyj arxiv/ Pylinki [...]”, I: 556)¹²⁶ and of the parasites that spread the infection—the lice of stanza 6 and the rats and blood-drinking wildcats in stanzas 15-17 (I: 557). From the poem:

В те дни на всех припала страсть

¹²⁴Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 30.

¹²⁵Fleishman (*Ibid.*) writes of the opposition of the heroic attributes of the “earth” as opposed to the negatively treated “idiot, geroj, intelligent”. In a 1926 response to a questionnaire from *Leningradskaja Pravda* Pasternak writes of the “infectiousness” of art: “Stixi ne zarzhajut bol’she vozduxa, kakovy by ni byli ix dostoinstva. Raznosjashchej sredoju zvuchan’ja byla lichnost’. Staraja lichnost’ razrushilas’, novaja ne sformirovalas’. Bez rezonansa lirika nemyslila. Koroche govorja, s poëziej dëlo obstoit preplachevno.” Quoted from E. Pasternak, *op. cit.*, 392. On the theme of infection in Pasternak see Elena Coler, “*Infection*”, *Symbolism and Immortality in Pasternak’s Poetics* (Dissertation, The University of Pennsylvania, 1991).

¹²⁶On dust and the unpredictability of particles of matter, as opposed to Leninist “prjamolinejnaja logika”, see Darlene Reddaway, “Pasternak, Spengler, and Quantum Mechanics: Constants, Variables, and Chains of Equations”, *Russian Literature XXXI* (1992), 64.

К рассказам, и зима ночами
 Не уставала вшами пряхь,
 Как лошади прядут ушами. (I: 555)

А за Москвой-рекой хорьки,
 Хоралу горло перегрызши,
 Бесплотно пили из реки
 Тепло и боль болезни высшей. (I: 557)

Терзались той же страстью крысы.
 Ведь и у них талант открылся
 И тиф у кассы с ними грызся
 О контрамарке на концерт.

И тут сумерничала смерть. (I: 557)

The conventional negative connotation of these animals is turned on its head, for in Pasternak they are positive. The parasite in art harks back to Nietzsche's parasite in *Also sprach Zarathustra*, echoed in Belyj and in Pasternak's own "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", to be discussed in Chapter Three.¹²⁷ The positive nature of Pasternak's image becomes clear only after examination of a key subtext, his own 1914 "Materia Prima" (I: 467). There he describes the process of creation as the mixing of one's own blood with that of others and of the environment. His search for inspiration is depicted as the escape of biting corpuscles out the window to mix with the surroundings, like rats to a river, coming home sated with the blood of the outside. His writing is called "dancing in pain" ("kogda ja tancuju ot boli") while the rodents under the floor scamper about with bloody whiskers.

¹²⁷Nietzsche writes in *Zarathustra*: "[...] o meine Brüder: seht zu, daß nicht ein Schmarotzer mit euch steige! Schmarotzer: das ist ein Gewürm, ein kriechendes, geschmeigtes, das fett werden will an euren kranken wunden Winkeln. Und das ist seine Kunst, daß er steigende Seelen errät, wo sie müde sind; in euren Gram und Unmut, in eure zarte Scham baut er sein ekles Nest." See *Sämtliche Werke in zwölf Bänden* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1964-65), Vol. 6 (1964), 230-31. Belyj responds to the Nietzschean tapeworm with the image of an art-vampire in "Protiv muzyki" (*Vesy*, 3, 1907), 57: "Muzyka – vampir, vysasyvajushchij dushu iz geroja." In response to Belyj's article, Aleksandr Blok writes: "Vse skazannoe klonilos' k tomu, choby ukazat' mesto lirika i nachertit' obraz liricheskogo poeta. On sir, i mir ne primajet ego. V ljuboj mig on mozhet stat' ognennym vdoxnovitelem – i parazitom, sosushchim krov'. Sila ego sirotlivogo odinochestva mozhet sravnit'sja tol'ko s ego svobodnym i gordelivym shestviem v mire." "O lirike", pub. in *Zolotoe runo*, 6, 1907. Quoted from *Sobranie sochinenij v vos'mi tomach*. Vol. 5. (Moscow/Leningrad: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1962), 134. Pasternak writes, closer to Nietzsche, of the soul as a tapeworm: "Dusha shevelilas' v nem, kak soliter."

The poem mixes Futurist *épatage* with yet another pair of Jean Paul subtexts.¹²⁸ In *Die unsichtbare Loge* Jean Paul writes of a feverish dream, inspired by a bloodletting, in which the blood of many flows together into a stream:

Dieses Blut spritzte nachher an alle Phantasien meiner Fiebernächte; [...] alle Menschen schienen mir an einem langen Ufer einen Strom zusammenzubluten [...] (I: 304)¹²⁹

And in *Hesperus* Jean Paul writes of thoughts as mice who fight like otters (changed on the paranomastic principle to Pasternak's "xor'ki", polecats, phonetically close to "xoral") and of tossing thoughts out the window of his mind:

Gedanken vielleicht, die aber, wie Feldmäuse, der Seele unter die Füße springen und sich wie Ottern anlegen. Aber dürfen mir denn die Kantianer ansinnen, daß ich das kleine Bild der schönsten Gestalt [...] zum Fenster hinauswerfe aus der Villa meines Kopfes wie Äpfelschalen und Pflaumenkerne? (I: 584)

In fact in Novalis's oeuvre illness is a result of heightened sensitivity, which itself is equal to *reproduction*:

Die Krankheiten nehmen mit der Sensibilitaet überhand.
Sensation ist so gut wie Reproduktion. (III: 659, #597; III: 234, #419)

In Pasternak, as in Novalis, creativity, illness, and insanity are closely connected.

If for Novalis—

Kranckheiten müssen, als körperlicher Wahnsinn und zwar, als *fixe Ideen*, zum Theil angesehen werden. (III: 586, #217; III: 25, #100)

—then in Pasternak's essay "Neskol'ko polozhenij" illness and insanity are all a part of the artist's world, as we have seen in the discussion of this essay.

(IV: 448) On the image of the tapeworm in Pasternak and its roots in Nietzsche's discussion of poetic lies, see below.

¹²⁸See Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, Vol. I, 190-92; and Barnes, *The Poetry of Boris Pasternak with Special Reference to the Period 1913-1917* (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969), 303-309, for commentary on "Materia Prima" and its relevance to Pasternak's relationship with Majakovskij.

¹²⁹In another work, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, Jean Paul writes of a feverish dream, associating it with poetry: "Ohne innere Notwendigkeit ist die Poesie ein Fieber, ja ein Fiebertraum." Jean Paul Richter, *Werke*. Fünfter Band, hsg. von Norbert Miller (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1963), 230.

In Pasternak the creative ones are “infected” by life; as in “Materia prima”, “infection” is an extraordinarily positive thing. He writes in an early fragment, in a passage quoted earlier,

—это значит, что жизнь была в рамах, и рамы были неизменными, неподвластными; но и они заразились жизнью, стали ею [...] (IV: 721)

The notion of frames and lines has been discussed earlier; the frames are, of course, a metonymy for the poet’s “infection” with life.

One aspect or correlate of this “infection” is reproduction. This, too, is of course a key metaphor in “Vysokaja bolezn”. In both illness and reproduction, in Pasternak’s depiction, we have to do with a state of complete self-absorption and with a process of spreading, of multiplication—like infection or reproduction itself. Pasternak writes in “Neskol’ko polozhenij”:

Токование — забота природы о сохранении пернатых, ее вешний звон в ушах. Книга — как глухарь на току. Она никого и ничего не слышит, оглушенная собой, себя заслушиваяся.

Без нее духовный род не имел бы продолжения. Он перевелся бы. Ее не было у обезьян. (IV: 367)

Novalis writes of a “higher reproduction”:

Die Sinne [sind] an den Thieren, was Blätter und Blüthen an den Pflanzen sind. Die Blüthen sind Allegorieen des Bewußtseyns, oder des Kopfs. Eine **höhere Fortpflanzung** ist der Zweck dieser höheren Blüthe — eine **höhere Erhaltung** — Bey den Menschen ist es das Organ der Unsterblichkeit — einer **progressiven Fortpflanzung** — der **Personalitaet**. (III: 663, #602; II: 222-223, #182)

This Fragment is reflected in several Pasternak texts, besides “Neskol’ko polozhenij”, where he speaks of the continuation of the species, just as Novalis speaks of “höhere Erhaltung”. Pasternak also writes of poetry as the reproduction of trees in “Opredelenie dushi”, where the ripe pear as the poet dies and the leaf as the song flies further:

О не бойся, прирощая песнь!
И куда порываться еще нам?
Ах, наречье смертельное “здесь” —
Невдомек содроганью сращенному. (I: 135)

The pear in dropping, of course, leaves seeds which can fertilize, even as it dies. The leaf rushes to other places, like the song. In Pasternak, the blossom or pear is the poet, as is the head or consciousness in Novalis.

Similarly, Pasternak writes in his early essay “Simvolizm i bessmertie”:

Поэт посвящает наглядное богатство своей жизни безвременному значению. Живая душа, отчуждаемая у личности в пользу свободной субъективности,— есть бессмертие. Итак, бессмертие есть Поэт; и поэт никогда не существо—но условие для качества.

Поэзия — безумие без безумного. Безумие — естественное бессмертие; поэзия — бессмертие, “допустимое культурой”.

Значение единственного символа музыки — ритма находится в поэзии. Содержание поэзии — есть поэт как бессмертие. Ритм символизирует собою поэта. (IV: 683)

This text completes the motivic connection between “Neskol’ko polozhenij”, “Opredelenie dushi”, and Novalis’s Fragments on the creative being’s “higher reproduction” and immortality. Novalis writes of a “progressive Fortpflanzung der Personalitaet”; Pasternak writes of “zhivaja dusha, otchuzhddaemaja u lichnosti v pol’zu svobodnoj sub”ektivnosti”. Both are definitions of immortality. Reproduction in its artistic sense, creation, and immortality are the same thing for both writers; moreover, both describe this process of “higher reproduction” in terms of a blossoming tree. Finally, in both is drawn the connection between insanity and immortality. Pasternak places discussion of the two back-to-back in his 1913 essay; in his 1918-21 essay, they once again appear in association with each other. Illness is the same as the insane self-absorption of the mating grouse — the book (or poetry); the poet’s state is defined as both, and as insanity, just as illness is a kind of physical insanity in the Novalis Fragment quoted above. Physical and mental, outer and inner are intertwined.

Pasternak makes the same connection in “Neskol’ko polozhenij”: the “phosphorescence like an illness” is the same artistic process as the self-obsession of the mating grouse as poetry — a rising temperature, convulsions, and “the purest insanity” (IV: 370)

This insanity or illness is connected further in “Simvolizm i bessmertie” with rhythm: poetry is “bezumie bez besumnogo”, and “rhythm symbolizes the poet”. This echoes Novalis’s connection between one’s individual rhythm and health or fever:

Alle Methode ist *Rythmus*. Hat man den Rythmus der Welt weg — so hat man auch die Welt weg. Jeder Mensch hat seinen individuellen Rythmus.

Die Algeber ist die *Poësie*.

Rythmischer Sinn ist Genie.

[...]

Reizbarkeit ist ächt rythmische Natur. Das individuelle Verhältniß der Reizbarkeit und d[es] Reitzes ist der Rythmus der individuellen Gesundheit. Ist dieses Verhältniß fehlerhaft, so wird der fehlerhafte Rythmus gesundheitswidrige Figurationen, *Cantentionen* etc. hervorbringen. musikalische Natur der Fieber. Localkranckheiten. Gicht. *chymischer Rythmus* — Die Lehre von den *Associationen*. (Reale — schaffende Musik.) (III: 309-310, #382; II: 233-34, #217)

Rhythm symbolizes the poet for Pasternak; rhythmic sense is genius for Novalis.

Poetry for Pasternak is both insanity and illness. Novalis speaks both of the musical nature of fever and of the musical nature of illness in general, in a Fragment quoted earlier in this section. Rhythm/music, illness/insanity, reproduction/infection are all correlates of creativity for both poets. Their manifestations are intertwined and at times interchangeable in the associative networks of Pasternak’s and Novalis’s work.

It is not surprising, then, that if art is linked in some ways with illness, then falsity is portrayed as hypochondria. This motif appears, albeit not frequently and not with a subtextual connection in the work of both writers. Novalis writes:

Hypochondrie is pathologisierende Fantasie — mit *Glauben* an die Realit[ät] ihrer Produktionen — Fantasmen verbunden. (III: 359, #535; III: 84, #395)

Pasternak writes of illness as faith and of the “desire for illness” in an early fragment.

(Повязки, наложенные на больную былъ той рукой культуры, которая врачует: рукой научного и нравственного творчества, [наложенные этой и разматываемые той, которая не знает

излечений и хочет болезни: вечной веры: снятые рукою лирики, лирического аскетизма].) (IV: 776)¹³⁰

In contrast, Pasternak writes of hypochondria as falsehood, bursting into a landscape of snowflakes which he depicts in the same tone of falsehood which he uses for the “intruder”/hypochondriac. (I: 558). The clashing motifs of truth and lies are an important theme of this poem.

И, осмелевши, крепнет снег,
Скользя с притворным интересом
По подворотням и по рельсам,
И хлопья рвут бог знает что,
Облапив теплое пальто,
Плетут и распускают петли...
Вы скажете: как снег приветлив!
Дай бог ему за то — но вдруг
Откуда-то, как в бочку бондарь,
Ударит буря и, помедлив,
Ударит пуще, и на стук
Бурану отопрет испуг,
И в дверь ворвется ипохондрик
И вырвет дверь у вас из рук.
Вы вскрикнете — как привередлив!
Да знаете ли вы! (I: 558)

Throughout “Vysokaja bolezn” Pasternak works with a wide variety of Novalis subtexts on illness in its various physical and spiritual manifestations, as the latter perceives them: the illness of revolution, of the sin of transcendence, of affected enthusiasm and moral apathy. He also expands on Novalis’s contrast of the poet and the hero, making the hero negative, a participant in the general sin, something which Novalis does not do. In contrast to his—conscious or unconscious—use of generally philosophical Novalis subtexts on illness to underline the moral implications of the “lofty malady”, Pasternak works with grotesquely physical imagery from Jean Paul, which he turns on its head to make positive, just as he inverts the intent of the Novalis fragment on transcendence, lending it negative implications for the fate of poetry in his era. References to texts from

¹³⁰ Cf. Baratynskij, “Boljashchij dux vrachuet pesnopen’c.”

both sources underline his polemic with LEF on the responsibility of the writer;¹³¹ quoting the fragment by Novalis's colleague and friend Friedrich Schlegel (which he identifies as Hegel's)¹³² on historians prophesying backwards, he adds ambiguously, "Ja sam nemnozhko v ètom rode/ I sozdan pod takim uglom" (I: 561).

At the end of the poem Pasternak calls on the poet to "wake up and show [his] pass" ("Prosmis', poèt, i suj svoj propusk./ Zdes' ne v obychnae zevat'", I: 562) It is time for the poet to heal the ills of the country, wet with a sickly cold sweat.¹³³

Опять, куда ни глянешь, сыро.
По всей стране холодный пот
Струится, заливая дыры
С юродством сросшихся слобод. (I: 562)

This brings me to a third aspect of Pasternak's intertextual ties with Novalis on the subject of illness, involving the opposite image: that of the poet or artist not as the ailing one, but as the doctor healing the world's ills.¹³⁴

The "propusk" from "Vysokaja bolezn'" appears again in the 1931 poem "Krasavica moja, vsja stat'", where poetry is no longer the sin but its opposite, its cure in a sense:

И рифма не вторенье строк,
Но вход и пропуск за порог,
Чтоб сдать, как плащ за бляшкою,
Болезни тягость тяжкую,
Боязнь огласки и греха
За громкой бляшкою стиха. (I: 401)

¹³¹See Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 29-34, in this regard.

¹³²Lazar Fleishman, "K karakteristike rannego Pasternaka", *Stat'i o Pasternake*, 4-61.

¹³³On the social implications of "propusk" as symbol for the poet's place in the society/orchestra, see Fomenko, *op. cit.*, 102.

¹³⁴My remarks here expand on an observation made by Professor Omry Ronen in his article "Pasternak, Zamiatin and Bradshaw", *Elementa*, Vol. 1 (1993), No. 2, 217. Ronen mentions Novalis's image of poetry as 'metaphysical medicine' in reference to Pasternak. I am grateful to Professor Ronen for allowing me to see the typescript of the article prior to its publication. On the image of the poet as doctor in Pasternak (without reference to Novalis), see Leonid Dolgoplov, "Strannyj doktor. K voprosu o lichnosti i karaktere zhiznedejatel'nosti geroja romana 'Doktor Zhivago'", *Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture. Vol. 1. Boris Pasternak 1890-1990*, 178-189.

If life is an illness, as Novalis writes in a Fragment quoted earlier in this section, then poetry is its cure.

Earlier I had noted Novalis's fragment on illness as a musical problem, its cure a musical solution. Pasternak responds to it with an image of Chopin treating an ailing

Ballade:¹³⁵

Опять депешею Шопен
К балладе страждущей отозван.

Когда ее не излечить,
Все лето будет в дифтерите.
Сейчас ли, черные ключи,
Иль позже кровь нам отворить ей? (I: 217)

In his review of Majakovskij's "Prostoe kak mychan'e", Pasternak characterizes him as he does Chopin, treating ailing poetry. From an excerpt quoted earlier in the chapter:

Он подходит к поэзии [...], как врач к утопленнице [...] он живо, как хирург, знает, [...] что надо делать с ней, чтобы заставить ее дышать. (IV: 366)

Already in an early prose sketch, "Zakaz dramy", the composer Shestikrylov is compared not to a doctor, but to surgical thread sewing together the three strata of existence: the needy things of reality, lyricism or music, and life, the "muzyka v xlop'jax" (IV: 743-744):

Композитор Шестикрылов был той терапевтической нитью, которая должна была сшивать оперированный миропорядок [...] Жизнь композитора сшивали эти три слоя, чтобы вышло целое [...] (IV: 744)

This image of poet-harmonizer or -synthesizer appears again twenty years later in "Krasavica moja, vsja stat'":

А в рифмах умирает рок,
И правдой входит в наш мирок
Миров разноголосица. (I: 401)

In developing his image of the poet-doctor and poet-synthesizer, Pasternak works with two famous Novalis fragments:

¹³⁵ Cf. Baratynskij, quoted above.

<Poësie ist die große Kunst der Construction der transcendentalen Gesundheit. Der Poët ist also der transcendentale Arzt. [...] Sie mischt alles zu ihrem großen Zweck der Zwecke — der *Erhebung des Menschen über sich selbst*.> (II: 535, #42; III: 177-78, #52)

In Petnikov's translation:

Поэзия есть великое искусство устройства трансцендентального здоровья. Поэт, таким образом, трансцендентальный врач. (12; 149)

Novalis also wrote of poetry healing the ills of reason. Here he adds a point on which I will elaborate later in this chapter, on truth and lies in poetry.

Die Poësie heilt die Wunden, die der Verstand schlägt. Sie besteht gerade aus entgegengesetzten Bestandtheilen — aus erhebender Wahrheit und angenehmer Täuschung. (III: 653, #571; III: 5, #10)

Die Lebensordnungslehre im strengern Sinn enthält eigentlich die Kunst der Constitutionsbildung und Verbesserung. [...] Der Künstler der Unsterblichkeit betreibt die höhere Medizin — die Infinitesimalmedizin — er betreibt die Medizin, als höhere Kunst — als synth[etische] Kunst. (III: 315, #399; III: 106, #480)

The role of the “transcendental physician” in Novalis is reduced in the early Pasternak prose sketch to that of a mere tool, “surgical thread”; this metonymic reduction is a typical Pasternakian device and does not actually diminish the significance of the artist's role.¹³⁶ “Infinitesimalmedizin” becomes surgery on life, the “muzyka v xlop'jax”, connecting it to the other strata of existence. This operation on the “miroporjadok” echoes Novalis's notion of *Lebensordnungslehre*. In marked contrast to the troubled image of the artist in “Vysokaja bolezn'”, in these texts, particularly the unpublished early sketch and the 1931 poem, the artist participates in the transformation of the world. It is significant in this regard that in his depiction of the artist/surgeon Pasternak works directly with Novalis texts, without the intermediary of late Romantic doubts in the artist's ability to change the world or neo-Romantic exaggeration of the artist's power, the latter a notion against which Pasternak so violently reacted for most of his career. It is the early Romantic notion of

¹³⁶On Pasternakian metonymy see Roman Jakobson, “Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak”, *Slavische Rundschau*, 8, 1935, 357-374.

transcendental artist/physician that remains the stronger late in his career, in its most famous manifestation, *Doktor Zhivago*.¹³⁷

2.6 Novalis Reception, 1928-1956

Pasternak's reception of Novalis continues in the period of *Oxrannaja gramota* and *Vtoroe rozhdenie* in a manner similar to that which characterized his poetics of the period 1918-28, with a tendency toward the kind of aesthetic statement, grounded to a great degree in the writings of Novalis, that we have seen in "Neskol'ko polozhenij", and away from the Futurist-style transformation of a Romantic text seen in the period of *Poverx bar'erov*, *Sestra moja zhizn'*, and the earlier poems of *Temy i variacii*. He "distills" motifs from Novalis which appeared earlier in his work, and takes up new motifs which correspond to his changing views and interests in this period. The motif of the light beam, discussed earlier in the chapter, is an example of the former category. An example of his change in choice of subtexts as his aesthetics and world view changed is the switch from subtexts on illness to subtexts on poetry as a healing force, examined in the previous section.

One of the themes common to Pasternak and Novalis, extending back to Pasternak's earlier work, is the theme of poetry as truth and poetry as falsehood. Pasternak speaks of poetry as both in his aesthetic statements. On the one hand, he writes:

Неумение найти и сказать правду — недостаток, которого никаким умением говорить неправду не покрыть. Книга — живое существо. Она в памяти и в полном рассудке: картины и сцены — это то, что она вынесла из прошлого, запомнила и не согласна забыть. ("Несколько положений", IV: 367)

On the other hand:

¹³⁷According to Mixail Mejlax's report on the proceedings of the 1990 Pasternak conference in Oxford (which I did not attend), Renate Döring-Smirnov delivered a paper on textual correspondences between Novalis's work and *Doktor Zhivago*. I am therefore avoiding discussion of the novel until I have read her paper. See Mejlax, "Jubilejnyj god Pasternaka v Anglii", *Voprosy literatury*, 8, 1991, 241.

По-русски врать значит скорее нести лишнее, чем обманывать. В таком смысле и врет искусство. Его образ обнимает жизнь, а не ищет зрителя. Его истины не изобразительны, а способны к вечному развитию. (*Охранная грамота*, IV: 179)

I have quoted before Novalis's characterization of poetry as a combination of opposites, "aus erhebender Wahrheit und angenehmer Täuschung" (III: 653, #571; III: 5, #10)

Thus, as critics have stated before, poetry in Pasternak's opinion is truthful in depicting what it sees, and false in altering that reality through an artistic vision. The literary geneology of this view has been discussed by de Mallac.¹³⁸

What has not before been pointed out, however, is that Pasternak, in discussing prose, almost exactly reiterates Novalis's words on historical writing. In "Neskol'ko polozhenij", Pasternak has written of poetry's responsibility to convey the truth:

Чутьем, по своей одухотворенности, проза ищет и находит человека в категории речи, а если век его лишен, то на память воссоздает его, и подкидывает, и потом, для блага человечества, делает вид, что нашла его среди современности. Начала эти не существуют отдельно. (IV: 369)

In *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, the hermit says the following about historical writing:

Wenn ich alles recht bedenke, so scheint es mir, als wenn ein Geschichtschreiber notwendig auch ein Dichter sein müßte, denn nur die Dichter mögen sich auf jene Kunst, Begebenheiten schicklich zu verknüpfen, verstehn. In ihren Erzählungen und Fabeln habe ich mit stillen Vergnügen ihr zartes Gefühl für den geheimnisvollen Geist des Lebens bemerkt. Es ist mehr Wahrheit in ihren Märchen, als in gelehrten Chroniken. Sind auch ihre Personen und deren Schicksale erfunden: so ist doch der Sinn, in dem sie erfunden sind, wahrhaft und natürlich. Es ist für unsern Genuß und unsere Belehrung gewissermaßen einerlei, ob die Personen, in deren Schicksalen wir den unsrigen nachspüren, wirklich einmal lebten oder nicht. Wir verlangen nach der Anschauung der großen

¹³⁸See Guy de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Aesthetic Views". On the image of the tapeworm in Pasternak and its roots in Nietzsche's discussion of poetic lies, see Erika Greber, "Boris Pasternak's Prose Fragment 'Tri glavj iz povesti'. The Arrangement of a Philosophical-Musical Subtext", *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 123-128; idem, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts*, 111-126; Jerzy Faryno writes of Aglaja's lies in Dostoevskij's *Idiot* as a subtext to Pasternak's notion of falsehood in poetry: Jerzy Faryno, "Greeheskaja gubka na zelenoj skamejke v 'Vesne' Pasternaka", 190. Fet, following Tjutchev's "Silentium!", also wrote on the theme of poetry as lies: "Poëzija est' lozh'... i poët, kotoryj s pervogo zhe slova ne nachinaet l'gat' bez ogljadki, nikuda ne goditsja." "V nashem dele istinnaja chepuxa i est' istinnaja poëzija." Quoted from A. S. Kushner, "I chem sluchajncj, tem vernec...", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 172.

einfachen Seele der Zeiterscheinungen, und finden wir diesen Wunsch gewährt, so kümmern wir uns nicht um die zufällige Existenz ihrer äußern Figuren. (I: 259; IV: 137-38)

Pasternak also writes in verse of his notion of altered truth, in a manner similar to Novalis's depiction of it:

Зовут их любкой. Александр Блок,
Сестра, жена и сын — ночной фиалкой.
Зовет и город, да и я далек
От истины — и мне ее не жалко. (I: 547)

Мне кажется, я подберу слова,
Похожие на вашу первозданность.
А ошибусь,— мне это трын-трава,
Я все равно с ошибкой не расстанусь. (I: 227)

The poet's conception captures a truth of a higher or more important kind.¹³⁹ Thus the formulation in *Oxrannaja gramota*, which distills his earlier statement and, as is often the case with Pasternak, brings it away from the earlier closeness to the Novalis subtext.

Two themes in Novalis to which Pasternak turns only in the late twenties are the theme of the organic development of history, compared to the plant world, and the distinction between the poet and the hero.

The latter has some connection to Pasternak's contemptuous depiction of the "idiot geroj, intelligent" in "Vysokaja bolezn'". I have pointed out a Novalis subtext to Pasternak's dedication to Rilke in *Oxrannaja gramota* elsewhere and will not now touch on it.¹⁴⁰ Elsewhere in *Oxrannaja gramota*, however, Pasternak once again approaches the theme of the heroic in a negative sense, in discussing his turn away from the "romantic manner" as he saw it. Pasternak writes:

Зрелищное понимание биографии было свойственно моему времени. Я эту концепцию разделял со всеми. Я расставался с ней в той еще ее стадии, когда она была необязательно мягка у символистов, героизма не предполагала и кровью еще не пахла. (IV: 228)

¹³⁹ Compare Aleksandr Blok, "Tak beregi ostatok chuvstva, Xrani xot' tvorcheskiju lozh': 'Lish' v legkom chelnoke iskusstva/ Ot skuki mira uplyvesh'." Blok, *Sobranie sochinenij v vos'mi tomax*, Vol. III, 108.

¹⁴⁰ See K. Evans-Romaine, "K voprosu ob otnoshenii Pasternaka k tvorechestvu Novalisa", *Shestyje Tynjanovskie chtenija. Tezisy dokladov i materialy dlja obsuzhdenija* (Riga/Moscow, 1992), 16.

Novalis, in a contrast much like the one from Chapter Six of *Heinrich von*

Ofterdingen, opposes poets to heroes who seek blood:

Wenn du bei der Geburt gelächelt,
 Und **Dichtergaben zugewinkt**,
 Der, süße Göttin, der erringt
 Nicht Lorbeern, wo das Schlachtfeld röchelt,
 Und **Blut** in langen Strömen rinnt,
 Der wird nicht in Triumphe ziehen,
 Den ihm ein schwarzer Sieg gewinnt,
 Und **nie von Stolz und Ehrfurcht** glühen,
 Wenn zwanzig Heere vor ihm fliehen,
 Dem Reiz des Siegerruhmes blind.
Auch Hofintrigen und Katalen
 Kennt seine heitre Selle nicht,
 Und bleibt selbst bei Ministerwahlen
 Gleichgültig, Ehre reizt ihn nicht [...]
 ("An die Muse", I: 510; I: 121)

In the context of Pasternak's biography and statements on the poet's role at meetings of the Writers Union (IV: 633-38, 640-45), this subtext is extraordinarily significant. We saw earlier in the chapter, in the discussion of the Novalis subtext to the 1928 revision of "Edem", that, as Fleishman has pointed out, the theme of history becomes vital to Pasternak in the late 1920s; the importance of the theme does not wane for the rest of his career. Both Pasternak and Novalis fight tradition in stating their views on the "plant-like" growth of history. For both writers, the metaphor of the historical tree is a statement on their aesthetics. This motif appears in the works of Schlegel as well. He writes in *Lucinde*: "dieser Sturm und Drang der unendlichen Pflanze der Menschheit".¹⁴¹

Pasternak works with Novalis subtexts not only in his aesthetic statements (*Oxrannaja gramota* in this period), but also in his book of verse *Vtoroe rozhdenie*. In poems from this book he works both with Novalis's aesthetic statements, so important to him at this time, and with particular images or phrases.

¹⁴¹Friedrich Schlegel, *Dichtungen und Aufsätze* (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1984), 37.

In the previous section of this chapter I discussed Novalis subtexts to the altered notion of illness in Pasternak's 1931 poem "Krasavica moja, vsja stat". There is also a subtext on another theme:

Красавица моя, вся стать,
 Вся суть твоя мне по сердцу,
 Вся рвется музыкою стать,
 И вся на рифмы просится.

А в рифмах умирает рок,
 И правдой входит в наш мирок
 Миров разноголосица. (I: 401)

Like Pasternak, Novalis writes of the notion of a higher perception, characterized by the idea of a higher music, in which dissonance is resolved.

Sensibilitaet und innrer Reitz (Seele) beziehn sich, als höheres Organ — [...] Auflösung der Disharmonieen — *einfache Musik — höhere Musik*. (III: 331-332, #452; III: 306-07, #839)

The cycle "Volny", also from *Vtoroe rozhdenie*, works with a number of Novalis subtexts. The notion of seeing one's life in a landscape from the opening poem, appears also in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Pasternak writes:

Здесь будет все: пережитое
 И то, чем я еще живу,
 Мои стремленья и устои,
 И виденное наяву.

[...]
 Ко мне бегут мои поступки,
 Испытанного гребешки. (I: 374)

In *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* :

[...] und so begann endlich die Wallfahrt nach den nahen Hügeln. [...] In Heinrichs Gemüt spiegelte sich das Märchen des Abends. Es war ihm, als ruhte die Welt aufgeschlossen in ihm, und zeigte ihm, wie einem Gastfreunde alle ihre Schätze und verborgenen Lieblichkeiten. [...] Nun übersah er auf einmal alle seine Verhältnisse mit der weiten Welt um ihn her; fühlte, was er durch sie geworden und was sie ihm werden würde [...] tausend andere Erinnerungen seines Lebens knüpften sich von selbst an einen zauberischen Faden. (I: 251-252; IV: 128)

Similarly, Pasternak writes of the closeness of something far—the “remoteness of socialism”:¹⁴²

Ты рядом, даль социализма.
Ты скажешь — близь? — Средь тесноты,
Во имя жизни, где сошлись мы,—
Переправляй, но только ты.

Ты куришься сквозь дым теорий [...] (I: 380)

Heinrich discovers the same paradoxes in the landscape:

Jene Fernen sind mir so nah, und die reiche Landschaft ist mir wie eine innere Phantasie. Wie veränderlich ist die Natur, so unwandelbar auch ihre Oberfläche zu sein scheint. (I: 279-280; IV: 128)

As nature, reflecting one’s inner fantasy, is more changeable than it appears, so, we are to infer, is the “remoteness of socialism” which Pasternak describes.

The same paradoxes emerge in “Mne xochetsja domoj”, discussed earlier in the context of its light beam motif. A sound play similar to the one discussed previously in regard to the second stanza occurs in the third stanza:

Пускай пожизненность задачи,
Врастающей в заветы дней, [...] (I: 375)

These lines, written in the context of a poem about a desired transformation, have a subtext in Novalis:

Das willkürlichste Vorurtheil ist, daß dem Menschen das Vermögen *außer sich* zu sein, mit Bewußtseyn jenseits der Sinne zu seyn, versagt sey. Der Mensch vermag in jedem Augenblicke ein übersinnliches Wesen zu seyn. [...] — die **Gedanken** verwandeln sich in **Gesetze** — die Wünsche in Erfüllungen. Für den Schwachen ist das *Factum dieses Moments ein Glaubensartikel*. (II: 420, #23; II: 155, #22)

¹⁴² On the political implications of “Mne xochetsja domoj”, see Aleksandr Zholkovskij, “Ljubovnaja lodka. uprjazh’ dlja Pegasa i poxoronnaja kolybel’ naja (Tri stixotvoreniya i tri perioda Pasternaka)”; idem, “Mexanizmy ‘Vtorogo rozhdenija’”, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2, 1990, 35-41; idem, “‘Mne xochetsja domoj, v ogromnost’...” Borisa Pasternaka: ‘Social’nyj zakaz’, tematika, struktura”, *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 50 (1991), No. 1, 20-34; some attention is devoted to *Vtoroe rozhdenie* in Zholkovskij’s “Invarianty i struktura poetičeskogo teksta. Pasternak”, in Zholkovskij and Ju. K. Shcheglov, *Poëtika vyrazitel’nosti. Sbornik statej* (Vienna: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 2, 1980).

Here Pasternak works with the same sound play to underline the transition as does Novalis: Gedanken/Gesetze; zadachi/zavety. The underlying notion is one of a desired transformation, a forced one in Pasternak:

И я приму тебя, как упряжь [...] (I: 376)

The Novalis Fragment continues:

Auffallend wird die Erscheinung besonders beym Anblick mancher menschlichen Gestalten und Gesichter — vorzüglich bey der Erblickung mancher Augen, mancher Minen, **mancher Bewegungen** — beym Hören gewisser Worte, beim Lesen gewisser Stellen — bey gewissen Hinsichten auf Leben, Welt und Schicksal. (II: 420, #23; II: 155, #22)

Pasternak echoes this in *Oxranaja gramota*:

И, повернув голову, можно было потрястись, повторяя в точности одно, страшно далекое, телодвижение. [...] Я трепетал, справляя двухсотлетие чужих шейных мышц. (IV: 172)

This sensation is as much a “higher sense” which Pasternak tries to convey, as a convergence of motions. The same “magic” occurs on Pasternak’s seeing a particular face:

Затем я увидел его лицо. Оно показалось мне когда-то уже виденным, и только я не мог вспомнить, где это было. (IV: 201)

This last phrase echoes a common device of Novalis’s, used to support his notion of the underlying unity of all things, as in this sentence: “Es dünkte Heinrichen, wie der Alte geendigt hatte, als habe er das Lied schon irgendwo gehört.” (I: 250; IV: 125)

Finally, the end of “Volny” contains a very famous pair of stanzas which have two Novalis subtexts:

В родстве со всем, что есть, уверясь,
И знаясь с будущим в быту,
Нельзя не впасть к концу, как в ересь,
В неслыханную простоту.

Но мы пощажены не будем,
Когда ее не утаим.
Она всего нужнее людям,
Но сложное понятней им. (I: 381-382)

The Novalis subtext to the first line quoted, from *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, and its Petnikov translation, which Pasternak quotes almost exactly, have already been discussed.

Here our concern is the paradox of simplicity and complexity, which concerns Novalis as well.¹⁴³

Brauchen wir zum Gewöhnlichen und Gemeinen vielleicht deswegen so viel Kraft und Anstrengung, weil für den eigentlichen Menschen nichts ungewöhnlicher — nichts ungemeiner ist, als armseelige Gewöhnlichkeit?

Das Höchste ist das Verständlichste — das Nächste, das Unentbehrlichste. (“Blüthenstaub”, II: 414, 416; II: 113)

Man versteht das Künstliche gewöhnlich besser, als das Natürliche. Es gehört mehr Geist auch zum Einfachen, als zum Complicirten — aber weniger Talent. (“Blüthenstaub”, II: 133)

Related to the first line of the Pasternak poem, “V rodstve so vsem...”, is the notion of dissolution into all things. Here we leap into Pasternak’s late work, which has many ties to his work of this middle period. Pasternak writes of dissolution in a poem from *Doktor Zhivago*, “Svad’ba”:

Жизнь ведь тоже только миг,
Только растворенье
Нас самих во всех других
Как бы им в даренье. (III: 520)

There is a subtext which can be best seen in the Petnikov translation:

Поэзия растворяет чуждое бытие в своем. (8; 146)

It is not necessary here to examine Pasternak’s late poetry and its relationship to Novalis texts, essentially for two reasons: first, I have examined several examples of Pasternak’s late poetry within the context of more general themes that stretch over many years of his career, and second, no real development occurs at the end of his career in regard to his reception of Novalis texts.

Pasternak’s earliest experiments in verse and especially in prose improvise on themes, motifs, and phrases from Novalis, with little efforts at a “covering” of subtextual “tracks”. His poems of the teens tend to take one or more Novalis texts and “shift” the imagery to a Futurist aesthetic norm, while essentially retaining its content and even its

¹⁴³ On the theme of simplicity and complexity in Rilke and Pasternak, see G. S. Pomeranc, “Neslyxannaja

romantic inclinations. His quotations from Novalis texts become more subtle and sparse as his own poetic voice matures, in some texts from *Sestra moja zhizn'* and *Temy i variacii*. This is not the case with his aesthetic statement of that period, "Neskol'ko polozenij", where he quotes extensively from both Novalis originals and their translations by Petnikov. Here he works with a broad network of Novalis texts and builds images based on the juxtaposition of several texts; he thus develops further a semantic field already developed by Novalis, on illness/insanity/unconsciousness/storm/reproduction/immortality. This semantic field, minus the elements of the storm and unconsciousness, is maintained in "Vysokaja bolezn'", where Pasternak draws on a wide variety of Novalis's richly varied writings on the manifestations and causes of illnesses. With this period one no longer sees the subtextual presence of Sergej Bobrov, so pervasive in Pasternak's Novalis subtexts of 1913-21.

Pasternak's work of the late twenties and early thirties takes up new motifs from Novalis, related to the poet's role in history: that of the poet/hero, of the organic nature of history in the poet's depiction of it, of simplicity in poetry. Some themes and motifs, like that of the light beam and that of lies in art, are maintained.

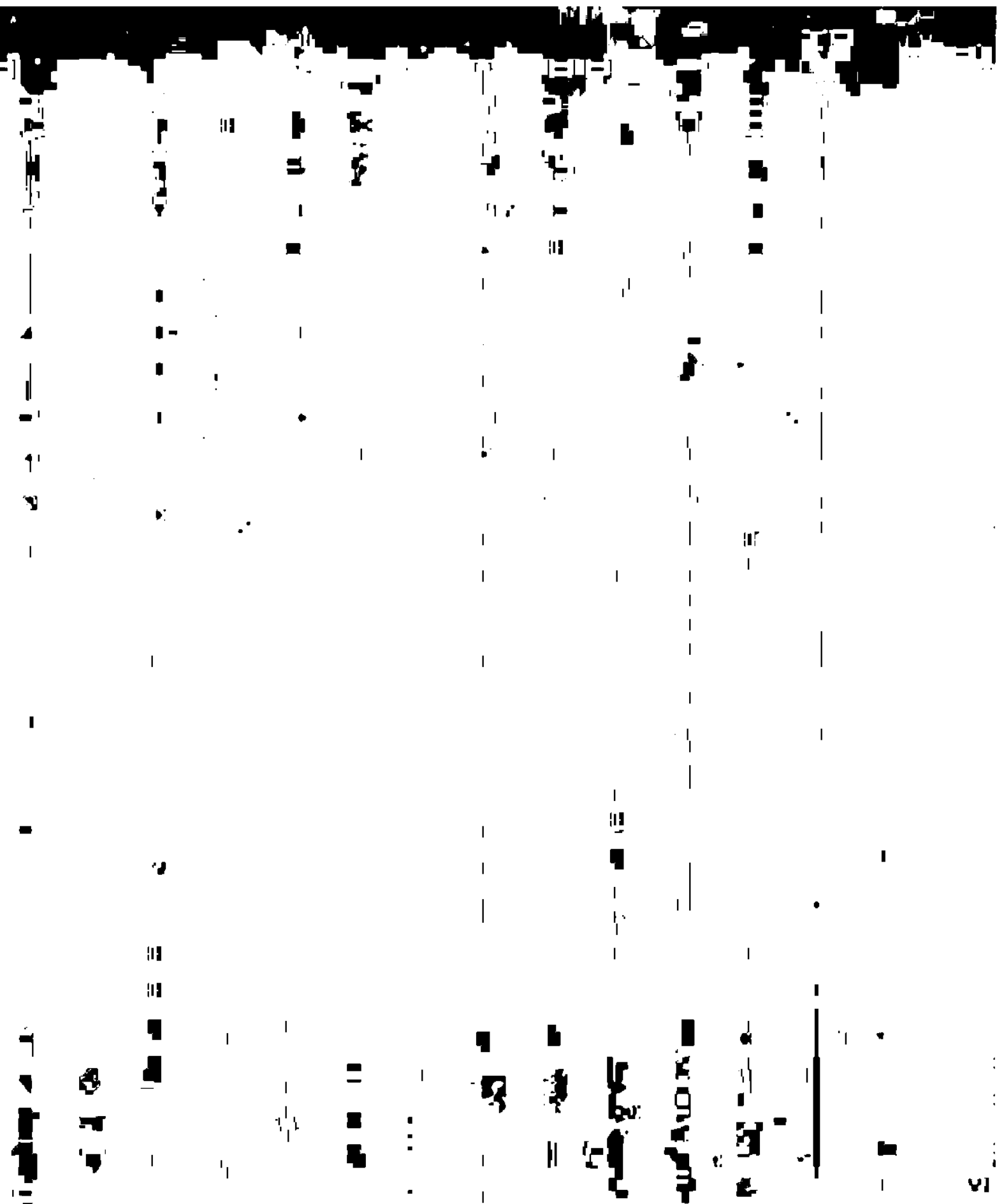
His last period essentially "distills" developments of earlier periods rather than developing any new insights into the poetry of Novalis. It is characterized by a truly "distanced reiteration". Pasternak perceives Novalis texts through his own earlier writings. One is left with the impression that he ceased consulting Novalis texts after the period of his first autobiography.

Pasternak's reception of Novalis is, of course, affected both by the translations which appeared in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and by the reception by other poets. The most important of these is Bobrov, who was a great admirer of Novalis and with whom Pasternak worked closely during that period. The perception of Novalis by the "second generation" Symbolists, especially Aleksandr Blok and Vjacheslav Ivanov,

prostota", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 18.

was so different from Pasternak's "post-Symbolist" perception that it had little effect on Pasternak, other than the likely indirect effect of a stimulus. One can, on the other hand, trace Pasternak's indirect perception through the German post-Romantic tradition, particularly Heine, in his depiction of poetry as illness, as we will see further in Chapter Four. Jean Paul's work plays a significant role here as well, as it does in the poetry about the mill of creation in both senses. As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the work of Rilke occasionally serves as an intermediary as well, particularly on the theme of inanimate objects in the poet's perception.

Thus, typically for Pasternak, many different subtextual sources come into play in any given text. He then alters the texts to fit his aesthetic vision, often drawing further away from the source in later versions, as is the case with "Vysokaja bolezn'" or later poems, like his late-life "Dusha". Although the presence of Novalis fades toward the end of Pasternak's career, it does not disappear entirely. Certainly elements of Jena aesthetics remain with Pasternak throughout his life, even when specific quotations no longer appear.



The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

In addition, the document outlines the procedures for handling discrepancies. If there is a difference between the recorded amount and the actual amount received or paid, it is crucial to investigate the cause immediately. This could be due to a clerical error, a missing receipt, or a change in the terms of the agreement.

The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the financial data for the period. It includes a table showing the total revenue, expenses, and net profit. Each item is listed with its corresponding amount and a brief description.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the overall financial performance. It notes that the company has achieved a steady increase in revenue over the period, despite a slight rise in expenses. This indicates a strong and growing business.

CHAPTER THREE

PASTERNAK AND HOFFMANN

With the close of the nineteenth century and the advent of the Russian Symbolist movement, interest in Hoffmann grew in Russia for the second time. Admiration for the works of Hoffmann had been considerable in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century, at the height of the Romantic era in Russian literature.¹ The revived interest in Hoffmann in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century occurred parallel not only to the Symbolists' reexamination of Romantic sources, but also to an increase in German publications of and about Hoffmann at the end of the nineteenth century.² The landmark indicating the Hoffmann revival even before the beginning of the Russian Symbolist movement was the 1880 publication of a translation of "Der goldene Topf" by the forefather of Symbolism in Russia, Vladimir Solov'ev. This translation and the introduction were reprinted, in abridged form, in 1913. In his brief introduction to the work, Solov'ev analyzed Hoffmann's dualism in a manner which was bound to attract the attention of Symbolists later: he characterized the relationship between the fantastic and realistic in Hoffmann's work as a dynamic interweaving or interpenetration, in which the fantastic world of Hoffmann's stories did not exist as a *deus ex machina* appearing suddenly in the separate everyday, "realistic" world, but as simply the other side of that same world.³ Two new translations of *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*, by Symbolist Konstantin Bal'mont and M. A. Beketova (the aunt of Symbolist Aleksandr Blok), appeared in 1893 and 1894 respectively. At the same time numerous other translations of

¹ For numerous listings of reference works on Hoffmann in early nineteenth century Russian literature, see Z. V. Zhitomirskaja, ed., "E. T. A. Gofman. Bibliografija russkix perevodov i kriticheskoj literatury" (Moscow: Kniga, 1964); V. N. Toporov, *Axmatova i Blok* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Slavic Specialities, 1981), 182; and Gerhard R. Kaiser, *E.T.A. Hoffmann* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung), 184-188. For a full-length study of Hoffmann's impact on Russian literature, see Norman Ingham, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Reception in Russia* (Würzburg, 1974).

² Zhitomirskaja, op. cit., 18.

³ E. T. A. Gofman, "Zolotoj gorshok". *Perevod i predislovie Vladimira Solov'eva* (Moscow: Al'ciona, 1922), 7. (Reprint of the original 1880 version.)

and publications about Hoffmann appeared in Russia. Finally, a new complete edition of Hoffmann's works appeared in 1896-99.⁴ Toporov declares the peak year for Russian critical attention to the works of Hoffmann as 1914, when numerous articles on Hoffmann appeared.⁵ (The reader may recall from Chapter Two that 1914 was also the peak year for interest in Novalis in Russia; that year several translations of and critical works on Novalis appeared there.) In 1914 the first Russian monograph on Hoffmann which discussed his impact on Russian literary history appeared; its connection of Hoffmann with the comedies of 18th-century Venetian Count Carlo Gozzi, a connection made that year also in the St. Petersburg journal *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam* (the title of a Gozzi play), establishes the background for Pasternak's comparison of the two writers in his late correspondence, to be discussed below.⁶ This connection is anticipated before Ignatov's 1914 monograph by Friche's (Fritzsche's) more general study of the "nightmarish" in the history of literature, entitled *Poëtika koshmarov i užasa*, which devotes a considerable portion of the study to Hoffmann.⁷ The connection between Hoffmann and Gozzi is continued by scholar and critic Viktor Zhirmunskij, in his 1916 review of a new translation of Hoffmann's *Prinzessin Brambilla*, where he sees Gozzi's impact. The year 1914 also saw the advent of a new journal which propagated the work of Hoffmann: The first issue of *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam* introduced a section entitled "Hoffmaniana". The first of these publications is a panegyric addressed to Hoffmann, which gives a brief history of the writer's impact in Russia and lists recent publications on Hoffmann (including the Ignatov monograph mentioned above). The author of this piece promises to mention Hoffmann in some form or other in every issue of the journal; and indeed, in the next two issues of *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam* the "Hoffmaniana" section is continued, with slightly more detailed histories of

⁴ Zhitomirskaja remarks that this edition is until this day the most complete in Russian. See Zhitomirskaja, op. cit., 19.

⁵ Toporov, op. cit., 165, 182-83.

⁶ S. S. Ignatov, *E. T. A. Goffman. Lichnost' i tvorčestvo* (Moscow: Tipografija O. L. Somovoj, 1914).

⁷ V. Friche, *Poëtika koshmarov i užasa. Neskol'ko glav iz istorii literatury i iskusstva na zapade* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja pečat', 1912).

Hoffmann's literary influence in Russia and quotations from Russian writers on Hoffmann's work.⁸ Particularly significant for Pasternak's literary biography is a brief and scathing article published in 1914 by his Centrifuge colleague, Sergej Bobrov. Always the defender of *l'art pour l'art*, Bobrov criticizes the view of Hoffmann as fantastic satirist and social critic and argues for the Symbolist-oriented view of Hoffmann as the isolated and otherworldly poet, whose position Bobrov likens to that of the student Anselmus from "Der goldene Topf".⁹ Given Bobrov's interest in Hoffmann, is it likely that he and Pasternak discussed the work of the great Romantic. (Bobrov also praises Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* in the article; it is also quite likely that he and Pasternak discussed Novalis.) The following year, 1915, a new translation of "Prinzessin Brambilla" by V. Engel'gart appeared and received considerable critical attention.¹⁰ A review of this translation by Viktor Zhirmunskij, published in 1916, continues Ignatov's connection between Hoffmann and Gozzi.¹¹

Zhitomirskaja characterizes the popular image of Hoffmann put forth in Russia at the turn of the century as that of the "insane" writer, creating his work "in the fumes of the coffeehouse", "under the influence of the wine-drenched air".¹² This depiction bears the marks of turn-of-the-century artistic bohemianism. It is not accidental that interest in Hoffmann revived in the Symbolist and post-Symbolist eras, when Romantic literature in general enjoyed renewed interest. Bobrov, in the article from 1914 mentioned above, characterizes Hoffmann as stuck in the glass bottle of his own creations, his own unusual imprisonment.¹³ The third "Hoffmaniana" takes quotations from 19th-century Russian writers on Hoffmann which take for granted the image of him as a half-crazed genius, either reinforcing or arguing with that image. Alexander Herzen writes of Hoffmann:

⁸ Vladimir Knjazhnin, "Hoffmaniana. I", *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam*, 1, 1914, 58-59.

⁹ Sergej Bobrov, "T. Gofman i Professor èstetiki", *Trudy i dm*, 7, 1914, 159-163.

¹⁰ Zhitomirskaja, 21.

¹¹ Viktor Zhirmunskij, "T. A. Gofman. Princessa Brambilla", *Russkaja mysl'*, February 1916, 1-2.

¹² Zhitomirskaja, 19.

¹³ Sergej Bobrov, op. cit., 159.

Его фантазия пределов не знает; он пишет в горячке, бледный от страха, трепещущий пред своими вымыслами, с всклокоченными волосами, он сам от чистого сердца верит во все [...] ¹⁴

Vladimir Odoevskij, like Solov'ev after him, writes in "Russkie nochi":

[...] его чудесное всегда имеет две стороны: одну чисто фантастическую, другую—действительную; так что гордый читатель XIX-го века нисколько не приглашается верить безусловно в чудесное происшествие ему рассказываемое [...] ¹⁵

The critic Belinskij takes the stereotypical image of the sickly Hoffmann and engages in polemic against the stereotype:

[...] В первый еще раз понял я мыслию его фантастическое. Оно—поэтическое олицетворение таинственных враждебных сил, скрывающихся в недрах нашего духа. С этой точки зрения, болезненность Гофмана у меня исчезла—осталась одна поэзия. ¹⁶

The Friche monograph also depicts the image of dark, gloomy, and insane Hoffmann. He makes the same clear connection between the turn-of-the century fascination for the nightmarish and that of the Romantic era which Zhirmunskij's considerably more scholarly study of Romanticism, *Nemeckij romantizm i sovremennaja mistika* makes in 1914, in regard to other aspects of Romantic and Modernist poetics.

Friche characterizes his own era in the following context:

История знает две такие эпохи торжества мрачного, как ночь, убийственного пессимизма—конец Ренессанса и, так называемый, Романтизм.

А теперь на наших глазах, в конце XIX и начале XX в., протекает третья эпоха ужаса перед жизнью, третья эпоха господства страшных масок и уродливых гримас.

Этим последним обстоятельством и внушена мысль о предлагаемой вниманию читателя работе. ¹⁷

Friche characterizes the Romantic era as "insane", in a phrase reminiscent of Pasternak's image of ailing February walking the streets and of creeping typhus in his poem "Vysokaja

¹⁴ "Hoffmaniana. 3. Russkie pisateli o Gofmane", *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam*, 3, 1914, 85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁷ V. Friche, *Poëtika kosmarov i užasa*, 5-6.

bolezn'” (I: 555, 557; 1928 revision I: 274, 276), written ten years later. From *Poètika koshmarov*:

Безумие стояло на всех улицах, подстерегало во всех домах.¹⁸

Friche links this Romantic-era insanity to the illness of Modernism: in the words of Modernist writer Ola Hansson, as he quotes, the fear of life is the “illness of the century”.¹⁹ Hoffmann, to Friche, is a perfect example of the illness and insanity of his age: he calls Hoffmann the “classic expression” of the poetics of nightmares and horror, with his devils and witches, salamander-maidens, women “suffering from vampirism”, doubles, and other horrors.²⁰ To Friche, Hoffmann’s originality lies in his everyday settings for these nightmarish phenomena, in which everyday life is transformed into a fairyland of nightmares and horror.²¹

Hoffmann, then, both in the 19th-century characterizations republished in 1914, and in the early 20th-century depictions and studies, comes out as the sickly creator of fantastic stories who lives a double existence and cannot be entirely a part of the world around him. This dualism naturally struck a chord with the Russian Symbolists, who were profoundly interested in the dualism of existence.

It is precisely these characterizations, the mix of the critical and popular views of this great Romantic, that formed Pasternak’s early impressions of Hoffmann. Indeed, the second introductory poem to Pasternak’s *Sestra moja zhizn'* follows the stereotype of the Romantic writer given much later by Zhitomirskaja, albeit not mentioning Hoffmann himself: “Poka ja s Bajronom kunil,/ Poka ja pil s Edgarom Po” (I: 110). Pasternak began to read Hoffmann eagerly at a young age. His brother Aleksandr writes in his memoirs that

¹⁸ Ibid., 139.

¹⁹ Ibid., 291.

²⁰ Ibid., 165.

²¹ Ibid., 166.

Pasternak read Hoffmann and Jean Paul voraciously during the family's 1906 stay in Berlin.²²

His early correspondence reflects his close reading of Hoffmann. In a 1913 letter to his friend Konstantin Loks, Pasternak writes positively of his impressions from an "anthological" reading of Hoffmann:

Но за это письмо я взялся, закрывши Гофмана, которого я перечитываю в оригинале. Разумеется: —Э.Т.А., а не покойный, сколько помнится, Виктор. Это тоже величина, которая подлежит литературной переоценке. Он умнее Бальзака, [...] с ним нельзя расстаться на полдороге, предоставив ему одному скитаться в его собственном замысле. Но за ним следуешь до самого конца, и даже полусумасшедший этот карьерист и визионер отстаёт за тобой и ставит точку раньше, чем её ставишь ты, его читатель.²³

Pasternak's opinion of Hoffmann was to change radically by the end of his life.

Two late-life letters reflect this change. He wrote to Jacqueline de Proyart in 1959:

Je n'avais jamais aimé ni même compris (et je ne crois pas de son existence) le fantastique, le romantique, de lui-même comme domaine indépendant, la bizarrerie d'un Hoffmann, par exemple, ou d'un Carlo Gozzi. Pour moi l'art est une obsession, l'artiste est un possédé, un homme atteint, frappé de la réalité de l'existence, journalière qui, pour une réceptivité chalcercuse et animée apparaît plus fabuleuse qu'un conte justement par cet élément de prose toute nue et quotidienne d'habituel, d'ordinaire.²⁴

Also toward the end of his life, he wrote similarly to Renate Schweitzer, who had asked him to write an article on Hoffmann:

Den Romantismus habe ich nicht als etwas amtsartig bewusstes, sekundäres, als Kunst in einer Genreuniform. Die unoffizielle Originalität eines Gottfried Keller [...] sagt mir viel mehr als alle Wildheiten E.T.A.Hoffmanns. Andererseits, was wäre Dostoevsky und vielleicht auch Dickens ohne Hoffmann!²⁵

²² Aleksandr Pasternak, *Vospominaniya* (Munich, 1982), 185-186. On Pasternak's interest in Hoffmann, who "put a spell on an entire generation", see also E. B. Pasternak, introduction to Pasternak's "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1977, 251.

²³ Boris Pasternak, "Pis'ma k Konstantinu Loksu". Published by E. B. and E. V. Pasternak. *Minuvshee*. Istoricheskij almanax, 13 (Moscow/St. Petersburg: Antheneum-Feniks, 1993), 178. Dása di Simplicio mentions this letter in noting the importance of Hoffmann's atmosphere to Pasternak in 1914. See di Simplicio, "Genij i drugie. K genealogii ponjatija tvorcheskoj lichnosti u Pasternaka", *Pasternak-Studien*, 149.

²⁴ Jacqueline de Proyart, *Pasternak* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), 238.

²⁵ Renate Schweitzer, *Freundschaft mit Boris Pasternak* (Vienna, Munich, Basel: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1963), 80-81.

A memoir written about Pasternak's last years reflects this attitude. Pasternak says virtually the same thing to Zoja Maslennikova, who asks him about his Hoffmann article:

[...] написать об этом трудно: романтизм с его построениями, ничем не проверенными, я скорее отвергаю.²⁶

This change in attitude toward Hoffmann's writings from his youth to his old age is reflected, as one would expect, in Pasternak's use of Hoffmann subtexts. In his early work, Pasternak quotes Hoffmann much more extensively than in his late work. In contrast to his quotations of Novalis, however, the presence of Hoffmann subtexts in Pasternak's work often shows the overlay of contemporary writers who also read Hoffmann. Subtexts from Hoffmann in some cases appear together with subtexts from the work of Modernist writers. This is understandable, given the extraordinary popularity of Hoffmann in the first two decades of the twentieth century. This tendency continues well beyond the first decade of Pasternak's literary career, however; his late-life essay on Chopin shows the presence of Hoffmann subtexts, together with the presence of neo-Romantic reinterpretations of the Hoffmann legacy.

Anna Ljunggren notes the importance of Hoffmann's work in general, and of the Hoffmann artist-hero in particular, to Pasternak's early prose sketches in her 1984 study of those early experiments. Both Pasternak and Hoffmann were musicians as well as writers, and Ljunggren points out that the musicians in Hoffmann's poetic world were particularly inspiring to Pasternak. She writes that "Hoffmann's dreamer-heroes are particularly close to Pasternak; poetic inspiration has its source in musical improvisation. Music itself is above the other arts, and the word only translates, decodes musical experience."²⁷ These otherworldly heroes cannot make themselves comprehensible to those around them. As Ljunggren points out, it is not the normal, "uninitiated" listener who is the object of irony

²⁶ Zoja Maslennikova, *Portret Borisa Pasternaka* (Moscow: Sovetskaja Rossija, 1990), 143.

²⁷ Anna Ljunggren, *Juvenilia B. Pasternaka. 6 fragmentov o Relikvimini* (Dissertation, University of Stockholm, 1984), 76.

in both Pasternak and sometimes Hoffmann, but the artist himself to whom the irony is directed. She compares one of Pasternak's early sketches, "Uzhe temneet", with Hoffmann's "Ritter Gluck" in this regard, noting the two-faceted relationship of Pasternak's prose sketch to Romanticism—on the one hand using the Romantic (Hoffmann, as she argues) story as a model, on the other hand distancing himself from that model through devices and urbanism more typical of Futurism.²⁸

As is the case with his early treatment of Novalis subtexts, Pasternak actually improvises early in his career on subtexts from Hoffmann in his early prose fragments, clearly using them as models. One example of this improvisation or reworking not pointed out by Ljunggren is in Pasternak's early prose fragment "Byla vesennjaja noch". In this fragment the visions of the insane artist Sasha Berg correspond very closely with a scene from Hoffmann's famous story "Der Sandmann". Pasternak writes:

По временам Бергу чудилось какая-то невнятная музыка где-то в подполье. Это было очень странно.

Раз ночью, выйдя случайно из комнаты, Берг увидел в конце коридора Вурма в кожаном фартуке с ручным фонарем и лопаткой каменщика; Вурм не заметил Берга, направляясь с какой-то задумчивостью к выходной лестнице.

К утру Берг не мог вспомнить кошмара, давившего его во сне, но он не забыл, что сновидение его сопровождалась каким-то подпольным пеньем. (IV: 756)

Here we can find two, and perhaps three, subtexts from Hoffmann. The most obvious is "Der Sandmann":

Coppelius trat hinzu und eine blaue Flamme knisterte auf dem Herde empor. Allerlei seltsames Geräte stand umher. Ach Gott! — wie sich nun mein alter Vater zum Feuer herabbückte, da sah er ganz anders aus. [...] Er sah dem Coppelius ähnlich. Dieser schwang die glutrote Zange und holte damit hellblinkende Massen aus dem dicken Qualm, die er dann emsig hämmerte. [...] alles um mich her wurde schwarz und finster [...] — ich fühlte nichts mehr. Ein sanfter warmer Hauch glitt über mein Gesicht, ich erwachte wie aus dem Todesschlaf, die Mutter hatte sich über mich hingebeugt. "Ist der

²⁸ Ibid., 124-26. I would argue, in contrast to Ljunggren, that the importance of the setting as more than simply a background for events springs not only from Futurism, but from the pre-Hoffmann Romantic (Novalisian) tradition, inherited through the Symbolists, of awe and respect for one's surroundings, which themselves are as much living and thinking beings as the hero.

Sandmann noch da?" stammelte ich. "Nein, mein liebes Kind, der ist lange, lange fort, der tut dir keinen Schaden!" (I: 336-337)²⁹

The music accompanying the otherworldly experience of Pasternak's insane hero comes not from "Der Sandmann", but from "Der goldene Topf", where the green snakes of inspiration sing to the student Anselmus with voices "like crystal bells" ("und es war, als ertönten die Blüten wie aufgehängene Kristallglöckchen." I: 182). The motif of inspiration underground comes not only from "Der Sandmann", but also from "Die Bergwerke zu Falun", following a pattern similar to that in "Der goldene Topf", in which the hero finds both otherworldly inspiration and his doom from the underground queen in the mine in which he works obsessively:

Als er wieder hinabfuhr in den Schacht, kam ihm in der Teufe alles ganz anders vor wie sonst. Die herrlichsten Gänge lagen offen ihm vor Augen, er arbeitete mit verdoppeltem Eifer, er vergaß alles, er mußte sich, auf die Oberfläche hinaufgestiegen, auf Pehrson Dahlsjö, ja auf seine Ulla besinnen, er fühlte sich wie in zwei Hälften geteilt, es war ihm, als stiege sein besseres, sein eigentliches Ich hinab in den Mittelpunkt der Erdkugel und ruhe aus in den Armen der Königin, während er in Falun sein düsteres Lager suche." (III: 193)

This duality of the hero, perhaps the most salient quality in Hoffmann's heroes, is reflected in another early Pasternak sketch, which reads strikingly like the above passage in "Die Bergwerke zu Falun". Pasternak writes in the early prose fragment "Mysh":

Ясно как божий день, что творчество имеет право подойти к Дмитрию Шестикрылову лишь в тот момент, когда он позовет это творчество, когда, вернее, он раздвоится и одна его часть замрет от неисчислимых скрещений в нем, а другая — та часть, что старше (его отеческое существо в нем), бросится на какой-то мистический балкон его души и станет чертить тревожные жесты и звать какого-то неизвестного, но не Бога и вообще не существо [...] (IV: 736)

The motif of the "mystic balcony" of creativity will come up again later in this chapter, as will the theme of the ailing, insane, and isolated artist, also one of the most significant and best-known themes in the work of Hoffmann. In the excerpts just

²⁹ E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke* (Munich: Winkler Verlag, 1960-1977). All quotations from Hoffmann will be taken from this edition unless otherwise specified.

discussed we can see in its most obvious form Pasternak's reception of the Hoffmannian concept of the dual nature of the artistic personality. Pasternak will transform this and other aspects of his reception of Hoffmann into more veiled form beginning already with his first published verse.

An example of the increasing subtlety of Pasternak's reception of Hoffmann texts can be found in his earliest published poetry. Ljunggren, as mentioned above, discusses Pasternak's reception of Hoffmann's "Ritter Gluck", in the obvious forms similar to those pointed out in this chapter in regard to other early prose sketches. In fact, "Ritter Gluck" provides quite specific subtexts to several early Pasternak texts on the nature of inspiration, subtexts which go beyond the status of mere launching points for experimental improvisations typical of his early sketches. In order to make the subtexts clearer in their context, I will quote a fairly long excerpt from "Ritter Gluck", and then turn to smaller points in the text. From Hoffmann:

— Durchs elfenbeinerne Tor kommt man ins Reich der Träume: wenige sehen das Tor einmal, noch wenigere gehen durch! — Abenteuerlich sieht es hier aus. Tolle Gestalten schweben hin und her, aber sie haben Charakter — eine mehr wie die andere. Sie lassen sich auf der Heerstraße nicht sehen: nur hinter dem elfenbeinernen Tor sind sie zu finden. Es ist schwer, aus diesem Reiche zu kommen; wie vor Alzizens Burg versperren die Ungeheuer den Weg — es wirbelt — es dreht sich — viele verträumen den Traum im Reiche der Träume — sie zerfließen im Traum — sie werfen keinen Schatten mehr, sonst würden sie am Schatten gewahr werden den Strahl, der durch dies Reich fährt; aber nur wenige, erweckt aus dem Traume, steigen empor und schreiten durch das Reich der Träume — sie kommen zur Wahrheit — der höchste Moment ist da: die Berührung mit dem Ewigen, Unaussprechlichen! — Schaut die Sonne an, sie ist der Dreiklang, aus dem die Akkorde, Sternen gleich, herabschießen und Euch mit Feuerfaden umspinnen. — Verpuppt im Feuer liegt Ihr da, bis sich Psyche emporschwingt in die Sonne." — [...]

“Als ich im Reich der Träume war, folterten mich tausend Schmerzen und Ängste! Nacht war's und mich schreckten die grinsenden Larven der Ungeheuer, welche auf mich einstürmten und mich bald in den Abgrund des Meeres versenkten, bald hoch in die Lüfte emporhoben. Da fuhren Lichtstrahlen durch die Nacht, und die Lichtstrahlen waren Töne, welche mich umfingen mit lieblicher Klarheit. — Ich erwachte von meinen Schmerzen und sah ein großes, helles Auge, das blickte in eine Orgel, und wie es blickte, gingen Töne hervor und schimmerten und umschlangen sich in herrlichen Akkorden, wie ich sie nie gedacht hatte. Melodien strömten auf und nieder, und ich schwamm in diesem Strom und wollte untergehen: da blickte das Auge mich an und hielt mich empor über den brausenden Wellen. — Nacht wurde es wieder, da traten zwei Kolosse in glänzenden

Harnischen auf mich zu: Grundton und Quinte! sie rissen mich empor, aber das Auge lächelte: 'Ich weiß, was deine Brust mit Sehnsucht erfüllt; der sanfte, weiche Jüngling, Terz, wird under die Kolosse treten; du wirst seine süße Stimme hören, mich wieder sehen, und meine Melodien werden dein sein!' — (I: 18-19)

This text describing the process of inspiration, which itself owes a great deal to Novalis, is reflected in four Pasternak texts and a letter: two of his earliest published poems, "Liricheskij prostor" and "Venecija"; a slightly later poem from *Poverx bar'erov*, "Mel'nica" (already familiar from Chapter Two); his first autobiographical essay *Oxrannaja gramota*; and a letter to his parents from July 1914, which describes the events related in "Venecija" and *Oxrannaja gramota*. All of these texts have in common the description of Pasternak's experience of inspiration. The relationship of the "Venice" series to artistic inspiration may not be immediately evident; it becomes so only in the context of the rather large body of Pasternak works on the subject of inspiration. The Hoffmann subtexts make the relationship clearer as well.

I will begin with "Mel'nicy", as its role in the web of texts is the simplest.

Hoffmann's motif of spinning is commonly associated either with inspiration or some kind of nervous attack (the two, of course, are linked in Hoffmann). An excellent example of this is "Der Sandmann". Pasternak takes up this motif in "Mel'nicy". If Hoffmann links the sensation of spinning, or vertigo, with inspiration ("es wirbelt—es dreht sich"), then so does Pasternak:

Тогда просыпаются мельничные тени,
Их мысли ворочаются, как жернова. [...] (I: 99, 465)

The motif of the shadow in the Hoffmann text, "sie werfen keinen Schatten mehr", is clearly derived from Chamisso's "Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte", with its motif of the supernatural tragedy of losing one's shadow. This text is hinted at in the Pasternak text as well ("shadows of mills").³⁰

³⁰ One sees the metonym of the shadow of something elsewhere in Pasternak as well, for example in his poem "Neskuchnyj": "Poxozh i on na ten' gitary; S kotoroj, teshas', struny rvut." (I: 205) Here.

The motif of vertigo associated with inspiration links “Mel’nicity” with another of the Pasternak texts which the Hoffmann passage serves as subtext. Pasternak’s early poem “Liricheskij prostor”, analyzed thoroughly by Fleishman, explores the many-faceted experience of artistic inspiration.³¹ A close look at the network of synaesthetic images in Pasternak’s “lyric space” shows subtexts not only in Sergej Bobrov, as Fleishman has pointed out, but also in the Hoffmann passage quoted above.

In both works, poetic inspiration is associated with the dawn. (The reader will recall from Chapter Two that Novalis, whom Hoffmann read very closely and admired, connects the dawn with spiritual reawakening.) In Hoffmann:

[...] aber nur wenige, erweckt aus dem Traume, **steigen empor und schreiten durch das Reich der Träume** [...] (I: 18)

In Pasternak the underlying image is that of dawn:

Что ни утро, в плененьи барьера,
Непогод обезбрежив брезент,
Чердаки и кресты монгольфера
Вырываются в брезжущий тент. (I: 442)

The image of ascension already present in the first stanza is made in obvious reference to the poet in the last stanza:

Прирученный не вытерпит беркут,
И не сдержит твердынь карантин,
Те, что с тылу, бескрыльно померкнут,—
Окрыленно вспылишь ты один. (I: 442)

The distinction is made clear in the works of both Hoffmann and Pasternak that only the poet will rise up, while others are left behind. Clear, too, is the parallel in both texts made between the poet and the sun. This parallel is further underlined by the image of fire in both texts. The Hoffmann text continues, underlining again the theme of artistic vertigo:

however, the word “shadow” implies the belittling of the hero. In Pasternak’s poem “Zerkalo” we see a meaning closer to Hoffmann’s text here: not the poet himself is visible, but only the steam from his cocoa. This image will be explored later in this chapter.

“[...] Schaut die Sonne an, sie ist der **Dreiklang**, aus dem die Akkorde, Sternen gleich, herabschieden und Euch mit **Feuerfaden** umspinnen. — **Verpuppt im Feuer** liegt Ihr da, bis sich Psyche emporschwingt in die Sonne.” (I: 18)

In Pasternak, the sun is also depicted as a fiery source which burns the poet (in the last stanza). In stanza two the sun/fire/dawn link becomes clearer:

Их напутствуют знаком беспалым,
Возвестившим пожар каланче,
И прощаются дали с опалом
На твоей догоревшей свече. (I: 442)

Thus in both texts the poet inspired is likened to a rising sun, alone among the uninitiated.

If we return to the Hoffmann excerpt just quoted, we reach another important motif, that of the triad or triangle. This links the Hoffmann text not only with “Liricheskij prostor”, but with the other four Pasternak texts, those belonging to the “Venice” series.

The triangle appears in the penultimate stanza of “Liricheskij prostor”:

И когда твой блуждающий ангел
Испытает причалов напор,
Журавлями налажен, триангль
Отзвенит за тревогою хорд. (I: 442)

Pasternak found the image of the triangle important enough to point out its significance in an explanatory letter to Bobrov, which accompanied the text of the poem. (Pasternak notes to non-musician Bobrov that a triangle is an orchestral instrument.)³² As Fleishman points out, Pasternak’s poem works with the double image of the triangle to indicate both the triangular “lyric space” between poet, text, and reader discussed in Bobrov’s essay “Liricheskaja tema”, and the musical instrument.³³ Pasternak is making use in characteristic fashion of a synaesthetic and bilingual pun, one which Bobrov would also have appreciated. The sounding of the triangle indicates the moment of the poet’s

³¹ Lazar Fleishman, “Fragmenty ‘futurističeskoj’ biografii Pasternaka”, *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 4, 1979, 79-113.

³² Pasternak, letter to Sergej Bobrov of 27 September 1913. Quoted from Pasternak, I: 729.

³³ Fleishman, *Ibid.*

break away, the beginning of the flight of inspiration. The juxtaposition of the words “triangl” and “xorda” (in the sense of strings, here in the genitive plural)³⁴ constitutes a similar pun with the French (and English) meaning of the word “chord” in music. The image of flying cranes in the penultimate stanza reinforces the image of the triangle in its visual, as opposed to aural, sense. The synaesthetic nature of Pasternak’s imagery harks back to the dual nature of light/fire and sound in the Hoffmann text: “Da fuhren Lichtstrahlen durch die Nacht, und die Lichtstrahlen waren Töne, welche mich umfingen mit lieblicher Klarheit.” (I: 19) In both texts, the triangle indicates a strived-for unity and the onset of inspiration associated with that sense of integrity. Hoffmann ends the scene quoted above with the message:

“[...] — Nacht wurde es wieder, da traten zwei Kolosse in glänzenden Harnischen auf mich zu: Grundton und Quinte! sie rissen mich empor, aber das Auge lächelte: ‘Ich weiß, was deine Brust mit Sehnsucht erfüllt; der sanfte, weiche Jüngling Terz wird unter die Kolosse treten; du wirst seine süße Stimme hören, mich weider sehen, und meine Melodien werden dem sein!’” (I: 19)

The image of the triangle brings us to the other related Pasternak texts, in the “Venice” series. In this series of texts the morning comes suddenly (in a metaphoric sense: that is, the poet is awakened suddenly), and the positive image of the triangle becomes instead the three-fingered scorpio-like sign indicating a guitar arpeggio.³⁵ Note that the image of strings unites the two Pasternak poems.

Все было тихо, и, однако,
Во сне я слышал крик, и он
Подобьем смолкнувшего знака
Еще тревожил небосклон.

Он вис презубцем скорпиона
Над гладью стихших мандолин [...] (“Venecija”, 1928, I: 56)

In the first, 1913, version of the poem, Pasternak maintains the word “chord”, more closely associating the guitar chord with the scorpio sign:

³⁴ Many thanks to Irina Prihod’ko and Alexander Penkovsky for pointing out this meaning to me.

Висел созвучьем Скорпиона
Трезубец вымерших гитар,
Еще морского небосклона
Чадящий не касался шар;

В краях, подвластных зодиакам,
Был громко одинок аккорд.
Трехжалым не встревожен знаком,
Вершил свои туманы порт.

Земля когда-то оторвалась,
Дворцов развернутых тесьма,
Планетой всплыли арсеналы,
Планетой понеслись дома.

И тайну бытия без корня
Постиг я в час рожденья дня:
Очам и снам моим просторней
Сновать в туманах без меня.

И пеной бешеных цветений,
И пеною взбешенных морд
Срывался в брезжущие тени
Руки не ведавший аккорд. ("Venecija", 1913, I: 435)

Hoffmann raises the same spectre of an unworldly insect in connection with musical, and actually synaesthetic, inspiration:

"Als ich im Reich der Träume war, folterten mich tausend **Schmerzen und Ängste!** Nacht war's und mich schreckten die **grinsenden Larven der Ungeheuer**, welche auf mich einstürzten und mich bald in den **Abgrund des Meeres versenkten**, bald hoch in die Lüfte emporhoben. Da fuhren Lichtstrahlen durch die Nacht, und **die Lichtstrahlen waren Töne**, welche mich umfingen mit lieblicher Klarheit. — **Ich erwachte von meinen Schmerzen** und sah ein großes, helles Auge, das blickte in eine Orgel, und wie es blickte, gingen Töne hervor und schimmerten und umschlangen sich in herrlichen Akkorden, wie ich sie nie gedacht hatte. **Melodien strömten auf und nieder**, und **ich schwamm in diesem Strom und wollte untergehen**: da blickte das Auge mich an und hielt mich empor über den brausenden Wellen. [...]" (I: 19)

Hoffmann goes further in his metaphor to describe a sea of sound in which the narrator wished to drown. Here the dream scene harks back to the first prophetic dream at the opening of Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, in which the hero both wanders over

³⁵ On this image see I. P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*. See also Joseph Børtnes, "Når mennesket tier

the earth and seas and swims in a pool; Heinrich's dream, like the dream here in "Ritter Gluck", sets the hero apart from others by his ability to be so inspired. Pasternak responds to the metaphor of swimming in sound. In the 1913 version he merely hints at this in his images of the "maritime horizon" and of the "foam of rabid blossomings" (which recalls Pasternak's extensive use of the image of sea foam throughout his work to indicate the mythic birth of creativity, to be discussed later in this chapter). His hint at the image of the "swim of inspiration" is strongest in the fourth stanza of the poem ("Zemlja kogda-to otorvalas'...", I: 435). In the 1928 revised version Pasternak makes direct reference to the metaphor of the poet's diving into a sea of inspiration. He does so, however, with his characteristic use of metonymy: rather than directly portraying the poet diving into the sea, Pasternak portrays the city both directly and metaphorically as a Venetian woman diving into the water.³⁶

Размокшей каменной баранкой
В воде Венеция плыла.

[...]

Туда, голодные, противясь,
Шли волны, шлендая с тоски,
И гондолы рубили привязь,
Точа о пристань тесаки.

За лодочную их стоянкой
В остатках сна рождалась явь.
Венеция венецианкой
Бросалась с набережных вплавь. (I: 56)

The difference between the 1913 and 1928 versions in relation to the Hoffmann subtext shows a technique similar to Pasternak's relationship to subtexts from Novalis, as described in Chapter Two. At certain points Pasternak tends to move away from the

og bildet taler: Tanker om Pasternaks estetik", *Boris Pasternak och hans tid*, 67-68.

³⁶ It is typical for Pasternak to portray himself in the form of female alter egos. The clearest example of this is the heroine of his story "Detstvo Ljuvers". See Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: The Voice of Prose*, 14, and his *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*.

subtext, “covering his tracks”, in Fleishman’s words;³⁷ yet in other ways, his 1928 revision of the poem reveals other links to the Hoffmann subtext. If in the 1913 version Pasternak makes more or less explicit the link between the image of the three-pronged scorpion sign and the sign for a guitar arpeggio, making reference to Hoffmann’s use of the word “chord” and harking back to Hoffmann’s imagery of the completed triad as a sign of fulfilled inspiration, then in 1928, while abandoning the use of the word “chord”, Pasternak recalls another aspect of the same Hoffmann subtext: the Novalisian swim of inspiration.

This link with the Hoffmann subtext in both versions of the poem brings to light another interpretation of the Pasternak text. On the one hand, as Smirnov points out, the 1928 revision of the text hints at the image of the injured woman, an image which recurs throughout Pasternak’s work, not the least in his novel *Doktor Zhivago*.³⁸ (The scream heard in the poem comes, in the 1928 version, perhaps from an “insulted woman”, “zhenshchinoju oskorblennoj”.) It hints at the same time at the theme of suicide, also a recurring theme in Pasternak’s work, as, for example, in his 1915 poem “Marburg”, revised as well in 1928.³⁹ In light of the Hoffmann subtext and its relationship to Novalis’s *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, however, one can see the text as one of many images in Pasternak’s work of a creative epiphany. This links the text to “Liricheskij prostor”, which was discussed above in regard to the same Hoffmann subtext. Both these Pasternak poems from his first book of verse depict the morning as a time of artistic awakening. Both depict that awakening as a kind of break, as Fleishman has pointed out:⁴⁰ in “Liricheskij prostor” it is a break from the ties binding the poet to the earth to allow him to fly upwards, and in “Venecija” it is a break from the land, signaled by the opening breaking

³⁷ Lazar Fleishman, “Fragmenty ‘futuristicheskoi’ biografii Pasternaka”, *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 4, 1979, 79-113, and his “Problems in the Poetics of Pasternak”, *PTL*, 4, 1979, 43-61.

³⁸ I. P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*, 36-37. For a discussion of other subtexts to “Venecija”, see Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 35-46.

³⁹ *Ibid.* See also Smirnov, “Dostoevskij i poèzija Pasternaka (‘Marburg’), in *Dostoevskij und die Literatur* (Köln-Vienna, 1983), 275-96; and Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 107.

of glass (“Ja byl razhbuzhen spozaranku/ Shchelchkom okonnogo stekla.”, 1928, I: 56; or the more revelatory: “Ja byl razhbuzhen spozaranku/ Brjacan’em mutnogo stekla.”, 1913, I: 435) to allow the poet to break free from the land outwards to sea. Both of these breaks are harkened by a musical sound: the ring of a triangle in “Liricheskij prostor”, and the sound of a guitar chord in “Venecija”. The seemingly violent image of breaking glass and, in 1928, the suicide of an insulted woman can actually be seen as the dark side of the image of that break from reality which, in Pasternak’s poetic world, is artistic inspiration.

This interpretation is underlined in Pasternak’s 1914 letter to his parents explaining his experiences in Venice:

[...] где чуткость достигает того предела напряжения, когда все готово стать осязаемым и даже отзвучавшее, отчетливо взятое арпеджио на канале перед рассветом повисает каким-то членистотельным знаком одиноких в утреннем безлюдье звуков [...] (I: 640, quoted from commentary to “Venecija”)

The connection of this image of artistic ephiphany to a drowning is also explained by Pasternak to his parents in July 1914:

Если довести это до парадокса, можно сказать, что художник окружен снаружи своею мыслью и тем, что называют вообще душой, и что он носит в себе все то, что называется окружающим миром, все то, отчего люди загорают и простуживаются, чем они дышат и что они возделывают. И если бы художник решился на самоубийство, скажи, разве это парадокс, если бы я сказал, что он должен затонуть сам в себе?⁴⁰

Finally, Pasternak’s description in prose of the events in Venice which prompted the poem of that name, in his first autobiographical essay, *Oxrannaja gramota*, shows a further reference to the Hoffmann subtext:

В стихах я дважды пробовал выразить ощущение, навсегда связавшееся у меня с Венецией. Ночью перед отъездом я проснулся в гостинице от гитарного арпеджио, оборвавшегося в момент пробуждения. Я поспешил к окну, под которым плескалась вода, и стал вглядываться в даль ночного неба так внимательно,

⁴⁰ Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 225.

⁴¹ Pasternak, letter to his parents, July 1914. Quoted from *Boris Pasternak ob iskusstve* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1990), 304.

точно там мог быть след мгновенно смолкшего звука. Судя по моему взгляду, посторонний сказал бы, что я спросонья исследую, не взойшло ли над Венецией какое-нибудь новое созвездие, со смутно готовым представленьем о нем как о Созвездьи Гитары. (IV: 210)

This passage recalls Hoffmann's connection of chords with stars surrounding the onlooker with fire:

"[...] aber nur wenige, **erweckt aus dem Traume**, steigen empor und schreiten durch das Reich der Träume— sie kommen zur Wahrheit— der höchste Moment ist da: die Berührung mit dem Ewigen, Unausprechlichen! — Schaut die Sonne an, sie ist der Dreiklang, aus dem **die Akkorde, Sternen gleich**, herabschießen und Euch mit Feuerfaden umspinnen. — Verpuppt im Feuer liegt Ihr da, bis sich Psyche emporschwingt in die Sonne." (I: 18)

This scene in Pasternak, viewed in the context of the Hoffmann subtext, is linked as well to another poem of Pasternak about morning revelations, a poem which itself has a subtext in Novalis, discussed in Chapter Two— "Marburg":⁴²

И тополь — король. Королева — бессонница.
И фёрзь — соловей. Я тянусь к соловью.
И ночь побеждает, фигуры сторонятся,
Я белое утро в лицо узнаю. (1916, I: 493)

The subject of "Marburg", we will recall, is the poet's resurrection from thoughts of suicide prompted by a rejected proposal of marriage, to thoughts regarding his future vocation as a poet.

All of the texts we have examined here are tied by the underlying theme of an artistic "resurrection" of sorts. Artistic inspiration is depicted as a break delineating darkness from light, bondage from freedom. Pasternak directly links death with new life in his letter to his parents on artistic production as a kind of drowning within oneself. All of this has as a subtextual underpinning the Hoffmann text, which depicts a similar artistic "resurrection" in allegorical terms reminiscent of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, complete with the Masonic symbol of the triangle. The price of inspiration is initial suffering. Only

⁴² Cf. Fleishman's comparison of the two poems, "Venecija" and "Marburg", in regard to the transitional state between sleep and wakefulness, imaginary and real: see Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 251.

artists of genius make it through the gauntlet of trials an artist must face. This fundamentally Romantic notion is one which remains with Pasternak throughout his literary career.

The play in the Hoffmann and Pasternak texts examined here between poetic flights to the sky above and the sea below brings us to three more instances of intertextual connections between Pasternak and Hoffmann on the theme of inspiration: the common image of poetry or song as dueling nightingales, a small connection on the theme of the inspirational flight upward, and a larger network of connections on the theme of foam and inspiration.

Pasternak's famous poem on poetry, "Opredelenie poëzii", describes poetry in terms of the material which makes it. The first two stanzas read as follows:

Это — круто налившийся свист,
 Это — щелканье сдавленных льдинок,
 Это — ночь, леденящая лист,
 Это — двух соловьев поединок.

Это — сладкий заглохший горох,
 Это — слезы вселенной в лопатках,
 Это — с пультов и с флейт — **Figaro**
 Низвергается градом на грядку. (I: 134)

In Chapter Two, we examined Novalis subtexts to this passage, subtexts which connect the image of poetry to nature which forms it; this is an idea which is critical to the understanding of both Pasternak and Novalis. In Hoffmann, we find another subtext, one which connects the poem to the world of man, rather than that of nature. Hoffmann must clearly have had Novalis in mind, as is the case with much of his writing, in which he takes a Novalisian image and alters or polemicizes with it. In this case, Hoffmann takes the image of dueling nightingales and places it in a salon setting. From his "Brief des Kapellmeisters Kreisler an den Baron Wallborn":

— Zudem hatte man mich auch ja heute abend anders vorgezeichnet; ich hieß nämlich Doktor Schulz aus Rathenow, weil ich nur unter dieser Vorzeichnung, dicht am Flügel stehend, den Gesang zweier Schwestern anhören durfte — zwei im Wettgesang kämpfende Nachtigallen, aus deren tiefster Brust hell und glänzend die herrlichsten Töne auffunkelten. — Sie

scheuten des Kreislers tollen Spleen, aber der Doktor Schulz war in dem musikalischen Eden, das ihm die Schwestern erschlossen, mild und weich und voll Entzücken, und die Schwestern waren versöhnt mit dem Kreisler, als in *ihn* sich der Doktor Schulz plötzlich umgestaltete. — (I: 291)

This passage from the insane musician Kreisler seems on the surface to have little in common with the tone of Pasternak's poem; common only is the image of the duelling nightingales. Yet the salon setting of the duet brings this text closer to Pasternak's Figaro from music stands, and the overall image of the sisters singing in a duet and enclosing Kreisler/Doktor Schulz into a "musical Eden", in which they were reconciled with him, comes close to the meaning of Pasternak's definition of poetry in its context, within the larger book of verse entitled *Sestra moja zhizn'*. Life and poetry/music are reconciled into one, and heaven (or the universe) is brought closer to earth through artistic creation. Later in the poem, however, Pasternak laughs at Hoffmann's image of "musical Eden". After writing about poetry as elements of nature raining down from heaven, Pasternak writes in the last stanza of the poem:

Площе досок в воде — духота.
Небосвод завалился ольхою.
Этим звездам к лицу б хохотать,
Ан вселенная — место глухое. (I: 134)

As we have seen in Chapter Two, with Pasternak's early prose fragments, it is typical Pasternakian technique to quote a Romantic image, and then to mock it. Here the laughter is double, as Pasternak takes a Hoffmann subtext which is itself ironic, and then treats even the ironic subtext with further irony. The underlying message, however, is far from ironic; it shows Pasternak's profoundly Romantic world view.⁴³

Pasternak visits at several points in his verses the Romantic motif of the artist's attic or small studio. In the third poem of the "Vesna" cycle of *Poverx bar'erov*, "Razve tol'ko grjaz' vidna vam" (I: 83), Pasternak speaks of the "Zorkost' cherdakov", the "vigilance of attics". In his homage to Romanticism, "Pro èti stixi" (I: 110), the second introductory

⁴³ See also Victor Terras, "Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics".

poem to *Sestra moja zhizn'*, Pasternak writes of the poet metonymically as the poet's attic: "Zadeklamiruet cherdak [...]". Pasternak's poem "Iz suever'ja" (I: 121), also from *Sestra moja zhizn'*, has as its setting and as one of its themes the small studio in which he had lived and written in the past:

Коробка с красным померанцем—
 Моя каморка.
 О, не об номера ж мараться,
 По гроб, до морга! (I: 121)

This recurring motif of the tiny artist's studio or attic is, of course, a Romantic cliché. Nevertheless, one of the classic expressions of this motif is Hoffmann's "Des Veters Eckfenster". One can see similarities between Pasternak's imagery and Hoffmann's in particular, in their common contrast of the closeness of the room with the great space outside to which the room has access, being high above the ground. Hoffmann sets his tale as follows:

Es ist nötig zu sagen, daß mein Vetter ziemlich hoch in kleinen niedrigen Zimmern wohnt. Das ist nun Schriftsteller- und Dichtersitte. Was tut die niedrige Stubendecke? **die Phantasie fliegt empor** und baut sich ein hohes, lustiges Gewölbe bis in den blauen glänzenden Himmel hinein. So ist **des Dichters enges Gemach**, wie jener zwischen vier Mauern eingeschlossene zehn Fuß ins Gevierte große Garten, zwar nicht breit und lang, hat aber stets eine schöne Höhe. (IV: 598)

The interaction of inside and outside in the Hoffmann text is a common element of Pasternak's indoor landscapes as well, as, for example, in his "Zerkalo", which will be examined below.

The more important direction for Pasternak from the Hoffmann text examined in detail earlier in the chapter is not upward, toward the sky, but downward, toward the sea. A very important motif throughout Pasternak's poetry is the metaphor of foam for poetry or creation in general. The most obvious antecedent of such a metaphor is, of course, from Greek mythology and the birth of Aphrodite. Another, however, can be found in Novalis, through the intermediary of Hoffmann. One of the key statements made in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, by Heinrich's sceptical father, after having heard Heinrich's

account of his first fantastic dream, is “Träume sind Schäume” (I: 198). Hoffmann picks up on the quotation from Novalis in his story “Der Magnetiseur”:

Träume sind Schäume, das ist ein altes körnichtes, recht ehrlich deutsches Sprichwort, aber Ottmar hat es so fein gewendet, so subtilisiert, daß ich, indem er sprach, in meinem Haupte ordentlich die Bläschen fühlte, die aus dem Irdischen entwickelt, aufstiegen, um sich mit dem höheren geistigen Prinzip zu vermählen. (I: 148)

Alles das, was du mit deinem mystischen Alban aus allen Winkeln, ja ich möchte sagen, gleichsam aus einer fantastischen Rumpelkammer zusammensuchst, um daraus ein künstliches Gebäude, dem jedes feste Fundament fehlt, aufzuführen, rechne ich zu den Träumen, die nach meinem Grundsatz Schäume sind und bleiben. **Der Schaum, den das Getränk aufwirft, ist unhaltbar, geschmacklos, kurz, ebensowenig das höhere Resultat der innern Arbeit als die Späne, welche dem Drechsler wegfliegen**, die, hat der Zufall ihnen auch eine gewisse Form gegeben, man doch wohl nie für das Höhere halten wird, welches der Künstler bei seiner Arbeit bezweckte. (I: 153-154)

This phrase in connection with Hoffmann finds expression in the writings of the great 19th-century Russian critic Belinskij, in a letter quoted in the third “Hoffmaniana” published in 1914 in *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam*. Belinskij writes: “Xochetsja perechest' ego ‘Chto pena v vine, to sny v golove.’ — Al'bano ne fantasmagorija, a dejstvitel'nost': *teper' ja èto znaju.*”⁴⁴ This quotation is significant for Pasternak not only because of the famous phrase which inspires his writing, but also because of the word “fantasmagoria”: this was the title of a poem by Nikolaj Aseev, from his 1914 collection *Nochnaja flejta*. Pasternak responded to this poem in his 1914 poem “Vozmozhnost’”. It is difficult to say whether Aseev, himself an admirer of Hoffmann, read the entry in “Hoffmaniana” before writing his poem, but it is possible.

Pasternak takes Hoffmann’s gently ironic treatment of Novalisian “artistic foam” and expands on the image, treating it at face value, rather than with Hoffmann’s irony. If Novalis pokes fun at the very statement “Träume sind Schäume” as the closed-minded opinion of an unfeeling cynic, Hoffmann’s character turns the saying around to condemn frivolous storytelling as opposed to serious literature. Pasternak connects the image to

⁴⁴ “Hoffmaniana. 3. Russkie pisateli o Goffmane”, *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam*, 3, 1914, 86.

Novalis's motif of "edible" nature as food for artistic creation, discussed in Chapter Two. As the reader may recall, an intermediary text using this metaphor is Rimbaud's "Oraison du Soir", in which the poet likens poetic inspiration to beer drinking and writing poetry to urination. Pasternak picks up on the Hoffmann subtext, however, in likening poetic creation not only to foam, but to sawdust, as Hoffmann's speaker does. Both metaphors for poetry are linked by the typically Pasternakian image of the storm.

The image of woodchips or sawdust as a by-product of poetic creation appears only once in Pasternak, in "Mel'nicy", discussed at length in Chapter Two:

Когда же беснуются куры и стружки,
И дым коромыслом, и пыль столбом,
И падают капли медяшками в кружки
И резко, и изредка лишь — серебром,—

Тогда просыпаются мельничные тени,
Их мысли ворочаются, как жернова [...] (I: 465)

In the context of the discussion of the poem in Chapter Two, it is clear that the sawdust whirling from the ground is not merely atmospheric, but contributes to the general metaphor of the mill as the creative process. This harks back to the Hoffmann text quoted above; in contrast to the views of Hoffmann's speaker, however, the poem portrays all of the details surrounding the turning of the mill as parts of the creative process which have a significance of their own, as part of the general whirlwind.

The image of foam is treated in a similar way in Pasternak's poetry, only with still greater significance. It is at once the reaction of nature to the storm of inspiration, and a part of that creative storm (rather than the mere fluff which Hoffmann's speaker holds it to be), as well as the foam of the Rimbaud beer of inspiration taken in by the poet. In the Pasternakian storm of "Тема" in his "Тема с варијацијама" the foam is mythic, iridescent, indicative of the glow of inspiration. The comparison of the illuminated foam to candles is a clear signal in Pasternak, since he uses the metaphor (or metonym) of candles to indicate the poet at work throughout his career. From "Тема":

Скала и шторм. Скала и плащ и шляпа.

Скала и—Пушкин. [...]

В осатаненьи льющееся пиво
 С усов обрывов, мысов, скал и кос,
 Мелей и миль. И гул, и полыханье
 Окаченной луной, как из лохани,
 Пучины. Шум и чад и шторм взасос.
 Светло как днем. Их освящает пена.
 От этой точки глаз нельзя отвлечь.
 Прибой на сфинкса не жалеет свеч
 И заменяет свежими мгновенно.

Скала и шторм. Скала и плащ и шляпа.
 На сфинксовых губах — соленый вкус
 Туманностей. Песок кругом заляпан
 Сырыми поцелуями медуз.
 Он чешуи не знает на сиренах,
 И может ли поверить в рыбий хвост
 Тот, кто хоть раз с их чашечек коленных,
 Пил бившийся как об лед отблеск звезд? (I: 183)

The first variation on the theme presented by Pasternak, “Original’naja”, continues to develop the mixed motifs of sea foam and beer foam for poetic creation. The development of these motifs involves recourse to a Novalisian image, that of the foam as glowing phosphate, itself in Novalis also a metaphor for creativity:

Где ввысь от утеса подброшен
 Фонтан, и кого-то позвать
 Срываются гребни, но — тошно
 И страшно, и — рвется фосфат. (I: 184)

Pasternak returns to the image of poetry as foam later in the book of verse *Temy i varijacii*, in the poem “Oreshnik”: “I pesnja—kak pena.” (I: 207). Finally, he returns to the image of seafoam, hinting at poetry, in his 1931 cycle “Volny”: “Kak pen’e morja penoj voln.” (I: 374). This line recalls the motif of the “swim of inspiration” discussed above in relation to Novalis and Hoffmann.

In Hoffmann’s poetic world, and frequently in Pasternak’s, inspiration is inextricably linked with illness. Inspiration frequently comes on, according to these writers, only when the writer is ill or insane. Pasternak occasionally treats inspiration itself as an illness. This subject was discussed in Chapter Two; however, the image of the ailing

artist is one of the hallmarks of Hoffmann's work, and perhaps the one which left the greatest impact on literature after him. It makes sense, therefore, that Pasternak would find rich material in Hoffmann's writings on inspiration as illness and on the ailing or insane poet.

One of the most intriguing examples of this in Pasternak's work is the poem "Zerkalo", whose most important underlying theme is the mesmeric daze of inspiration and the resulting blurring of vision and reality. "Zerkalo" is also one of the most complicated Pasternak poems in regard to its connection with Hoffmann subtexts. As Anna Ljunggren has pointed out, the poem forms a diptych with the following poem in *Sestra moja zhizn'*, "Devochka", so I will treat the two together here.⁴⁵ Jean Marie Schultz points out that "Zerkalo" involves a tightly interlocking network of sub-texts which defy efforts at one unified interpretation.⁴⁶ This is also true in regard to the subtextual network behind the construction of the poem and its partner poem. Both Schultz and Ljunggren point out the importance of the motif of mesmerism in the poem, Ljunggren going as far as to show the presence of an anagram on the name Mesmer in "Zerkalo".⁴⁷ What they do not point out, however, is that Pasternak's acquaintance with mesmerism came in part through Hoffmann. "Zerkalo" and "Devochka" quote a series of Hoffmann texts on the themes of mesmerism, reality vs. illusion, mysterious events involving mirrors, and in particular visions of a girl in mirrors.

"Zerkalo" opens with a reference to a Hoffmann subtext, from "Das öde Haus".

The Pasternak poem begins:

В трюмо испаряется чашка какао,
 Качается тюль, и — прямой
 Дорожкой в сад, в бурелом и хаос
 К качелям бежит трюмо. (I: 114)

⁴⁵ Anna Ljunggren, "'Sam' i 'Ja sam': smysl i kompozicija stixotvorenija 'Zerkalo'", in *Boris Pasternak and His Times. Selected Papers from the Second International Symposium on Pasternak*, ed. Lazar Fleishman (Berkeley: Modern Russian Culture. Studies and Texts, Vol. 25, 1989), 224-37.

⁴⁶ Jean Marie Schultz, "Pasternak's 'Zerkalo'", *Russian Literature*, 13, 1983, 81-100.

⁴⁷ Ljunggren, Schultz, op. cit.

A Hoffmann subtext from “Das öde Haus” gives us a hint as to the contents of the poem, called in its first variant “Ja sam”. One scene in the Hoffmann story juxtaposes cocoa steam and a mirror, in setting the story for the mysteries to come:

— Ich kehrte um und geradezu ein, in den leuchtenden Spiegelladen des dem öden Hause nachbarlichen Konditors. — Mit kühlendem Atem den heißen Schaum von der Schokolade wegblasend, [...] (I: 464)

The steam blown from the cocoa sets in motion a motif which becomes very important in the story, that of steam: the narrator finds that his breath in the mirror can call forth the mysterious image of a girl who has seemingly disappeared.

Nur so viel will ich sagen, daß ich unaufhörlich die Versuche mit dem Spiegel erneuerte, daß es mir oft gelang, das geliebte Bild durch meinen Hauch hervorzurufen, daß aber manchmal die angestrengtesten Bemühungen ohne Erfolg blieben. (I: 473)

Pasternak takes Hoffmann’s signal of the cocoa steam to hint at the subject of his own poem, which had been made clear in the first draft title: himself, the one important character in the poem who is invisible in the mirror. He hints more clearly at this in the seventh stanza of the poem, which had been missing from the poem’s first variant. We will come to the seventh stanza below. Moreover, one of the underlying themes of “Das öde Haus” is magnetism, also one of the most important themes of the Pasternak poem.

Pasternak first hints at the theme of mesmerism in the third stanza. This is not an obvious hint, however, and the connection to mesmerism becomes clear only through a Hoffmann subtext, from the introduction to the second volume of *Die Serapionsbrüder*.

The third stanza of the Pasternak poem reads:

И к заднему плану, во мрак, за калитку
 В степь, в запах сонных лекарств
 Струится дорожкой, в сучках и в улитках
 Мерцающий жаркий кварц. (I: 114)

The image of the “sleepy medicines”, reminiscent of a sleeping draught which, as Schultz has pointed out, hints at the hypnotism later in the poem,⁴⁸ hints also at a Hoffmann subtext on mesmerism as medicine. This text, the introduction to the second volume of *Die Serapionsbrüder*, is one of the most important subtexts to “Zerkalo”. Cyprian, Hoffmann’s alter ego,⁴⁹ writes:

“Erlaube”, nahm Cyprian das Wort, “erlaube lieber Lothar, daß ich die Zweifel, die du heute gegen den Magnetismus zu hegen beliebst, nur für das Erzeugnis einer augenblicklichen Stimmung halte. **Was ist der Magnetismus, als Heilmittel gedacht**, anders als die potenzierte Kraft des psychischen Prinzips, die nun vermag das Physische ganz zu beherrschen, es ganz zu erkennen, jeden, auch den leisesten abnormen Zustand darin wahrzunehmen und eben durch die volle Erkenntnis dieses Zustandes ihn zu lösen. Unmöglich kannst du die Macht unseres psychischen Prinzips wegleugnen, unmöglich dein Ohr verschließen wollen den wunderbaren Anklagen, die in uns hinein—, aus uns heraustönen, der geheimnisvollen Sphärenmusik, die das große unwandelbare Lebensprinzip der Natur selbst ist.” (III: 262-263)

Magnetism aside, these are words quite characteristic of Pasternak’s world view in general. The magnetism itself, though, is noted as a medicine against even the smallest abnormal conditions. The most recent Russian edition at the beginning of Pasternak’s literary career, the edition of Hoffmann’s collected words which appeared in Beketova’s translation in 1896, uses the same word as Pasternak for medicine:

Что такое, в самом деле, магнетизм, рассматриваемый как лекарство? не более, как сила воли нашего духовного существа, стремящаяся сперва понять наше физическое начало, затем подчинить его себе, а наконец переделать совершенно, т.е. вылечить. Я не предполагаю, чтобы ты стал отрицать психическую силу и не признавал чудных, таинственных звуков, пронизывающих всю нашу жизнь и служащих для нас как бы отголоском той дивной музыки сфер, которая составляет самую душу природы.⁵⁰

Thus the hypnotic drug of the outside is a reference to the magnetism, under whose power the poet finds himself. The soul of nature referred to in the Hoffmann subtext is

⁴⁸ Schultz, op. cit.

⁴⁹ E. M. Braudo, “E.T.A. Goffman. Oчерк” (St. Petersburg: Parfenon, 1922).

⁵⁰ E.T.A. Gofman. “Serapionovy brat’ja”. Chast’ II. *Sobranie sochinenij* (Moscow, 1896), II: 227.

opposed to the soul of the poet which has disappeared into the mirror, as we find later in the poem.

After a description of the garden and surroundings visible in the mirror in stanzas two and three, Pasternak changes the motion outward toward the garden from the room to its opposite direction, making the garden rush into the room and the mirror. The mirror does not break, despite the impact of the garden flying in.

Огромный сад тормозится в зале
В трюмо — и не бьет стекла! (I: 114)

This works in opposition to Hoffmann, who in two works describes demonic or insane characters who do break the glass. Images of a woman figure in both scenes, reminiscent of Pasternak's "Devochka". In one instance, the demonic figure is described in the context of a discussion of stealing the mirror's image. From "Die Gesellschaft im Keller", part of "Das Abenteuer der Silvester-Nacht":⁵¹

"Es ist so ganz wahr," sprach ich, "man möchte sagen, wie aus dem Spiegel gestohlen." Da sprang der Kleine wild auf, mit dem alten Gesicht und funkelnden Augen mich anstarrend schrie er: "Das ist albern, das ist toll, wer vermag aus dem Spiegel Bilder zu stehlen? — wer vermag das? meinst du, vielleicht der Teufel? — Hoho Bruder, der zerbricht das Glas mit der tölpischen Kralle, und die feinen weißen Hände des Frauenbildes werden auch wund und bluten." (I: 264)

In another case, in *Die Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*, a female character, the Princess Hedwiga, loses her senses and shatters a mirror.

Versichern kann ich, hochgebietende Exzellenz, daß unser gnädigster Herr sehr alarmiert sind seit dem Augenblick, als der gnädigsten Prinzessin Hedwiga, man weiß nicht wie, die fünf Sinne abhanden gekommen. Heute standen sie am Fenster ganz hoch aufgerichtet wohl eine halbe Stunde und trommelten mit den gnädigsten Fingern der rechten Hand schrecklich auf die Spiegelscheibe, daß es klirrte und krachte. (II: 493)

⁵¹ O. A. Gavrilova mentions this Hoffmann story as significant to Aleksandr Blok's work in her unpublished diplomnaja rabota, "Motif zerkala i otrazhenija v tvorcheskom soznanii A. A. Bloka". I am grateful to Irina Stepanovna Prihodko for allowing me to see her notes on this paper.

Pasternak opposes this dark Hoffmannian image of a mirror cracking with the positive solution of a mirror remaining whole. The mirror does, however, distort the image, making it hypnotically blurred, as if a liquid is being poured over it.

Казалось бы, все коллодий залил
С комода до шума в стволах. (I: 114)

The reader may recall from Chapter Two that there is a Novalis subtext to this image. There is also one in Hoffmann, with quite a different intent.

Hoffmann's *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* contains the motif of the distorting mirror. In one case the mirror is just that, and distorts Kreisler's image of himself. In another case, called the "invisible woman", Meister Abraham looks into the mirror and hears a woman's voice speaking out from the mirror in Italian. In the Hoffmann text:

Unfern der Türe, im vollen Schimmer des Lichts, erblickte Kreisler sein Ebenbild, sein eignes Ich, das neben ihm daherschritt. (II: 437)
[...]

Kreisler merkte die Wirkung eines verborgenen Hohlspiegels, und ärgerte sich, wie jeder, dem das Wunderbare, woran er geglaubt, zu **Wasser gemacht wird**. (II: 439)

[...] ein großer Spiegel hing an der Wand, der Türe des Zimmers gegenüber. Sowie ich zufällig vor diesen Spiegel trat, und meine Gestalt im schwachen Schimmer erblickte, durchströmte mich ein seltsames Gefühl, als befände ich mich auf dem Isolierstuhl einer Elektrisiermaschine. In demselben Augenblick sprach die Stimme des unsichtbaren Mädchens auf italienisch: 'Verschont mich nur heute, Vater! — geißelt mich nicht so grausam, Ihr seid ja doch nun gestorben!' (II: 442)

Hoffmann puts this story in the context of Mesmer:

Er brachte diesen erhöhten Zustand, in dem ein prophetischer Geist in dem Mädchen aufglühte, durch künstliche Mittel hervor—**denkt an Mesmer und seine furchtbaren Operationen**— und versetzte sie jedesmal, wenn sie wahrsagen sollte, in diesen Zustand. (II: 445)

Pasternak, too, connects the liquifying of the mirror to mesmerism in the stanza following the lines quoted just above:

Несметный мир семенит в месмеризме,
И только ветру связать,
Что ломится в жизнь и ломается в призме
И радо играть в слезах. (I: 114)

The hint at mesmerism, which appears immediately after the image of the mirror covered with a fluid, brings to mind the Romantic notion of a fluid connecting all living beings, a notion associated with mesmerism. Hoffmann discusses this idea in the introduction to the second part of *Die Serapionsbrüder*, before the story entitled “Der Magnetiseur”. The Serapion brothers discuss the powers and dangers of magnetism. During the discussion, Lothar calls any attempts to understand and manipulate the secrets of nature through the operations of magnetism the “unsichern Herumtappen des Blindgeborenen.” (III: 263). (We will see a reference to blindness later in “Zerkalo”.) He says further:

Ich will, ich kann nicht leugnen, die Erfahrung ist mir entgegen, daß das willkürliche Hervorrufen jenes potenzierten Seelenzustandes, ist er durch irgendeine Abnormität im Organism indiziert, möglich ist, daß ferner das fremde psychische Prinzip auf höchst mysteriöse Weise in **irgendein Fluidum**, oder wie man es sonst nennen mag—in das vom Magnetiseur ausgehende Agens überhaupt verkörpert und ausströmend (bei der magnetischen Manipulation) die geistige Potenz des Magnetisierten erfassen und jenen Zustand erzeugen kann, der von der Regel alles menschlichen Seins und Lebens abweicht und selbst in seiner hochgerühmten Verzückerung alles Entsetzen des fremdartigen Geisterreichs in sich trägt. (III: 264)

In other words, Pasternak’s collodion poured over the mirror is connected through the image of mesmerism to the notion of the psychic fluid to which Hoffmann became so attached and which he discussed in his writings. We have no evidence that Pasternak was familiar with writings on mesmerism and animal magnetism, but we do know that Pasternak read Hoffmann eagerly. The hypnotic state in which the poet finds himself in “Zerkalo” recalls the hypnotic states of Hoffmann’s mesmerised characters as, for example, in “Der Magnetiseur”.

But there is another element to the hypnosis involved: loss of self. The first draft of the Pasternak poem is called, as mentioned above, “Ja sam”. But “Ja sam” is absent throughout the poem. The room, the outside, even the cocoa steam are visible in the mirror, but not the onlooker himself. The following stanza of “Zerkalo” discusses the potential loss of one’s soul into this mirror, a dilemma which again refers to a passage in Hoffmann. Pasternak’s seventh stanza describes attempts to recover the soul of “Ja sam”

from the mirror, then reiterates that the outside world is visible in the mirror, but the poet is not:

Души не взорвать, как селитрой залежь,
 Не вырыть, как заступом клад.
 Огромный сад тормошится в зале
 В трюмо — и не бьет стекла. (I: 114)

The notion of stealing an image from the mirror in Hoffmann has been mentioned above. Hoffmann also plays with the idea of losing one's mirror image, likened to Peter Schlemihl's loss of his shadow and implicitly in both Hoffmann's and Chamisso's tales to the Faustian loss of one's soul to the devil. Hoffmann writes in "Erscheinungen":

"Sie kennen nun mein grenzenloses Elend," sprach er, "Schlemihl, die reine gute Seele, ist beneidenswert gegen mich Verworfenen. Leichtsinnig verkaufte er seinen Schlagschatten, aber ich! — **ich gab mein Spiegelbild ihr—ihr!**" (I: 267)

Stanza 8 of "Zerkalo" introduces the theme of creative blindness, a theme which was discussed in Chapter Two in reference to Novalis subtexts. First Pasternak refers to the metonym of blowing out his eyes rather than candles, and then to the image of slugs crawling across the eyes of the statues outside. The eyes, in either case, are obstructed or clouded.

И вот, в гипнотической этой отчизне
 Ничем мне очей не задуть.
 Так после дождя проползают слизи
 Глазами статуй в саду. (I: 115)

The reader will recall Hoffmann's reference to man's blind efforts to command the powers of nature through such operations as magnetism. In typical Pasternakian fashion, the poet is helpless (cannot blow out his eyes), and the garden identifies with the poet in being helpless (with slugs crawling across the garden statues' eyes). Both poet and outside world are powerless before this hypnotism. These themes continue in the last two stanzas of "Zerkalo".

The second poem of the diptych, "Devochka", introduces the theme of the branch as the poet's sister and a second mirror. The reflection in the mirror is now of the branch,

this girl. As I mentioned earlier, the motif of a girl appearing magically in a mirror appears more than once in Hoffmann. I have already quoted the passage in “Das öde Haus” in which the girl’s beloved image appears in the mirror when the narrator breathes into it, and the passage from *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* on the “invisible woman” in the mirror. In “Erscheinungen”, this motif appears more explicitly:

— Es war mir, als schwebe aus des Spiegels tiefstem Hintergrunde eine dunkle Gestalt hervor; sowie ich fester und fester Blick und Sinn darauf richtete, entwickelten sich in seltsam magischem Schimmer deutlicher die Züge eines holden Frauenbildes [...] (I: 265)

But there is another inversion presented in “Devochka”. Not only does the garden rush into the mirror, as in “Zerkalo”, but the garden appears itself as a second mirror, which rushes into the first. The first two stanzas of “Devochka” illustrate this, and make it clear that the “devochka” (little girl) is the branch rushing into the mirror, and a metonym for the entire garden, the poet’s second self:

Из сада, с качелей, с бухты-баракты
Вбегает ветка в трюмо!
Огромная, близкая, с каплей смарагда
На кончике кисти прямой.

Сад заслан, пропал за ее беспорядком,
За бьющей в лицо кутерьмой.
Родная, громадная, с сад, а характером —
Сестра! Второе трюмо! (I: 116)

The magical reflective quality of the garden, brought even closer to the poet than in “Zerkalo”, to the degree that it becomes the poet’s sister and second mirror, recalls a subtext in Hoffmann, again on mirrors. In “Prinzessin Brambilla” the narrator sees both himself and a magic garden in the eyes of a girl, as in a mirror. She becomes both his mirror and a mirror reflecting a landscape which inspires him to understand the spirit of music. The Hoffmann text reads:

— Da wagt ich es, ihr die Augen zu blicken, die starr auf mich gerichtet schienen und in dem Widerschein dieses holdseligen Spiegels ging mir erst der wundervolle Zaubergarten auf, in den das Engelsbild entrückt war. [...] Denn nun erst wurde das Geheimnis der Musik wach und sprach in Himmelslauten das Höchste aus — Ihr könnet mir glauben, daß ich nun

wirklich selbst im Widerschein jenes wunderbaren Spiegels, mitten im Zaubergarten stand. — (IV: 304)

In the same sense is the narrator of “Zerkalo” and “Devochka” inspired, “healed”, as Hoffmann’s Serapion Brothers would have it. The blindness described again in the third and final stanza of “Devochka”, and the drowsiness inspired by the “sleepy” medicine from “Zerkalo”, are symptoms not only of the hypnotic process of healing by magnetism, but also of a state of artistic epiphany expressed as well in “Venecija” with its set of Hoffmann subtexts on the same theme, discussed earlier. The final stanza of “Devochka”:

Но вот эту ветку вносят в рюмку
И ставят к раме трюмо.
Кто это,— гадают,— глаза мне рюмит
Тюремной людской дремой? (I: 116)

As the garden, in the character of the branch, is tamed, so too is the poet “imprisoned”. Outside is brought inside, and the sleepy poet’s eyes are clouded over just as the eyes of the garden statues are clouded by the slugs crawling across them. Both inside and outside are enclosed in the hypnotic cloud of inspiration. An identification with nature is in Pasternak’s poetic world a poetic self-discovery. The poet, in Pasternak’s words, only “copies from nature”; in order to do so and to create, he becomes a part of his surroundings, as occurs here in “Zerkalo” and “Devochka”. The outside world which had been an Other at the beginning of “Zerkalo”, a land of dark chaos, becomes a second mirror and a sister in “Devochka”. The mesmerism is doing its healing work. In this way Pasternak connects inspiration with a state of incapacitation. We examined subtexts to this notion from Novalis in Chapter Two; here we see that Hoffmann is present in Pasternak’s work on the subject as well.

Illness in Hoffmann has both a positive and a negative side. On the one hand, it can signify a kind of incapacitation which comes with inspiration, much the same as one can find in Novalis, as discussed in Chapter Two. We have just looked at an example of that above. On the other hand, Hoffmann’s illness can also signify the ailing state (if not yet death, as will later happen in some cases with Heine) of Romantic ideals epitomized in

the work of Novalis. Both of these sides of the poetic or Romantic illness find expression in Pasternak as well. It should be emphasized that inspiration and illness are closely intertwined in Pasternak's work. It is significant that the cycle called "Bolezn'" in the book of verse *Temy i variacij* immediately follows the cycle "Tema s varijacijami", dedicated to the theme of inspiration. (Two poems from that cycle were examined above in connection with the motif of foam in Hoffmann and Pasternak.)

Both Hoffmann and Pasternak connect headaches with inspiration. In Hoffmann, a light headache brings on a state in which he can visualize his own operas. In "Der Dichter und der Komponist", Hoffmann writes:

Ich will dir zugestehen, daß meine Phantasie wohl lebendig genug sein mag, manches gute Opernsujet zu erfinden; ja, daß, zumal, wenn nachts ein leichter Kopfschmerz mich in jenen träumerischen Zustand versetzt, der gleichsam der Kampf zwischen Wachen und Schlafen ist, mir nicht allein recht gute, wahrhaft romantische Opern vorkommen, sondern wirklich vor mir aufgeführt werden mit meiner Musik. (III: 80)

In "Nasha Groza", Pasternak associates a migraine with both love and poetry. The connection between the migraine and poetry is not clear for several stanzas.

О, верь игре моей, и верь
Гремящей вслед тебе мигрени!
Так гневу дня судьба гореть
Дичком в черешенной коре.
[...]
Куда мне радость деть мою?
В стихи, в графленную осьмину?
У них растрескались уста
От ядов писчего листа.

Они, с алфавитом в борьбе,
Горят румянцем на тебе. (I: 138-39)

The images of the poison on the paper, and the burning of the verses like the lover's cheek, connects the migraine of love to the migraine of writing. Love and writing become, in essence, one and the same.

Hoffmann also resorts to the image of poetry as poison. In a reference to Goethe which Heine later makes in "Die romantische Schule", Hoffmann writes in "Signor Formica":

Ich meine nämlich, daß solch eines Dichters Gemüt unbedingt vollkommen gesund, frei von jedem Kränkeln sein müsse, wie es wohl psychische Schwächlichkeit oder um mit dir zu reden, auch wohl irgendein mitgebornes Gift erzeugen mag. Wer konnte und kann sich solcher Gesundheit des Gemüts wohl mehr rühmen, als unser Altvater Goethe? (III: 849)

The image of poetry as poison appears in Hoffmann in a manner which is subsequently quoted by Heine. We will see in Chapter Four that Pasternak's "Pro èti stixi" quotes an ironic portrait of the half-crazed poet being forcibly poisoned by liquor.

Pasternak also quotes Hoffmann's similar image. In the closing to Hoffmann's

Serapionsbrüder:

Es gibt aber sonst ganz wackre Leute, die so schwerfälliger Natur sind, daß sie den raschen Flug der erregten Einbildungskraft irgendeinem krankhaften Seelenzustande zuschreiben zu müssen glauben und daher kommt es, daß man von diesem, von jenem Dichter bald sagt, er **schriebe nie anders, als berauschte Getränke genießend**, bald seine fantastische Werke auf Rechnung **überreizter Nerven und daher entstandenen Fiebers** setzt. (III: 994-995)

Pasternak takes this ironic portrait of the poet and strips it of its irony, glorifying the Romantic image of the half-feverish, half-crazed poet in his introduction to *Sestra moja zhizn'*:

Пока я с Байроном курил,
Пока я пил с Эдгаром По?

Пока в Дарьял, как к другу, вхож,
Как в ад, в цейхгауз и в арсенал,
Я жизнь, как Лермонтова дрожь,
Как губы в вермут, окунал. (I: 110)

The poet in Pasternak is not only feverish, he is lame. In Chapter Two we saw references to this in regard to subtexts from Jean Paul. Both writers equate lameness with inspiration. Pasternak's image of his own coming to inspiration when becoming lame, learning the rhythm of poetry and music as he walked unevenly, also has a subtext in Hoffmann's "Des Veters Eckfenster". We have already referred to this work in regard to the quintessentially Romantic image of the poet's tiny attic studio, where he floats above the world about which he writes. The image of the lame poet, so important to Pasternak, as we have seen earlier, appears here too. In the opening to Hoffmann's "Eckfenster":

Meinen armen Vetter trifft gleiches Schicksal mit dem bekannten Scarron. So wie dieser hat mein Vetter durch eine hartnäckige Krankheit den Gebrauch seiner Füße gänzlich verloren [...]. Aber noch eine Ähnlichkeit trägt mein Vetter mit jenem Franzosen [...]. So wie Scarron, schriftstellert mein Vetter [...] Doch eben dieser unbesiegbare Hang zur Schriftstellerei hat schwarzes Unheil über meinen armen Vetter gebracht; die schwerste Krankheit vermochte nicht den raschen Rädergang der Fantasie zu hemmen, der in seinem Innern fortarbeitete, stets Neues und Neues erzeugend. (IV: 597)

Also as in Pasternak's autobiographical works on the theme of his accident, resulting lameness, and birth of poetic feeling, Hoffmann connects the lameness of the cousin and his wheelchair-bound state with the creation of a kind of music, as his assistant whistles to the rhythm of his moving in the wheelchair:

Meine Beine sind durchaus ungetreue Vasallen, die dem Haupt des Herrschers abtrünnig geworden und mit meinem übrigen werten Leichnam nichts mehr zu schaffen haben wollen. Das heißt, ich kann mich nicht aus der Stelle rühren, und karre mich in diesem Räderstuhl hin und her auf anmutige Weise, wozu mein alter Invalide die melodiosesten Märsche aus seinen Kriegsjahren pfeift. (IV: 599)

The notion of the wheel inspiring melodies recalls Pasternak's image of the mills of poetry, also examined in Chapter Two. There is more to it here, however; we will return to the continuation of this excerpt from Hoffmann later in the Chapter.

Illness for Pasternak is not only the illness of any poet, but the Futurist-influenced notion of the death of the Romantic poet. In Pasternak, this attitude toward the Romantic image of the poet is rather a dose of self-irony than an actual rejection of that image, since Pasternak remained to the end of his career a profoundly Romantic poet who never ceased referring to the works and images of Romanticism. One image for the death of the Romantic idol used in Hoffmann will appear later in Heine as well: Hoffmann takes Novalis's symbol of the lyre to indicate the Romantic poet, and breaks the strings. In "Der Kampf der Sänger":

Als er eintrat zu Ofterdingen, lag dieser ausgestreckt auf dem Ruhebett, zum Tode matt, mit halbgeschlossenen Augen. Die Laute hing an der Wand ganz verstaubt, mit zum Teil zerrissenen Saiten. (III: 282)

This image of the broken stringed instrument becomes an ironic portrayal of the very artist who himself destroys the instrument. Here we see a parallel with Pasternak. In Hoffmann's *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*:

“Die Gitarre”, brach der Mann endlich los, “ist doch das miserabelste, unvollkommenste Instrument von allen Instrumenten, nur wert von girrenden liebeskrankenden Schäfen in die Hand gekommen zu werden [...] — und nun Gitarre klimpern — Hasenfuß! — Pfui Teufel!” — Damit schleuderte der Mann das Instrument weit von sich ins Gebüsch, und entfernte sich raschen Schrittes, ohne die Mädchen zu bemerken.

“Nun”, rief Julia nach einer Weile, lachend, “nun, Hedwiga, was sagst du zu dieser verwunderlichen Erscheinung? Wo mag der seltsame Mann her sein, der erst so hübsch mit seinem Instrument zu sprechen weiß und es dann verächtlich von sich wirft, wie eine zerbrochene Schachtel?”

“Es ist unrecht”, sprach Hedwiga wie im plötzlich aufwallenden Zorn, indem ihre verbleichten Wangen sich blutrot färbten, “es ist unrecht, daß der Park nicht verschlossen ist, daß jeder Fremde hinein kann.” (II: 338-339)

Pasternak takes Hoffmann's image of the broken instrument signifying the insanity and death of the Romantic image of the poet and turns the instrument itself into a metonymy for the poet as martyr, perhaps to his own ill-doing. In “Neskuchnyj”, from *Temy i variacii*, a poem which depicts the artificial garden which, as mentioned in Chapter Two, is the opposite of the garden of true nature characteristic in the previous book of verse, *Sestra moja zhizn'*, Pasternak depicts the poet as the shadow of a tortured guitar.

И, окуная парк за старой
Беседкою в заглохший пруд,
Похож и он на тень гитары,
С которой, тешась, струны рвут. (I: 205)

Not only is the sense of inspiration as illness common to both Pasternak and Hoffmann; both writers also discuss the incapacitation by what could be called “writer's block”. There is a series of poems on this theme in Pasternak's second book of verse, *Poverx bar'erov*. Hoffmann writes on this topic less often. In “Des Veters Eckfenster”, he connects the lameness of the artistic cousin to his creative gift, as was examined above. The cousin also suffers from the inability to put his inspiration into words, however:

Aber den Weg, den der Gedanke verfolgen mußte, um auf den Papiere
gestaltet zu erscheinen, hatte der böse Dämon der Krankheit versperrt.
Sowie mein Vetter etwas aufschreiben wollte, versagten ihm nicht allein die

Finger den Dienst, sondern **der Gedanke selbst war verstoben und verflogen**. Darüber verfiel mein Vetter in die schwärzeste Melancholie. (IV: 597)

Pasternak's "Mel'nicy", part of the series in *Poverx bar'erov* on stifled inspiration, connects the wheel image from "Des Veters Eckfenster" quoted above and the image of thoughts turning to dust. The giant mill in Pasternak's poem raises dust before devouring everything around it.

И веянье крыл у надкрыльев
Жуков — и головокруженье голов,
От пыли, головокружительной пыли
И от плясовых головешек костров.

Когда же беснуются куры и стружки,
И дым коромыслом, и пыль столбом,
И падают капли медяшками в кружки
И резко, и изредка лишь — серебром,—

Тогда просыпаются мельничные тени,
Их мысли ворочаются, как жернова [...] (I: 465)

The same image of dust for unproduced poetry appears in the poem "Dusha", from the same series in *Poverx bar'erov*:

О,— в камне стиха, даже если ты канула,
Утопленница, даже если — в пыли,
Ты бьешься, как билась княжна Тараканова,
Когда февралем залило равелин. (I: 73)

Analogous images of dust, flakes, salt, and dry leaves pepper the entire section on stifled inspiration in *Poverx bar'erov*. This is to be distinguished from the monad-like or quantum-like image of particles elsewhere in Pasternak (in his early prose and throughout his poetry, as discussed in Chapter Two);⁵² here, the particles indicate the dry lack of fertility (as opposed to the water imagery splashed throughout *Sestra moja zhizn'*), or the decay of death. The cousin's thoughts turn to dust in the Hoffmann story, and the poet's

⁵² On this image of particles in Pasternak, see Darlene Reddaway, "Pasternak, Spengler, and Quantum Mechanics: Constants, Variables, and Chains of Equations", *Russian Literature*, XXXI (1992), 64.

thoughts are either turned to dust or remain undeveloped or unfertilized as dust in the Pasternak poems.

As is the case with Novalis, Pasternak's responses to Hoffmann texts become less and less frequent with the years. A notable exception to this is his article "Shopen", written in 1945. The essential thesis of Pasternak's article is that Chopin was a realist, not a Romantic, in his work. This thesis is echoed in regard to other Romantics in many of Pasternak's late-life writings and letters.

Yet the essay on Chopin takes subtexts from Hoffmann, whom Pasternak rejected late in his life as the representative of the fantastic and unreal, opposing him to German realist writers whom he admired more late in life, as we saw in letters quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Pasternak opens his essay as follows:

Легко быть реалистом в живописи, искусстве, зрительно обращенном к внешнему миру. Но что значит реализм в музыке? Нигде условность и уклончивость не прощаются так, как в ней, ни одна область творчества не овеяна так духом романтизма, этого всегда удающегося, потому что ничем не проверяемого, начала произвольности. И, однако, и тут все зиждется на исключениях. Их множество, и они составляют историю музыки. Есть, однако, еще исключения из исключений. Их два — Бах и Шопен. (IV: 403)

The essay continues its focus on Chopin, leaving Bach aside. Bach is the subject of a conversation among the Serapion brothers in Hoffmann's "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik":

"Und", sprach Theodor, "des mächtigen Händel, des unnachahmlichen Hasse, des tief sinnigen Sebastian Bach gedenkst du gar nicht?"

"Ei", erwiderte Cyprian, "diese rechne ich eben noch ganz zu der heiligen Schar, deren Inneres die Kraft des Glaubens stärkte und der Liebe. (III: 413)

Pasternak goes on to define what he means by realism. In regard to Bach and Chopin, he writes:

Это—олицетворенные достоверности в своем собственном платье. Их музыка изобилует подробностями и производит впечатление летописи их жизни. Действительность больше, чем у кого-либо другого, прорывается у них наружу сквозь звук. (I: 403)

Hoffmann defines the music of Bach and Händel in the same way, with the important difference that their music to him is so authentic, so truthful, because of the profound religious feeling behind it. Hoffmann continues:

Eben diese Kraft schuf die Begeisterung in der sie in Gemeinschaft traten mit dem Höheren und entflammt wurden zu den Werken, die nicht weltlicher Absicht dienen, sondern nur Lob und Preis der Religion, des höchsten Wesens, sein sollten. Daher tragen jene Werke das **Gepräge der Wahrhaftigkeit** [...] (III: 413)

For both Pasternak and Hoffmann the authenticity of the music of Bach lies in its lack of affectation, its simplicity, its freedom from the desire to attract the attention of the audience with false gestures. Pasternak defines realism in music as follows:

Реализм есть, вероятно, та решающая мера творческой детализации, которой от художника не требуют ни общие правила эстетики, ни современные ему слушатели и зрители. Именно здесь останавливается всегда искусство романтизма и этим удовлетворяется. Как мало нужно для его процветания! В его распоряжении ходульный пафос, ложная глубина и наигранная умильность,— все формы искусственности к его услугам.

Совсем в ином положении художник-реалист. Его деятельность — крест и предопределение. Ни тени вольничания, никакой блажи. Ему ли играть и развлекаться, когда его будущность сама играет им, когда он ее игрушка! (IV: 403)

Hoffmann writes along strikingly similar lines in the continuation of “Alte und neue Kirchenmusik”:

[...] und kein ängstliches Streben nach sogenannter Wirkung, keine gesuchte Spielerei und Nachäffung entweiht das rein vom Himmel Empfangene, daher kommt nichts vor von den sogenannten frappierenden Modulationen, von den bunten Figuren, von den weichlichen Melodien, von dem kraftlosen verwirrenden Geräusch der Instrumente, das den Zuhörer betäuben soll, damit er die innere Leere nicht bemerke, und daher wird nur von den Werken dieser Meister und der wenigen die noch in neuerer Zeit treue Diener der von der Erde verschwundenen Kirche blieben, das fromme Gemüt wahrhaft erhoben und erbaut. (III: 413)

Several points show a great similarity in the texts. Hoffmann’s rhetorical “kein..., kein” structure is echoed in Pasternak’s “ni..., ni” phrases. Hoffmann’s word “Spielerei” finds a response in Pasternak’s “igrat”. Both make a list of the various sins of shallow and affected music: in Hoffmann these include traces “von den sogenannten frappierenden Modulationen, von den bunten Figuren, von den kraftlosen verwirrenden Geräusch der

Instrumente". Pasternak lists "stilted pathos, false depth and affected sweetness". Both writers show disdain for crowd-pleasing composers: in Hoffmann is the phrase "das den Zuhörer betäuben soll, damit er die innere Leere nicht bemerke" (III: 413). Pasternak refers to the shallow demands of "the contemporary readers and audience". Both writers refer to the melody, Hoffmann to criticize saccharine melodies, and Pasternak, after the excerpt quoted above, to praise the serious realism of Chopin's melodies:

[...] его мелодия, наиболее неподдельная и могущественная из всех, какие мы знаем. (IV: 404)

Finally, both writers turn to religious motifs in their description of true composition. An act of genuine creativity is likened to an act of religious faith, a true composer depicted as a kind of saint. Hoffmann speaks of Bach and Händel as serving "nur Lob und Preis der Religion", and speaks of them as "treue Diener der von der Erde verschwundenen Kirche" (III: 413). Pasternak speaks of Chopin's work as that of "the cross and predestination". It is extraordinary that in an essay which criticizes what Pasternak calls romantic art, late in his career when he was already criticizing what he felt to be Hoffmann's shallow love of the fantastic, Pasternak would rely so closely on an essay of Hoffmann's in his own essay.

It is all the more ironic that Pasternak would also take as a subtext to his anti-Romantic essay a Hoffmann work which calls music the most Romantic of all the arts. Hoffmann defines music this way in his essay "Beethovens Instrumental-Musik":

— Sie ist die romantischste aller Künste, beinahe möchte man sagen, allein echt romantisch, denn nur das Unendliche ist ihr Vorwurf. (I: 41)

To both writers, Romantic music faces the pitfall of tastelessness. We recall Pasternak's statement quoted earlier:

Нигде условность и уклончивость не прощаются так, как в ней, ни одна область творчества не овевяна так духом романтизма, этого всегда удающегося, потому что ничем не проверяемого, начала произвольности. (IV: 403)

Similarly, Hoffmann writes:

Der romantische Geschmack ist selten, noch seltener das romantische Talent, daher gibt es wohl so wenige, die jene Lyra, deren Ton das wundervolle Reich des Romantischen aufschließt, anzuschlagen vermögen. (I: 43)

To both Pasternak and Hoffmann, the ideal in music is not to be found in a program. Pasternak writes:

Говоря о реализме в музыке, мы вовсе не имеем в виду иллюстративного начала музыки, оперной или программной. Речь совсем об ином. (IV: 403)

Hoffmann defines his terms similarly:

Die Instrumentalmusik muß, da wo sie nur durch sich als Musik wirken und **nicht vielleicht einem bestimmten dramatischen Zweck** dienen soll, alles unbedeutend Spaßhafte, alle tändelnden Lazzi vermeiden. (I: 48)

In this passage we see another important component which both writers see in true music: its seriousness. Hoffmann defines true artistry in this art as follows:

Wer diese Weihe nicht in sich fühlt, wer die heilige Musik **nur als Spielerei**, nur zum Zeitvertrieb in leeren Stunden, zum augenblicklichen Reiz stumpfer Ohren, oder **zur eignen Ostentation** tauglich betrachtet, der bleibe ja davon. [...] Der echte Künstler lebt nur in dem Werke, das er in dem **Sinne des Meisters** aufgefaßt hat und nun vorträgt. Er verschmäht es, auf irgend eine Weise seine Persönlichkeit geltend zu machen, und all sein Dichten und Trachten geht nur dahin, alle die herrlichen, holdseligen Bilder und Erscheinungen, die der Meister mit magischer Gewalt in sein Werk verschloß, tausendfarbig glänzend ins rege Lebe zu rufen [...] (I: 49)

This passage, too, serves as a subtext to Pasternak's description of the position of the realist artist, quoted already above:

Совсем в ином положении художник-реалист. Его деятельность — крест и предопределение. Ни тени вольничания, никакой блажи. Ему ли играть и развлекаться, когда его будущность сама играет им, когда он ее игрушка! (IV: 403)

Once again, here we have the idea of true music-making in all the modesty of someone inspired, as opposed to the attitude toward one's art as a mere game. Hoffmann in the above passage defines composition as mastery, the work of a craftsman, to which the instrumentalist must remain faithful in all modesty to the master's work. This harks back to Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, in which the hero learns his poetic art the way a

medieval artist or craftsman would, under the guidance of his teacher Klingsohr, a true master of his art. The modesty of Hoffmann's model musician also reflects Novalis's praise for the modesty of other great masters in the novel, including the miner and the hermit/chronicler.

The word "master" is significant for Pasternak as well. Although he does not use the word in his 1945 essay on Chopin, he does do so in a 1928 revision of a poem on artistry in which he refers to Chopin. In his 1915 poem, revised in 1928, Pasternak mentions Chopin, mixing his image with that of Lev Tolstoj.⁵³

Впустите, мне надо видеть графа.
О нем есть баллады. Он предупрежден.
Я помню, как плакала мать, играв их,
Как вздрагивал дом, обливаясь дождем.

Позднее узнал я о мертвом Шопене. (I: 95)

Later in "Ballada" Pasternak refers to the "otca i mastera toski". Here, too, he is likely mixing the images of Tolstoj and Chopin, as one can see from the context of the phrase, in the final stanzas of the poem:

Зачем же, земские ярыги
И полицейские крючки,
Вы обнесли стеной религий
Отца и мастера тоски?

Зачем вы выдумали послух,
Безбожие и ханжество,
Когда он лишь меньшей из взрослых
И сверстник сердца моего. (I: 97)

The references to "a wall of religions" and rumors point toward the controversial figure of Tolstoj, who died in 1910, when Pasternak was twenty. Thus Tolstoj's last years corresponded with the development of Pasternak's "heart"; thus they are the same age. Earlier in the poem, Pasternak had referred to music, an organist, and the month of August.

⁵³ Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 104.

clearly indicating the summer of 1906 when he discovered his calling in music.⁵⁴ This, and the reference to his heart and to longing, point toward Chopin in the figure of the “master”. Both figures are admired in Pasternak’s “Ballada” as artists who are great not only in their work, but in their modesty (“merely the least of adults”).⁵⁵

Thus Pasternak’s image of Chopin as “master” and “least of adults” in this poem on creativity, one of many poems on creativity in *Poverx bar’erov*, corresponds with Hoffmann’s image of Beethoven. The primary difference between these two writers’ images of their composer/idols is in their definitions: to Hoffmann, Beethoven is a great Romantic, and to Pasternak, Chopin is a great realist. Great art is to Hoffmann Romantic art, and great art is to Pasternak realist art. The essential qualities of these two “great arts” actually correspond.

Yet the subtextual network involved in Pasternak’s essay on Chopin is even more complex. In his portrayal of Chopin the realist, Pasternak works not only with subtexts from Hoffmann, but he works as well with a neo-Romantic or Decadent exaggeration of the Hoffmann image of the insane isolated artist, that of Polish Decadent Stanislaw Przybyszewski. This coupling of subtexts from Hoffmann and Przybyszewski can be seen both in Pasternak’s essay on Chopin and in his early story, “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”, to be discussed below. It is curious that about a decade before his letters criticizing Hoffmann and the fantastic, Pasternak would, in both his first draft and to some degree in the final version of his essay on Chopin, quote not only Hoffmann, but Przybyszewski on many of the same themes. He couples Hoffmann and Przybyszewski subtexts together in some cases, in a manner which could be described in terms of Smirnov’s “reconstructive

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ On the image of Chopin as martyr in Pasternak’s verse, see Krystyna Pomorska, “Music as Theme and Constituent of Pasternak’s Poems”, *Slavic Poetics. Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky*, 333-350. See also Boris Kac, “Iz kommentarijev k tekstam A. A. Axmatovoj i B. L. Pasternaka”, *De Visu*, 5/6 (16), 1994, 72-78.

intertextuality”, or putting together in a third text subtexts which are already linked by a previous subtextual chain.⁵⁶

The turn-of-the-century Polish Decadent Stanislaw Przybyszewski, whose Nietzschean exaggerations of the godlike qualities of the artist-superman made him extraordinarily popular among the second-generation Symbolists before Pasternak, also inspired Pasternak in his youth. In his late-life autobiographical essay, *Ljudi i položenija*, Pasternak writes:

Я был отравлен новейшей литературой, бредил Андреем Белым, Гамсунгом, Пшибышевским. (IV: 313)

Przybyszewski’s extraordinarily popularity in Russia at the turn of the century is indicated simply by the number of Russian translations of his works which appeared in the first two decades of the century: there was a four-volume edition of his works published in 1906 and a ten-volume edition published in 1909. Przybyszewski’s *Homo sapiens* was so popular in Russia that it appeared there in nine editions between 1902 and 1918. In addition, there were productions of a number of his plays in Russia beginning in 1905.⁵⁷ That Boris Pasternak should have read him early in his life comes, then, as no surprise.

In some cases, the reference to Przybyszewski takes place without a specific Hoffmann subtext involved. Pasternak’s reference to Chopin’s talent for mimicry in the early draft of the Chopin article refers back to Przybyszewski’s term “psixicheskaja mimikrija” (V: 200), in the 1910 Russian translation of Przybyszewski’s “poem in prose”, also entitled “Chopin”.⁵⁸ Pasternak writes:

Очевидно, большой трагический дар не мыслим без чувства объективности, а чувство объективности не обходится без мимической жилки. (IV: 793)

⁵⁶ Igor’ P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*.

⁵⁷ See Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Wybór pism*, ed. Roman Taborski (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossalinskih [Biblioteka narodowa, Seria I, Nr. 1903], 1966), LX; see also Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, Vol. I, 77; and in E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 75.

⁵⁸ Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Polnoe sobranie sochinemj*, 10 vols. (Moscow: Izdanie V. M. Sablina), 1910-11.

Though the use of the term “mimicry” in both texts has no direct link in Hoffmann, it does go back to the early Romantic (and typically Pasternakian) concept of “copying from nature”.⁵⁹ Essentially, the idea harks back to Hoffmann’s discussion (which Pasternak continues) of the simplicity of true music-making. Pasternak and Przybyszewski link this ability to perceive nature so clearly to a particularly sensitive soul. Here, though, Pasternak polemicizes with Przybyszewski, who writes (again, in Russian translation):

Пред глазами того, кто не ухом, а душою пьет волшебные звуки музыки Шопена, проходят бесконечной вереницей образы и виденья [...] (V: 197-98)

In Pasternak:

Всегда перед глазами души (а это и есть слух) какая-то модель, к которой надо приблизиться [...] (IV: 405)

The correspondence between Pasternak’s and Przybyszewski’s image of the ideal in music can, however, draw even closer to a Hoffmann subtext. We saw above that Pasternak echoes Hoffmann in his thoughts against programmatic music. Pasternak drew from a subtext in Przybyszewski as well, turning on its head to mean objectivity Przybyszewski’s definition of subjectivity. Recall Pasternak’s words:

Говоря о реализме в музыке, мы вовсе не имеем в виду иллюстративного начала музыки, оперной или программной. Речь совсем об ином. (IV: 403)

Przybyszewski speaks of the same contrast, mentioning Wagner specifically:

В противоположность Вагнеру, который выражал своей музыкой характеры своих героев, передавал сознательное состояние их души, руководствовался идейным аналитическим чувством, применял музыку к тому, что делалось на сцене — Шопен представляет абсолютную субъективность: его музыка — отражение нагих состояний его души [...] (V: 208)

⁵⁹ See Victor Terras, “Boris Pasternak and Romantic Aesthetics”.

Both writers oppose the literal illustrative quality of programmatic music with what they consider to be Chopin's extraordinary ability to illustrate the details of reality in music. Pasternak writes of Chopin's and Bach's realism:

Их музыка изобилует подробностями и производит впечатление летописи их жизни. Действительность больше, чем у кого-либо другого, проступает у них наружу сквозь звук. (IV: 403)

Przybyszewski writes similarly of Chopin's ability to transform detail into music:

[...] впечатления света, прикосновения, вкуса, запаха, непосредственно превращались в звук. (V: 208)

Thus for both writers, Chopin can be distinguished by his ability to depict life, both outer and inner, in all its detail. Music is equated to the landscape in which Chopin grew up—the dreary Polish landscape, and the sense of longing which it elicits in the sensitive soul. Both writers give examples of specific pieces from Chopin's *oeuvre* and then describe the landscapes they reflect. In his other essay on Chopin, "Zur Psychologie des Individuums. I. Chopin und Nietzsche", Przybyszewski describes the kind of landscape which inspired Chopin to compose. I will quote the Russian translation, rather than the German original, because the Russian is close to Pasternak's language:

[...] своеобразный, меланхолический лиризм, [...] глубокая меланхолия беспредельных равнин с их песчаными, пустынными пространствами и с свинцовым небом над ними [...] (V: 21)

This is strikingly similar to Pasternak's description:

Выраженью подлежало не только нырянье по ухабам саней, но стрелу пути все время перечеркивали вкось плывущие белые хлопья, а под другим углом пересекал свинцовый черный горизонт [...] (IV: 405)

Both Pasternak and Przybyszewski attribute this ability to depict landscapes in such musical detail to a superhuman sensitivity which expressed itself already in the composer's childhood. Pasternak speaks of Chopin's "rannjaja vpechatlitel'nost' v detstve" (IV: 403). Przybyszewski describes impressions made on Chopin as a boy:

Уже в раннюю пору жизни, благодаря среде, в которой он вырос, у него обнаружилась тенденция к односторонней передаче доминирующего в нем лирического настроения души.

Беспредельная утомительная картина природы, населенной легко возбудимыми, предрасположенными к мечтательности людьми, их музыка, [...] все это, в силу свойственного детям влечения к олицетворению и символизации, наполняло своим содержанием душу мальчика. (V: 22, "Zur Psychologie des Individuums")

This sensitivity in Chopin transforms him, in the depictions of both Pasternak and Przybyszewski, into a kind of martyr to his art. Both writers take Hoffmann's depiction of the kind of religious martyrdom experienced by a true musician and exaggerate it to create the image of a Christ-like musician who sacrifices himself and his life for the sake of his creation. Pasternak characterizes Chopin's view of himself as a mere tool:

Его творчество [...] всегда биографично не из эгоцентризма, а потому, что, подобно остальным великим реалистам, Шопен смотрел на свою жизнь как на орудие познания всякой жизни на свете [...] (IV: 404)

As does Przybyszewski in "Zur Psychologie des Individuums":

Итак, этот взгляд на индивидуума, как на момент охранения и усовершенствования вида в истории развития человечества влечет за собой другой обратный выход: трагический взгляд на свою личность, как на средство.

Великое мученичество индивидуума заключается в том, что он свою личную жизнь должен принести в жертву роду. (V: 19-20)

Both writers take their statements to an expected conclusion: the composer becomes a Christ-like martyr, his creativity a cross.⁶⁰ This portrayal is actually an exaggeration of Hoffmann's depiction of the true, modest performer who sacrifices his own personality for the sake of interpreting the music in the sense the composer intended. We recall from his essay "Beethovens Instrumental-Musik":

⁶⁰ As Bogdana Carpenter has pointed out to me, this depiction of Chopin is closely linked with the Polish Romantic tradition, of which Przybyszewski is an inheritor. See, for example, Cyprian Norwid, "Buntowniki, czyli stronictwo-wywrotu", with its image of the "banner-cross", or his "Fortepian Szopena", which, as Pomorska and Kac have pointed out, is a subtext to Pasternak's "Opjat' Shopen ne isbchet vygod". See Cyprian Norwid, *Dziela Zebrane. Tom Pierwszy. Wiersze*. (Warsaw: Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1966), 509-514. See also Pomorska, op. cit., Kac, op. cit.

Der echte Künstler lebt nur in dem Werke, das er in dem **Sinne des Meisters** aufgefaßt hat und nun vorträgt. Er verschmäht es, auf irgend eine Weise seine Persönlichkeit geltend zu machen [...] (I: 49)

As we recall, Pasternak echoes Hoffmann's stress upon the grave responsibility of the musician. Pasternak goes so far as to call this responsibility a cross:

Совсем в ином положении художник-реалист. Его деятельность — крест и предопределение. Ни тени вольничания, никакой блажи. Ему ли играть и развлекаться, когда его будущность сама играет им, когда он ее игрушка! (IV: 403)

This virtual beatification of Chopin echoes Przybyszewski's depiction of Chopin the martyr in his essay on Chopin:

Он был тем—еще раз привожу цитату из своей поэмы “В час чуда”—он был тем, кто сидит на Голгофе у подножья всего человечества, распятого на кресте. Целая вечность мучений и скорби, целая вечность страданий, криков мольбы об искуплении, проклятий, отчаянья и воя погибших о мгновении счастья— ураганом молний пронесли в его душе. (V: 213-14)

There is, however, a significant difference between the depiction of the force behind this martyrdom in Przybyszewski's essays and that in Pasternak and Hoffmann whereas the guiding force in Pasternak's and Hoffmann's composers is profoundly religious, in Przybyszewski it is the opposite, a demonic force. Przybyszewski writes in “Psychologie des Individuums”:

Что знаем мы о той вечной, неутомимой силе, о том демоне, подобном средневековому князю тьмы, который живет в вечном мраке нашего существования и в руках которого мы становимся довольными, загипнотизированными сомнамбулами? (V: 29)

Here we come closer to the obsessive creative force which we will see below in Pasternak's “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy” and in the Belyj subtext which works together with Hoffmann and Przybyszewski subtexts to the story. To step ahead for a moment, that story and the Belyj subtext depict a vampire-like parasitic force in the victim.

Przybyszewski writes of a vampire's wings in his essay on Chopin:

Но наиболее сильным он становился там, где смерть простирает над ним свои крылья вампира. (V: 212)

This depiction of the dark force of creativity finds its reflection not in Pasternak's essay on Chopin, but in his poetic preface to his book of verse *Sestra moja zhizn'*, "Pamjati Demona":

Приходил по ночам
В синеве ледника от Тамары,
Парой крыл намечал,
Где гудеть, где кончаться кошмару. (I: 109)

This poem, with its main subtext in Lermontov's poem "Demon" and its epigraph from Lenau, clearly pointing out Pasternak's bow to the Romantic verse tradition, marks one of the fairly rare instances in Pasternak's work where the creative force is depicted as a dark, nightmarish force. That Przybyszewski would play a role in this demonic image of creativity is significant. There is another link involved in the subtextual chain, however; Pasternak connects the demonic image of creativity not only with Przybyszewski, but with Hoffmann through a Russian intermediary. The image of the creative force as a winged spectre in connection with Hoffmann has a precedent in a much milder, less "demonic" poem of Apollon Grigor'ev, part of which was quoted in the third article in the "Hoffmaniana" series published in 1914 in *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam*. Grigor'ev writes in "Venèzia la bella":

[...] но для чего ты
По прежнему, о призрак мой крылатый,
Слетаешь из воздушных стран мечты
В печальный, запустением объятий,
Заглохший мир, где желтые листья
Хрустя шумят, стопой тяжелой смяты;
Сияя вся как вешние цветы
И девственна, как лик Аннунциаты,
Прозрачно-светлый Догарессы лик,
Что из паров и чада опьянения,
Из кнастерного дыма и круженья
Пред Гофманом как светлый сон возник [...] ⁶¹

⁶¹ "Hoffmaniana. 3. Russkie pisateli o Gofmane", *Ljubov' k trem apel'sinam*, 3, 1914, 87.

Thus intermediaries between Pasternak and Hoffmann come not only from his immediate predecessors in the era of Decadent poetry, but also earlier, from a Russian admirer of Hoffmann.

The theme of artistic obsession brings us to Pasternak's "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", in which the situation with subtexts is particularly complicated. The story's setting is apparently Hoffmannesque, and some of the details point to German Romantic models.⁶² As we will see, an important subtext to the Pasternak story is Hoffmann's *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*. Yet the main character of the story, Knauer, has antecedents less in the Hoffmann tale than in the Decadent-era outgrowths of the Hoffmannian artist. In the discussion of the 1915 poem "Ballada", revised in 1928, Pasternak's reference to an organist was mentioned. This, as Fleishman points out, is a reference in Pasternak's 1928 revision of his 1916 story "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", about an organist so obsessed with his art that he outsteps the bounds of human morality.⁶³ The organist-hero of this story, Knauer, accidentally kills his child, who crawls inside the organ while his father is improvising and is crushed by the organ's mechanism. This scene in Pasternak's story shows the extent to which an artist when inspired can forget everything around him. Pasternak writes:

Органист играл, позабыв обо всем на свете. Одна инвенция сменялась другой. [...] Тема приближалась к органному пункту, шумно развивая неслыханную, угрожающую скорость. Она благополучно пронеслась мимо последнего звена секвенции; от доминанты ее отделяло несколько шагов, как вдруг вся инвенция,— инвенция целиком, сразу в одно мгновение ока непоправимо катастрофически осиротела, словно со всех этих звуков одновременно посшибали шапки или сами они, всею толпой пообнажали головы; когда, на рискованнейшем повороте одного басового предложения, орган отказал двум клавишам в повиновении и из грандиозного бастиона труб и клапанов

⁶² See Christopher Barnes and E. B. Pasternak, "Boris Pasternak. 'Istorija odnoj kontroktavy'", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1977, 251-56; and the discussion of the story in Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, Vol. I. See also Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 104.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

рванулся какой-то нечеловеческий крик, нечеловеческий оттого, что он казался принадлежащим человеку. (IV: 441-42)

The human being turns out to be the organist's son:

Кнауер, органист, насмерть задавил собственного своего ребенка; говорят, это случилось во время бешеных его экстампорирований; ребенок забрел во внутреннее помещение органа, и его придушило там боковым каким-то рычагом. (IV: 444-45)

For all its horror, this scene can actually be traced back to Hoffmann—as a much darker version of a scene in *Kater Murr*. In that scene, the music teacher Abraham Liscov plays a hurtful prank on his student, the young Kreisler: he pulls the piano bench out from under his pupil, frightening and humiliating the child. This accomplished, Liscov takes a hammer and begins hammering the piano viciously, until the child's uncle asks if Liscov has lost his senses.

Der Oheim hatte recht. Schon andern Tages war Herr Liscov da, aber statt die Reparatur des Flügels vorzunehmen, verlangte er, der kleine Johannes sollte ihm vorspielen. Dieser wurde auf den mit Büchern bepackten Stuhl gesetzt, Herr Liscov ihn gegenüber am schmalen Ende des Flügels, stützte beide Arme auf das Instrument, und sah dem Kleinen starr ins Antlitz, welches ihn dermaßen außer Fassung brachte, daß die Menuetts, die Arien, die er aus dem alten Notenbuche abspielte, holpricht genug gingen. Herr Liscov blieb ernst, aber plötzlich rutschte der Knabe herab, und versank unter des Flügels Gestell, worüber der Orgelbauer, der ihm mit einem Ruck die Fußbank unter den Füßen weggezogen, eine unmäßige Lache aufschlug. Beschämt rappelte sich der Knabe hervor, doch in dem Augenblick saß Herr Liscov auch schon vor dem Flügel, hatte einen Hammer hervorgezogen, und hämmerte auf das arme Instrument so unbarmherzig los, als wolle er alles in tausend Stücken schlagen. 'Herr Liscov sind Sie von Sinnen!' schrie der Onkel [...] (II: 393)

In a characteristic metonymic shift, Pasternak has taken the murder of a child in the Hoffmann subtext and split the act of violence between the prank played on the child and the subsequent hammering of the child's instrument. The motif of violence on an instrument, rather than on the musician himself, appears elsewhere in Pasternak, for example in his 1931 poem "Opjat' Shopen ne ishchet vygod...", the last stanza of which reads:

Опять? И, посвятив соцветьям
Рояля гулкий ритуал,
Всем девятнадцатым столетьем

Упасть на старый тротуар. (I: 407)

In fact, Hoffmann's description of Liscov's hammering of the instrument after having so tricked the child find its reflection in Knauer's examination of the organ after the two keys stopped working and the cry was heard:

Затем он поднялся с сидения, запер мануаль на ключ и, опустив раздувальщика Зеэбальда домой, прошел во внутреннее помещение органного корпуса, чтобы на месте исследовать повреждение вентилей Gis и Ais. (IV: 442)

There are other themes and motifs in common between Pasternak's story and Hoffmann's novel. One includes the typically Hoffmannian theme of the power of the music over the artist, the music being portrayed as a kind of growing organism. In Hoffmann:

Wenigstens mag man nach dem, was Kreisler von Tante Füßchen und ihrer Laute erzählt, nicht daran zweifeln, daß die Musik mit all ihrer wunderbaren Wehmut, mit all ihrem Himmelsentzücken, recht in die Brust des Knaben mit tausend Adern verwuchs, und nicht zum Verwundern mag's darum auch sein, daß eben dieser Brust, wird sie nur leise verwundet, gleich heißes Herzblut entquillt. (II: 390-391)

And in another part of the same Pasternak scene quoted above:

А тем временем органист поддавал жару [...] Всякая сила, отдавшись непланомерно быстрому росту, достигает, наконец, до того предела, где, осмотревшись по сторонам, она не видит уже никого возле себя. Мелодическая кантилена инвенции с минуты на минуту становилась лучше; она хорошела и наливалась зрелой силой [...] (IV: 440-41)

In both works, true to the late Romantic tradition, both musician figures are considered outcasts and are depicted as insane. In *Kater Murr*, Kreisler's uncle remarks about Herr Liscov:

'Sollte man nicht vermeinen, er habe schon am lieben frühen Morgen zu tief ins Glas gekuckt, oder sei dem Tollhause entsprungen?' (II: 393)

In Pasternak's story, the organist Knauer is described by the townspeople as "zanoschivyj organist" (IV: 444), "chuzhdavshijsja ix organist" (IV: 444). Knauer's desire to return to play the organ after his long absence is considered "insanity" (IV: 466).

Even the name of Pasternak's organist, Knauer, can be seen as a typically Pasternakian anagram of Hoffmann's two characterizations of the boy in the key scene: as "the boy", **Knabe**, and by his name, Kreisler.

The opposition of poet and Philistine typical of Hoffmann's works also finds its reflection in this early Pasternak story, although Pasternak later condemns the distinction in "Oxrannaja gramota". Not in *Kater Murr*, but in "Der goldene Topf", we see the bourgeois setting of the tale of the student who slips out of that milieu. The day on which the tale begins is a holiday, Assumption. The student Anselmus laments after knocking over the apple cart and surrendering to its owner all the money he had saved:

Die Tränen wären dem armen Studenten Anselmus beinahe in die Augen getreten, denn auch *er* hatte, da der Himmelfahrtstag immer ein besonderes Familienfest für ihn gewesen, an der Glückseligkeit des Linkischen Paradieses teilnehmen, ja er hatte es bis zu einer halben Portion Kaffee mit Rum und einer Bouteille Doppelbier treiben wollen, und um so recht schlampampen zu können, mehr Geld eingesteckt, als eigentlich erlaubt und tunlich war. Und nun hatte ihn der fatale Tritt in den Apfelkorb um alles gebracht, was er bei sich getragen. An Kaffee, an Doppelbier, an Musik, an den Anblick der geputzten Mädchen — kurz! — an alle geträumten Genüsse war nicht zu denken; er schlich langsam vorbei [...] (I: 180)

This walk away from the festivities is what is to bring new discoveries of another world to Anselmus.

The description of the holiday festivities in Pasternak's story is remarkably similar, and told with the same irony, even more sharply expressed. In speaking of the crowd which condemned the arrogant organist, Pasternak writes:

Чутьем домашних животных чуяли они, что праздник св. Троицы, — праздник их сословия, что грузные и узловатые своды каштановых деревьев — сословная их сень, и что пиво, изошедшее сомкнутыми петлями и кольцами и похожее на вытекший бычий глаз, — их сословный напиток. И так как именно в этот день и как раз на общей почве родного города был наказан Провидением чуждавшийся их органист — не еще где-нибудь и не в иной какой день, — то им казалось всем, что он не случайно и с умыслом наказан Провидением в их присутствии; что они призваны всем своим присутствием судить Кнауера и осудить. И они осудили его [...] (IV: 444)

Yet the strength of the crowd's condemnation of the isolated artist, and the graphic biological metaphors, point elsewhere than to Hoffmann. Using the realia of a Hoffmannesque Romantic tale and a nineteenth-century setting, Pasternak is actually working with a secondary source of subtexts: once again, Przybyszewski.

I have already noted the strong emphasis in Pasternak's "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy" on the isolation of Knauer and the townspeople's condemnation of him. The exaggerated tone in which that isolation is described finds its precedent not in Hoffmann, who treats the subject with at least some ironic distance in the sources quoted above, but rather in Przybyszewski. In "Zur Psychologie des Individuums", Przybyszewski writes about the creative individual:

Für das Individuum, das dermaßen organisiert ist, gibt es in der "Gesellschaft" keinen Platz.

Und weil ein solcher Mensch alles, was er am liebsten tun möchte, nicht tun darf, und da ihm für seine Gedanken und Taten die Zustimmung aller fehlt, so wird er zu einer Art Tschandala und Parias; er fängt an, sich als Individuum zu betrachten. (6)⁶⁴

Just as Knauer, who lived only in his art, could not help transgressing, in playing octaves on the body of his dead son (IV: 449) and in wanting to return long after the death of his son to play again on the same organ on which he had accidentally killed his son, and even to become the town organist again (IV: 463, 466), Nietzsche in Przybyszewski's characterization, as a man above other men in his genius, also could not help being a transgressor. Pasternak writes of the public reaction to Knauer:

Но они видят в нем редкий по его дерзости образец занесшегося безумия [...] присутствие его в городе недопустимо и дальше ни в коем случае терпимо быть не может по некоторым, ему самому лучше других известным, причинам [...] (IV: 466)

Przybyszewski writes of Nietzsche's position in society:

Nietzsche war ein reiner Intelligenz- und Gehirnmensch ganz genau in demselben Sinne, wie es bei einer Gattung der Hydromedusen, den Siphonophoren, Magentiere, Genitaltiere und Atmungstiere gibt.

⁶⁴ Quoted from Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Zur Psychologie des Individuums I: Chopin und Nietzsche* (Berlin: Fontane & Co., 1906).

Und darin eben, daß er die höchste Entwicklung und somit Übergang war, daß er mit der einer Hälfte seines Seins in eine neue Periode hinübergriff, daß das ganze Gleichgewicht seiner organischen Fortbildung sich nach dem Gehirn verrückte, daß er fortwährend an sich zum "Verbrecher" werden mußte, daß er ewiges Zerstören und Neu-Schaffen, ewiges Werden und Geschehen, stete Ebbe und Flut war, lag sein Untergang. Es war in ihm etwas von den Fieberzuständen, welche die Ausstoßung verbrauchter und verfaulender Gewebe begleiten, etwas von dem Seelenasthma, da die Lebensbedingungen, unter denen er lebte, nicht für ihn geschaffen waren, etwas von der nervösen Sensibilität und der allgemeinen übermäßigen Verfeinerung der Zwischen- und Übergangsarten. (32-33)

Thus Przybyszewski provides Pasternak with an outrageous example of the isolated creative personality who cannot help going beyond the limits set by society.

Przybyszewski's biological metaphors also have their reflection in Pasternak's story. The biological imagery in Pasternak's story has a second subtext, however: Andrej Belyj, whose essay "Protiv muzyki", published in the journal *Vesy* in 1907, must have had an impact on Pasternak, who himself had mixed feelings toward his own music-making and composition. Belyj's article, published under his real name, Boris Bugaev, is an exception to his usual praise of the transforming power of music, under the obvious influence of the German Romantics;⁶⁵ as such, this article by Belyj is not always taken seriously by critics.⁶⁶ The article warns against the dangers of music: disconnecting music from words and deeds, Belyj writes, distorts its beauty and prostitutes it. The person whose idol is music brings dishonor to his word, truth, and duty. Belyj calls musical heroism (referring primarily to Wagner, much in fashion in Russia at the time) false sentimentality, a sort of opiate for the bourgeoisie. It is not surprising that Pasternak would pair subtexts from Przybyszewski and Belyj, as Belyj himself was something of an admirer—albeit with quite mixed feelings—of the works of the Polish Decadent.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See, for example, Zoja Jur'eva's introductory article to Andrej Belyj, *Lug zelenyj. Kniga statej* (New York/London: Johnson Reprint Corporation [Slavic Series], 1967), xxxii.

⁶⁶ See Ada Steinberg, *Word and Music in the Novels of Andrej Bely* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 33.

⁶⁷ See, for example, the third volume of Belyj's memoirs, *Mezhdv dvux revoljucij* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1990), 118-119, in which he mentions Przybyszewski's legendary playing of Chopin. Belyj describes Przybyszewski with some irony in the same chapter this volume of memoirs.

Certain textual correspondences link the Belyj article with the Pasternak story.

Belyj characterizes music as the soul of everything; he writes later in his essay that music is a vampire sucking the soul from the hero:

Но когда говорят так, музыке отводят место души творящей.
 Душа—источник творчества. Но творчество воплотимо. Оно—
 источник жизни (той и этой). А между тем музыка,
 воспринимаемая нами, как душа всего, есть форма искусства. Вот
 антонимия.

[...] Музыка—вампир, высасывающая душу из героя. (57)⁶⁸

Pasternak echoes Belyj's comparison of soul and worm (and, implicitly, of soul—worm—music, as Knauer embodies, as it were, music alone, apart from human concerns) in "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy":

Кнауер находился в положении человека, впервые
 самолично, не от других—узнавшего, что у него есть душа. Он
 ощущал ее и чувствовал, где она, потому что она у него болела [...]

Душа шевелилась в нем, как солитер. Но это был солитер
 вездесущий. И человека не тошнило от сокращений его души
 только оттого, что каждую частицу его тела тошнило его особой
 тошнотой; эти разновидности тошноты взаимно погашались друг
 другом. (IV: 448)⁶⁹

Also significant for Pasternak's character Knauer is the Belyian warning of the moral dangers of music:

Человек, сотворивший из музыки кумир, не может не обесчестить
 свое слово, свою правду, свой долг. Зачем искание пути, зачем
 осмысливание, зачем продолжение чего бы то ни было, хоть раз
 блеснувшего ценностью, зачем, живая жизнь, если передо мной
 безпутный, безчестный кумир, оправдывающий мою лживость?
 (58)

Mezhdv dvux revoljucij. Elsewhere, he speaks of the "logic" of some in his era: "Ljubljv solnce, Shopena, Pshibyshevskogo: em shokolad!", *Ibid.*, 237. See Belyj, *Mezhdv dvux revoljucij* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1990), 107, 116-119, 237, 345, 482-483. Belyj mentions Przybyszewski only briefly in the first volume of his memoirs, *Na rubezhe dvux stoletij* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1989), 239, 242. That the Polish Decadent makes so many appearances in Belyj's memoirs indicates his impact on the young Russian Symbolist.

⁶⁸ Boris Bugaev, "Protiv muzyki", *Vesy*, 3, 1907, 57-60.

⁶⁹ As mentioned in a footnote to Chapter Two, the image of the tapeworm also has a precedent in Nietzsche, whose image of the tapeworm indicates conscience. See Erika Greber, "Boris Pasternak's Prose Fragment 'Tri glavv iz povesti'. The Arrangement of a Philosophical-Musical Subtext", *Poëtika Pasternaka*, 124; *idem*, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts*. See Chapter Two for the relevant Nietzsche text.

In Knauer's behavior, perceived by those around him as immoral and unjustifiable, Pasternak realizes the metaphor of Belyj's essay; this attempt of Pasternak's to portray music as an "enemy", in Belyj's words, which brings Knauer to such a state of obsession that he values music over the life of his son, is significant for Pasternak's own biography at a time when he was parting from music. Clearly, too, Pasternak depicts in exaggerated terms the fatal misunderstanding between artist and public. Yet the Belyj subtext, with its hints against false "heroism", already indicates in the Pasternak text a distaste for the overly heroic portrait of the artist. Like "Apellesova cherta", written before "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", and "Pis'ma iz Tuly", written afterwards, this Pasternak tale portrays between the lines the mediocrity and falsehood, as well as the destructive power, of the self-absorbed artist.

Thus we see that in his "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", Pasternak suppresses Decadent- and Symbolist-era texts closer to him by using the setting, motifs, and realia of a Hoffmann tale. The Hoffmannesque model present in Pasternak reveals traces of Decadent-era exaggerations of Hoffmann's image of the isolated and obsessed artist. It is this later manifestation of the "false Romantic scheme", as Pasternak describes the overglorified depiction of the poet (IV: 228), to which Pasternak objects at least as strongly as to the Hoffmann image which in part inspired later developments.

We have examined a number of different forms which Pasternak's reception of Hoffmann texts took throughout his career. His early prose sketches reflect his close reading of Hoffmann, and his use of Hoffmann as a model: his early experiments stay at times so close to Hoffmann texts that they could better be called improvisations on Hoffmann. We saw the same phenomenon in Chapter Two with Pasternak's treatment of Novalis texts early in his career. With Pasternak's first published verse, one can trace an evolution in his treatment of Hoffmann subtexts. He no longer improvises on the texts, but rather takes images or motifs from them and responds to them in his own, fully original, work, engaging in a dialogue rather than imitating. This treatment of Hoffmann subtexts

continues throughout the first half of his career. The themes which provide the most fruitful ground for Pasternak's intertextual reception of Hoffmann texts include mainly inspiration, the stifling lack of it, and, more importantly, what Hoffmann views as its by-product—illness. These themes are quintessentially Romantic and frequently associated with Hoffmann. Pasternak also responds to Hoffmann's image of the artist, a portrayal which at once stems from Novalis's praise of the artist's glorious state and departs from Novalis's positive picture. Hoffmann's sharp irony toward the Romantic notion of the artist finds its echo in Pasternak. That irony is not nearly as sharp as Heine's late- or post-Romantic look at the prevailing image of the artist; Heine's more pointed irony toward himself and other artists finds an even stronger intertextual response in Pasternak's work.

Pasternak's portrayals of isolated artists have their roots not only in Hoffmann, however, but in a literary descendant of Hoffmann from the era of Decadence—Stanislaw Przybyszewski. Both in an early story and in a late-life essay, Pasternak pairs subtexts from Hoffmann and Przybyszewski about the position of the creative artist in society and his attitude toward his art. The earlier text has elements of the improvisation noted in regard to his early sketches in prose; it is certainly not an accident that Pasternak chose not to publish "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy" during his lifetime, as he must have felt its flaws and the exaggerations which reflected the era in which it was written. In that story, Pasternak takes the realia of a Hoffmann tale to develop the portrait of the musician which reflects more closely Przybyszewski than Hoffmann. The subtextual presence of Russian Symbolist Andrej Belyj, himself an admirer of Przybyszewski, and whom Pasternak mentions in his second memoir in the same phrase as Przybyszewski, shows the very genealogy of which Pasternak speaks in *Oxrannaja gramota* in regard to the Romantic image of the artist which he rejects: that "image of life as the life of a poet" goes back to the Symbolists, writes Pasternak, who in turn inherited it from the Romantics, "mainly the Germans" (IV: 227). Pasternak's essay on Chopin treats subtexts both from Hoffmann and from Przybyszewski more subtly, but with just as much seriousness. Although he

claims to reject Hoffmann's fantastic portraits in his late-life correspondence, and speaks ironically of his love of Przybyszewski in his late-life memoir, it is clear that traces of both remain in his image of the ideal artist. There is neither irony nor polemic in his use of subtexts from these Romantic (or neo-Romantic) writers, though he certainly chooses texts and points of view selectively, ignoring, for example, Przybyszewski's demonistic views in favor of Hoffmann's religious image of poetic inspiration. The paradox which results in Pasternak's use of Romantic models to show how un-Romantic an artist Chopin was, calling him emphatically a realist, itself has antecedents in the critical literature from Pasternak's literary "formative" period. In his 1914 monograph on Hoffmann, Ignatov writes that Hoffmann is a realist:

Если мы на ряду с этим произведением ["Des Vettters Eckfenster": KE-R] припомним упомянутое в биографии описание варшавской жизни, припомним сидение в свободное время в суде и наблюдение за толкавшимся там народом,—мы сможем с полным основанием сказать, что Гоффман был реалист. Его фантастика не уничтожает этого определения, так как она реальна, корни ее на земле, в обыденности.⁷⁰

Ignatov's views hark back to Vladimir Solov'ev's, in his introduction to his translation of "Der goldene Topf". Solov'ev, in writing about the double life which Hoffmann's characters lead, emphasizes the reality of the everyday settings:

Существенный характер поэзии Гоффмана [...] состоит в постоянной внутренней связи и взаимном проникновении фантастического и реального элементов, причем фантастические образы, несмотря на всю свою причудливость, являются не как привидения из иного чуждого мира, а как другая сторона той же самой действительности, того же самого реального мира, в котором действуют и страдают живые лица, выводимые поэтом. Поэтому, так как повседневная действительность имеет у Гоффмана всегда и постоянно, а не случайно только, некоторую фантастическую подкладку, эта действительность, отдельно взятая, при всей естественности своих лиц, образов и положений (естественности, какой мог бы позавидовать современный натурализм), постоянно

⁷⁰ S. S. Ignatov, *E. T. A. Goffman. Lichnost' i tvorchestvo* (Moscow: Tipografija O. L. Somovoj, 1914), 102.

дает чувствовать свою неполноту, односторонность и незаконченность, свою зависимость от чего то другого [...]”⁷¹

Pasternak’s view of realism redolent of Romanticism comes closer to the 1914 excerpt than to the obviously Symbolist view from 1880; nonetheless, the notion of a highly Romantic artist being a realist is not new to Pasternak.

In this regard it is significant that Pasternak discusses Hoffmann early in his career from the point of view of his underlying philosophy as Pasternak sees it (in philosophical terms perhaps more characteristic of Kleist than Hoffmann), rather than his typically Romantic traits. Already in his early letter to Loks, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in which Pasternak discusses his reading of Hoffmann, we see Pasternak’s interpretation of Hoffmann’s work not from the typical point of view as a half-crazed creator of fantastic stories, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, but as a creator of realist stories. Pasternak takes as an example Hoffmann’s “Das Majorat”, which he discusses not in terms of the supernatural side of the story, but in terms of its psychological and philosophical aspects. Important for Pasternak in the story is the theme of universality, both in the taboo against murder and in the effect of one person’s actions on another, even a stranger. In connection with “Das Majorat”, Pasternak writes of strangers as “collections of various ‘I’s’”.⁷² The key notion of Hoffmann’s story for Pasternak is the role of accident and fate, of the ability of one person unintentionally to change the course of another’s life. It is significant that Pasternak would take this particular aspect of Hoffmann’s work for discussion (writing off as less worthy of discussion a popular masterpiece like “Der goldene Topf”),⁷³ as this philosophical aspect becomes important for Pasternak’s work not in the strictly subtextual sense, but more generally in the development of his prose, as for example in “Detstvo Ljuvers”, as the commentators on the letter

⁷¹ Vladimir Solov’ev, introduction to E. T. A. Hoffmann, “Zolotoj gorshok”. *Perevod i predislovie Vladimira Solov’eva* (Moskva: Al’ciona, 1913), 6-7.

⁷² Boris Pasternak. “Pis’mo k Konstantinu Loksu”. *Publikacija E. B. i E. V. Pasternak. Minushee*, 13 (op. cit.), 178.

mention, or on *Doktor Zhivago*.⁷⁴ As we have seen in this chapter, however, this letter expresses rather an exception than the rule in Pasternak's reception of Hoffmann. Despite his stated interest in the philosophical side of Hoffmann's work, a statement which reflects his own views more than Hoffmann's predominating literary focus, the subtexts examined above show that Pasternak did indeed perceive Hoffmann in much the same way his literary colleagues did. As is always the case with Pasternak's poetics, he chose those aspects of Hoffmann which were appropriate to his own style and world view. He did not, for example, adopt Hoffmann's humor, one of the aspects of Hoffmann's writing which gained him fame.⁷⁵ His subtextual Hoffmann was rather the stereotypical Hoffmann of his era. It is all the more intriguing that he would take this stereotype while reversing its intent in his late essay. Although Pasternak's reception of Hoffmann at the end of his life cannot be compared to his rich reception of Novalis even at the end of his career, traces of Hoffmann can nevertheless be seen.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 170.

⁷⁵ This is also true of Pasternak's reception of Nikolaj Gogol. See Anna Ljunggren, "Gogol' i Pasternak", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 143-153.

CHAPTER FOUR

PASTERNAK AND HEINE

Pasternak read and admired Heine all his life, as Evgenij Borisovich Pasternak remarks in his biography of his father.¹ It is thus not surprising that Heine subtexts abound in Pasternak's work. As we have seen in Chapters Two and Three, Pasternak's reception of Novalis and Hoffmann is frequently indirect, through an intermediary subtext from a contemporary or a recent literary predecessor. In the case of Heine we see something different: namely, that Pasternak almost always quotes Heine without the use of an intermediary text. There are exceptions, as we will see below; however, as a rule, Pasternak's reception of Heine is direct.

This is to be expected, if one keeps in mind Heine's role as "the last Romantic, at once Romanticism's harvester and gravedigger."² The importance to Pasternak of Heine's dual attitude toward Romanticism has been pointed out by Lazar Fleishman in his biography of Pasternak.³ Indeed, Pasternak, while fighting openly against what he called the "romantic manner" (IV: 227), adhered to aspects of Romantic aesthetics and quoted heavily from canonic texts of the Romantic era, as I have discussed in detail in the second chapter.

Fleishman's remark appears in the context of a discussion of Pasternak's 1915 story "Apellesova cherta". One of the main themes of that story, as Fleishman and others have pointed out, is the blurring of borders between art and life.⁴ This is true on two

¹E. Pasternak, *Boris Pasternak. Materialy dlja biografii*, 234-235. See also E. B. Pasternak's introduction to Pasternak's "Istorija odnoj kontroktavy", on Heine's role in Pasternak's rejection of the "romantic manner", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1977, 253. He writes that Pasternak took as a model for the character Heine in his story "Apellesova cherta" Heinrich Heine as he described himself in *Reise nach Italien*.

²Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Heinrich Heine: A Modern Biography* (Princeton/London: Princeton University Press, 1979), 59.

³Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak: The Poet and His Politics* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 79.

⁴See Fleishman op. cit. 78-79; Barnes 1989, 195; Michel Aucouturier, "The Legend of the Poet and the Image of the Actor in the Short Stories of Pasternak", *Studies in Short Fiction*, 3 (Winter 1966), 225-235;

planes, since not only does the action of the story involve crossing the border between the two, but Pasternak himself sees Heine as a model in his struggle against Romanticism.⁵ The Heine of the story crosses into the realm of autobiography for Pasternak.

This tendency in Pasternak to link Heine with the autobiographical is manifested not only in "Apellesova cherta", but in much of Pasternak's work which could, sometimes loosely, be considered autobiographical. Heine is a model for Pasternak's movement away from what he perceived as the "romantic manner" to such a degree that Pasternak quotes Heine frequently in his autobiographical work. Heine's autobiography (itself real or fictional) becomes a part of Pasternak's autobiography.⁶

Pasternak's relationship to his autobiography is, at the very least, problematic. Christopher Barnes has written about the difficulty of being his biographer. Pasternak obscures the facts: his memory fails him and, in his two large autobiographical works, *Oxrannaja gramota* and his late-life autobiographical essay *Ljudi i položenija*, he is frequently inconsistent or inaccurate.⁷ Lazar Fleishman writes of Pasternak's tendency to "cover his tracks", regarding both biographical and literary details. Fleishman considers Pasternak's view of biography typically Futurist: since he viewed biography as a construct, like any other literary work, Pasternak believed that the same aesthetic norms used for literary texts also apply to biography.⁸

Sheikholeslami, *Der deutsche Einfluss im Werke von Boris Pasternak*, 130; Mossman, "Pasternak's Short Fiction", *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, 2, Winter 1972, 279-302.

⁵See Barnes, *Ibid.*; E. Pasternak, *Ibid.*; Erika Greber, *Intertextualität und Interpretierbarkeit des Texts. Zur frühen Prosa Boris Pasternaks*, 237-238; Sheikholeslami, 130.

⁶E. V. Pasternak writes of Pasternak's desire always to be others in his autobiographical depictions. See E. V. Pasternak, "Znacheme avtobiograficheskogo momenta v romane 'Doktor Zhivago'", *Pasternak-Studien*, 97-106. See also E. F. Varlamova, "B. Pasternak i L. Tolstoj. K voprosu o tradicii", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 164-170. Finally, on the autobiographical principal as it relates to Chopin, see Krystyna Pomorska, "Music as Theme and Constituent of Pasternak's Poems", *Slavic Poetics. Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky*, 333-350.

⁷Christopher Barnes, "Biography, Autobiography and 'Sister Life': Some Problems Chronicling Pasternak's Early Years", *Irish Slavonic Studies*, 4, 1983, 48-58.

⁸Lazar Fleishman, "Fragmenty 'futuristicheskoi' biografii Pasternaka", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 4, 1979, 79-113.

In his earlier memoir, *Ohrannaja gramota*, Pasternak assures his readers that he is not writing an autobiography (IV: 158), and later in the same work, he explains his dislike of the notion of a “poet’s biography”. He holds the concept of “biography” to be connected with the romantic notion of biography as spectacle, a notion which he rejects along with everything else connected with the “romantic manner”:

Но под романтической манерой, которую я отныне возбранял себе, крылось целое мировосприятие. Это было понимание жизни как жизни поэта. Оно перешло к нам от символистов, символистами же было усвоено от романтиков, главным образом немецких.

[...]

Зрелищное понимание биографии было свойственно моему времени. Я эту концепцию разделял со всеми. Я расставался с ней в той еще ее стадии, когда она была необязательно мягка у символистов, герозма не предполагала и кровью еще не пахла. И, во-первых, я освобождался от нее бессознательно, отказываясь от романтических приемов, которым она служила основанием. Во-вторых, я и сознательно избегал ее, как блеска, мне неподходящего, потому что, ограничив себя ремеслом, я боялся всякой поэтизации, которая поставила бы меня в ложное и несоответственное положение. (IV: 227-228)

Olga Raevsky Hughes writes that in this episode Pasternak is actually “revealing the genealogy of his own poetics.”⁹ Indeed, in Pasternak’s autobiographical or semi-autobiographical statements there are passages in which what are ostensibly self-depictions turn out to have subtexts in German Romantic literature. That is, in writing about himself, Pasternak quotes others writing about themselves, thus making his autobiography part of the autobiographical tradition on two levels—that of genre and that of subtext. One of the richest sources for these subtexts to his constructed autobiography is the work of Heine.

The depiction of Heine’s dual attitude toward Romanticism is typical for Russian criticism during the era in which Pasternak began his literary career. The author of the introductory article to the 1900 complete Russian edition of Heine’s works, Chujko, writes that Heine

⁹Olga Raevsky Hughes. *The Poetic World of Boris Pasternak*, 169.

сам был обязан влиянию романтической школы частью своих лучших вдохновений и хотя позднее он и покинул ее знамя, но тем не менее на закате своей жизни он сознался, что, несмотря на все истребительные походы против романтизма, он все-таки в глубине души оставался романтиком.¹⁰

Similarly, the editor to the 1903 Russian edition of Heine's works, Olenin, writes that "In Heine, Romanticism destroyed itself, in its brilliant play of antitheses."¹¹

An article by Viktor Zhirmunskij, "Gejne i romantizm", published in the journal *Russkaja mysl'* in 1914, depicts the Heine of "Die romantische Schule", who, as a late Romantic, distorts the image of his Jena Circle predecessors.

Гейне—характерный представитель позднего романтизма. В нем завершается процесс саморазрушения романтического чувства. Его мечта о бесконечном носит все черты определенного иллюзионизма.¹²

Zhirmunskij goes on to discuss a trait in Heine very highly valued by the post-Symbolist generation: Heine's pull toward this world, as opposed to the other-world of the Romantics (and of the Symbolists after them). Zhirmunskij notes in Heine

какое-то стремление к действительной жизни [...] горькие насмешки над возвышенными метафорическими грезами, над томлением по мирам иным, над тем, что в обычном словоупотреблении понимается под романтизмом. Эту жизнь благословляет поэт, эта жизнь бесконечна и божественна, и в полноте и силе жизни—высшая ценность существования.¹³

This longing in Heine to experience the fullness of this life, rather than dreaming of the beyond, was important not only to Pasternak, but to other post-Symbolist writers, like Mandel'shtam and Cvetaeva, and to some Symbolists, like the late Blok and Annenskij.

¹⁰V. V. Chujko, "Genrix Gejne. Kritiko-biograficheskij ocherk", *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij Genrixa Gejne v perevode russkix pisatelej*. Pod obshchej redakcieju P. V. Bykova (Petersburg/Moscow: M. O. Vol'f, 1900), XXXVII.

¹¹K. I. Olenin, "Genrix Gejne. Kritiko-biograficheskij ocherk", *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij Genrixa Gejne*. V perevode russkix pisatelej pod obshchej redakcieju K. I. Olenina (Odessa: Izdanie K. N. Karanta, 1903), 12 vols. XXXVIII. The Russian text reads: "V Gejne romantizm sam sebja unichtozhil, v blestjashchej igre antitezami."

¹²Viktor Zhirmunskij, "Gejne i romantizm", *Russkaja mysl'*, 5, 1914, Section 2, 96.

¹³*Ibid.*, 107.

This aspect of Heine's work was particularly important to Pasternak at the time when Zhirmunskij's article came out; in 1914 Pasternak had already published his first book of verse, *Bliznec v tuchax*, strongly marked by Symbolist language and imagery, and was turning away from the style of that early book toward post-Symbolist, Futurist poetics. This period, which biographers, following Pasternak's lead, characterize as his "rejection of the romantic manner" (IV: 227),¹⁴ is precisely the period when Heine subtexts begin to appear frequently in Pasternak's verse. A year after Zhirmunskij's article appeared, Pasternak wrote "Apellesova cherta", with Heine as its hero.

Pasternak's autobiographical statements, as I have noted above, straddle the border between fact and fiction, revealing not only his typically Futurist notion of biography as construct, as Fleishman has remarked, but also a profoundly Romantic attitude toward truth, as Guy de Mallac has pointed out.¹⁵ In fact, Pasternak's own statements on the theme of artistic truth have subtexts not only in Novalis, as I noted in Chapter Two, but in Heine as well. Recall Pasternak's statement and the Novalis subtext:

Чутьем, по своей одухотворенности, проза ищет и находит человека в категории речи, а если век его лишен, то на память воссоздает его, и подкидывает, и потом, для блага человечества, делает вид, что нашла его среди современности. Начала эти не существуют отдельно. (IV: 369)

This passage has two subtexts: from Novalis's novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, and from Heine's "Reise von München nach Genua". The Novalis passage makes the point that history should be written by historians who are poets as well, making clear that poets would write truer history than historians themselves:

Wenn ich alles recht bedenke, so scheint es mir, als wenn ein Geschichtschreiber notwendig auch ein Dichter sein müßte, denn nur die Dichter mögen sich auf jene Kunst, Begebenheiten schicklich zu verknüpfen, verstehn. [...] Es ist mehr Wahrheit in ihren Märchen, als in gelehrten Chroniken. Sind auch ihre Personen und deren Schicksalen erfunden: so ist doch der Sinn, in dem sie erfunden sind, wahrhaft und

¹⁴See Barnes 1989, E. Pasternak 1989, Fleishman 1990.

¹⁵Guy de Mallac, "Pasternak's Critical-Esthetic Views", *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, 6, 1973, 520.

natürlich. Es ist für unsern Genuß und unsere Belehrung gewissermaßen einerlei, ob die Personen, in deren Schicksalen wir den unsrigen nachspüren, wirklich einmal lebten oder nicht. Wir verlangen nach der Anschauung der großen einfachen Seele der Zeiterscheinungen, und finden wir diesen Wunsch gewährt, so kümmern wir uns nicht um die zufällige Existenz ihrer äußern Figuren. (I: 259; IV: 137-138)

The 1914 Vengerova translation of this passage reads:

Вникая в это, я вижу, что историк непременно должен быть поэтом; только поэты обладают искусством умело связывать события. [...] В их сказках больше правды, чем в ученых летописях. Хотя их герои и судьбы их выдуманы, но все же смысл выдумок правдивый и жизненный. Для нашего наслаждения и назидания в сущности безразлично, действительно ли жили или не жили те, чья жизнь отражает нашу собственную. Мы требуем, чтобы нам показали великую, простую душу современности, и если наше желание исполнено, то нам нет дела до случайного существования внешних обликов.¹⁶

Heine paraphrases Novalis's statement as follows:

Die Geschichte wird nicht von den Dichtern verfälscht. Sie geben den Sinn derselben ganz treu, und sey es auch durch selbsterfundene Gestalten und Umstände. (VII: 28)¹⁷

Thus the Romantic notion of lying in art expressed by Novalis and Schlegel, which was discussed in Chapter Two, appears in Heine as well. It is possible, in fact, that Pasternak draws his statements on the artistic lie from Heine, rather than from Heine's Romantic antecedents, as the textual correspondence between the Pasternak and Heine passages on the subject is closer. Pasternak, we recall, writes in *Oxannaja gramota*:

По-русски врать значит скорее нести лишнее, чем обманывать. В таком смысле и врет искусство. Его образ обнимает жизнь, а не ищет зрителя. Его истины не изобразительны, а способны к вечному развитию. (IV: 179)

¹⁶Novalis, "Gejnrix fon Osterdingen". Pervod s nemeckogo Zinaidy Vengerovoj i Vasilija Gippiusa (stxi). Vstupitel'naja stat'ja Zinaidy Vengerovoj. (Moscow: Knigoizdatel'stvo K. F. Nekrasova, 1914), 89.

Repr. Novalis. *Gejnrix fon Osterdingen. Fragmenty. Uchemki v Saise* (St. Petersburg: Evrazija, 1995), 15.

¹⁷Heinrich Heine. *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*. Herausgegeben von Manfred Windfuhr im Auftrag der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1973-). Heine texts are cited from this edition unless otherwise specified.

Heine, like Pasternak, speaks directly of lies in art, but with much greater irony than Pasternak. I will discuss the way in which Pasternak deprives Heine subtexts of their irony below. Heine writes the following in his “Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage” of his verse:

Es will mich bedünken, als sei in schönen Versen allzuviel gelogen worden,
und die Wahrheit scheue sich in metrischen Gewanden zu erscheinen. (I:
564)

Although Pasternak ignores the irony in Heine’s statement, he shares with his model an underlying cautiousness toward the worship of art; this virtual deification of art and artists is an ailment from which the Romantics (from Heine’s point of view) and the Symbolists and Futurists (from Pasternak’s viewpoint) suffer. Thus the statements by both writers on the falsehood inherent in art have the same goal of removing art from the pedestal onto which the writers’ predecessors had placed it. This can be seen in part as a reaction toward the positive notion of artistic lies typical of the Jena Romantics, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Yet the attitudes of both Pasternak and Heine toward art are more complex than these cool assessments of art’s falsehoods would suggest. Art for both may not be the object of open worship which it was for their predecessors, but it is for both writers a kind of protection from the outside world, a “safe conduct”, as Pasternak calls it. In fact, there is a possible Heine subtext to the title of Pasternak’s first autobiography, *Oxannaja gramota*. The common image in both the Heine text and Pasternak’s title is that of art as protective shield. In Heine the relevant passage appears in the poem “Die Minnesänger”:

Und die Kunst dient ihm zum **Schilde**,
Und das Wort das ist sein Schwerdt. (I: 96)

Pasternak and Heine have in common an ambivalent relationship to their artistic gifts, however. If for both art can serve as a shield (or, in Pasternak, also as a “pass” to a higher state:¹⁸ “Prosmis’, poët, i suj svoj propusk” [I: 278, 562]; “I rifma ne vtoren’e

¹⁸See E. B. and E. V. Pasternak, “Koordinaty liricheskogo prostranstva. K istorii otnoshenii Osipa Mandel’shtama i Borisa Pasternaka”, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2, 1990, 44-51; 3, 1990, 91-100, for commentary on the notion of the poet’s “pass”.

strok./ No vxođ i propusk za porog", [I: 401]), then art is also an illness. It is significant that Pasternak takes up Heine's image of art as a shield, but not of the word as a sword. We will examine their divergent views on art as a political weapon below.

The image of art as illness is ancient, dating back to Plato; however, the manifestation of this image which probably had the greatest impact on Pasternak and the poets of his generation comes not from classical sources, but mainly from Heinrich Heine, who took early Romantic images of art as cure and turned them on their heads, with the help of Hoffmannian images of the insane, isolated artist. In the 1860s Apollon Grigor'ev wrote of the "sickly poetry" prevalent in the age not too far before his, referring particularly to the "sickly" poetry of Fet and quoting extensively from Fet's main source for his ailing poetics, Heine. Reception of Heine's image of the ailing poet thus was a part of the tradition long before Pasternak.¹⁹

As I have discussed in Chapter Two, Pasternak's poem "Vysokaja bolezn'" has numerous subtexts in Novalis. Yet the Novalis subtexts to the image of poetry as illness are not entirely satisfactory, because although Novalis makes extensive use of images involving blindness, unconsciousness, electricity or electric shock, and other forms of temporary incapacitation to depict the force of inspiration, images to which Pasternak in turn refers, Novalis never actually defines art as illness. This is done first implicitly by Hoffmann, in his depictions of the "sick" or insane artist, as we have seen in Chapter Three; it is then done explicitly by Heine, who, in describing Novalis and Hoffmann, characterizes art as an illness. Heine writes the following of these two Romantic predecessors in "Die romantische Schule":

Die groÙe Aehnlichkeit zwischen beiden Dichtern besteht wohl darinn, daÙ ihre Poesie eigentlich eine Krankheit war. [...]

Aber haben wir ein Recht zu solchen Bemerkungen, wir, die wir nicht allzusehr mit Gesundheit gesegnet sind? Und gar jetzt, wo die Literatur wie ein groÙes Lazareth aussieht? Oder ist die Poesie vielleicht

¹⁹ Apollon Grigor'ev, "Russkaja izjashchnaja literatura v 1952 godu". Quoted from Apollon Grigor'ev, *Kritika* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1967), 87-102.

eine Krankheit des Menschen, wie die Perle eigentlich nur der Krankheitsstoff ist, woran das arme Austerthier leidet? (VIII: 193)²⁰

Heine repeats this image of poetry as the pearl from which the oyster suffers in his poem

“Jehuda ben Halevy”:

Diese weltberühten Perlen,
Sie sind nur der bleiche Schleim
Eines armen Austerthiers,
Das im Meergrund blöde kränkelt:

Doch die Perlen hier im Kästchen
Sind entquollen einer schönen
Menschenseele, die noch tiefer
Abgründtiefer als das Weltmeer —

Denn es sind die Tränenperlen
Des Jehuda ben Halevy,
Die er ob dem Untergang
Von Jerusalem geweinet —

Perlentränen, die verbunden
Durch des Reimes golden Faden,
Aus der Dichtkunst güldnen Schmiede
Als ein Lied hervorgegangen. (III: 146-147)

The metaphor of art as pearl/illness in Heine is taken from a poem to which Pasternak responds in several works — Franz Grillparzer’s “Abschied von Gastein”. In this 1818 poem Grillparzer writes of the pain of poetry, emphasizing the metaphor with a word play on Quell, in reference, of course, to the Castalian Spring, and Qual, or Schmerz, pain.

Was Gott mir gab worum sie mich beneiden,
Und was der Quell doch ist von meiner Pein,
Der Qualen Grund, die wenige ermessen,
Du liebest michs auf kurze Zeit vergessen.²¹

Grillparzer compares the poet-martyr to a tree struck by lightning, a mussel sick with a pearl, and a waterfall injured by the cliffs which give it its beauty. His metaphors find resonance in Pasternak’s poems “Opredelenie dushi” (I: 135) and “Bolezni zemli” (I:

²⁰The relevance of the pearl/oyster metaphor for poetry in “Die Romantische Schule” to Pasternak’s phrase was pointed out to me by Omry Ronen at a seminar in 1990. See Omry Ronen, “‘Rossija — Sfinks’. K istorii krylatogo upodoblenija”, *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 17 (1996), 422, 431. Heine’s essay was written in 1832-35. The poem “Jehuda ben Halevy” comes from the collection *Romanzero*, written in 1846-51.

²¹Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke. Ausgewählte Briefe, Gespräche, Berichte*. 4 vols. (München: Carl Hanser, 1960-65), Vol. I, hrsg. von Peter Frank und Karl Pömbacher (1960), 97.

136), and in his essay “Neskol’ko polozenij” (IV: 367, 370), already quoted in other contexts in Chapter Two.²² It is perhaps relevant to note that Grillparzer uses the exact phrase “hohe Krankheit”, or “vysokaja bolezn’”, as the title to a four-line epigraph written to Friedrich Wilhelm IV.²³ Although the epigraph itself is not significant as a source to Pasternak’s poem — the malady described there is “lofty” because it afflicts royalty — it is possible that Pasternak took the title from one poem and associated it with the text of another poem by the same author.²⁴ This would be typical of his use of a metonymic substitution of one text/sign for another.²⁵

Another subtextual source for the title “Vysokaja bolezn’”, besides the Novalis (and other linked) sources named in Chapter Two, the Heine image of poetry as illness, and the Grillparzer image, is from Jean Paul Richter, whose importance to Pasternak has also been

²²The relevant stanzas read: “Denn wir der Baum, auf den der Blitz gefallen, / Mit einemale strahlend sich verklärt, / Rings hörst du der Verwundrung Ruf erschallen, / Und jedes Aug ist staunend hingekehrt, / Indes in dieser Flammen glühndem Wallen / Des Stammes Mark und Leben sich verzehrt, / Der, wie die Lohe steigt vom glühnden Herde, / Um desto tiefer niedersinkt zur Erde. // Und wie die Perlen, die die Schönheit schmücken, / Des Wasserreiches wasserhelle Zier, / Den Finder, nicht die Geberin beglücken, / Das freudenlose, stille Muscheltier, / Denn Krankheit nur und lange Qual entrücken, / Das heißgesuchte, traurige Kleinod ihr, / Und was euch so entzückt mit seinen Strahlen, / Es ward erzeugt in Todesnot und Qualen. // Und wie der Wasserfall, des lautes Wogen / Die Gegend füllt mit Nebel und Getos, / Auf seinem Busen ruht der Regenbogen, / Und Diamanten schütteln rings sich los, / Er ware gern im stillen Tal gezogen, / Gleich seinen Brüdern in der Wiesen Schoß, / Die Klippen, die sich ihm entgegensetzen, / Verschönen ihn, indem sie ihn verletzen. // Der Dichter so, ob hoch vom Glück getragen, / Umjubelt von des Beifalls lautem Schall, / Er ist der welke Baum, vom Blitz geschlagen, / Das arme Muscheltier, der Wasserfall, / Was ihr für Lieder haltet, es sind Klagen, / Gesprochen in ein freudenloses All, / Und Flammen, Perlen, Schmuck, die euch umschweben, / Gelöste Teile sind von *seinem* Leben.” (Ibid., 97-98) Pasternak responds with the image of the fruit/poet burned by the storm, the leaf/poem or soul surviving in “Opredecenie dushi”:

“Ogljanis’: otgremela v krase, / Otpylala, osypalas — v peple. // Nashu rodinu burja sozhgla, / Uznaesh’ li gnezdo svoe, ptenchik?” (I: 135) The image of the poet transformed by a thunderstorm appears again at the end of “Neskol’ko polozenij” (IV: 370). The thundering waterfall in Grillparzer’s poem is echoed in the more “civilized”, and thus negative, fountain which poetry is not, according to Pasternak’s essay. (IV: 367) In “Bolezni zemli” the pain of the verses astounds the thunder: “Ch’i stixi nastol’ko nashumeli, / Chto i grom ix bol’ju izumlen?! Nado byt’ v bredu po men’shej mere, / Chtoby dat’ soglas’c byt’ zemlej.” (I: 136)

²³Grillparzer, op. cit., 548.

²⁴Further proof of Pasternak’s awareness of Grillparzer is another subtext unrelated to the present topic. His lines “Ja vmesto zhizni virshepisca: Povel by zhizn’ samix poem.” from “Volny” (I: 380) recall two sources from Grillparzer’s poetry: the quatrain “Du nennst mich Dichter? Ich verdien es nicht, / Ein ander sitzt, ich fühl’s, und schreibt mein Leben, / Und soll die Poesie den Namen geben, / Statt Dichter fühl ich höchstens mich Gedicht.” (413); and two lines from his “Entgegnung”, “Wärs nicht gegönnt zu schriben mehr, / So lebt ich ein Gedicht.” (274)

²⁵In this regard see L. Fleishman, “K karakteristike rannego Pasternaka”, in his *Stat’i o Pasternake*, 42. Pasternak, as Fleishman points out, substitutes Hegel for Friedrich Schlegel in “Vysokaja bolezn’” (I: 561).

mentioned in Chapter Two. In Hesperus Jean Paul writes, “wenn dir die poetische Täuschung flüchtige süße Schmerzen gibt” (I: 488), related not only to the title, but to the line in “Vysokaja bolezn’” “teplo i bol’ bolezn’ vysshej” (I: 557), discussed in the Novalis chapter. This is perhaps related to Heine’s later statement from “Die romantische Schule”, “Nun Goethe todt ist, bemächtigt sich meiner darob ein wunderbarer Schmerz.” (VIII: 125)

As with the case of Heine, Jean Paul texts provide a significant source to some of Pasternak’s autobiographical writings. This is particularly true in the case of Pasternak’s image of poetry as illness, an image which Jean Paul, like Heine, has in common with Pasternak.

On several occasions Pasternak wrote about his fall from a horse on Transfiguration Day and the simultaneous birth of creativity in him.²⁶ Typically, one source not published until after his death gives us the clearest hint about what he wishes to convey in describing his fall. In a 1913 prose sketch he writes:

Мне жалко 13-летнего мальчика с его катастрофой 6 августа. Вот как сейчас лежит он в свежей незатвердевшей гипсовой повязке, и через его бред проносятся трехдольные, синкопированные ритмы галопа и падения. Отныне ритм будет событие для него, и, обратно, события станут ритмами; мелодия же, тональность и гармония — обстановкою и веществом события. Еще накануне, помнится, я не представлял себе вкуса творчества. (IV: 684)

Pasternak describes the event much more matter-of-factly in his 1956 autobiographical essay *Ljudi i položeniia*: he explains his fall from a horse while following a group of female riders from the village of Bocharovo who were the subject of a

²⁶See L. Fleishman, “Avtobiograficheskoe i ‘Avgust’ Pasternaka”, in his *Stat’i o Pasternake*, 102-112. Pasternak refers to the event in the early prose sketch quoted above, in *Oxranajagramota* (IV: 151), in the second autobiographical essay *Ljudi i položeniia* (IV: 304-305), and in the Zhivago poem “Avgust” (III: 525-526). See also Aleksandr Zholkovskij, who writes of the fall from horseback as an aspect of Pasternak’s personal mythology of the feminine: “Ėkstaticheskie motivy Pasternaka v svete ego lichnoj mifologii”, *Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture. Vol. I. Boris Pasternak 1890-1990*, 52-74.

painting his father was working on. He noted that the leg healed so that it was shorter than the other, which kept him from serving in the army all his life. (IV: 304-305)²⁷

Both descriptions of the episode include carefully chosen details about the event: the ride, inspired in part by a painting; the fall; the symbolic setting on Transfiguration Day; the shortened leg; and the birth of “the taste of creativity”. Several of these details, associating illness with art, have subtexts in Jean Paul.

The heroine of his novel *Titan*, Liane, suffers from periodic hysterical blindness and migraines. During one of her attacks Liane says she hears flutes. Looking heavenward, her face transformed, she pronounces, “Ich höre jetzt in mir Musik.” The narrator elaborates on the phenomenon in a footnote:

Dieses Selbst-Ertönen [...] ist in Migräne und andern Krankheiten der Schwäche häufig; daher im Sterben; z. B. in Jakob Böhme schlug das Leben wie eine Konzertuhr seine Stunde von Harmonien umrungen aus. (III: 342)

Pasternak ties this episode from Jean Paul to an autobiographical leitmotif from his novel *Die unsichtbare Loge* in which he repeatedly refers to himself as “the one-legged author”. One example is in a footnote:

Das Einbein bin ich selber. Ich habe die Vorrede, die man wird überschlagen haben, und diese Note, die nicht zu überschlagen ist, gemacht, damit es einmal bekannt werde, daß ich nicht mehr habe als ein Bein, wenn man das zu kurze wegchnet, und daß sie mich in meiner Gegend nicht anders nennen als das Einbein, oder den einbeinigen Autor, da ich doch Jean Paul heiße. Siehe das Taufzeugnis und die Vorrede. (I: 45)

Both make their “lameness” a part of their artistic autobiographies. That the fall was an actual event in Pasternak’s life does not diminish the importance of its artistic

²⁷The text reads as follows: “V tu osen’ vozvrashchenie nashe v gorod bylo zaderzhano neschastnym sluchaem so mnoj. Otec zadumal kartinu “V nochnoe”. Na nej izobrazhalis’ devushki iz sela Bocharova, na zakate verxom vo ves’ opor gnavshie tabun v bolotistye luga pod nashim xolmom. Uvjazavshis’ odnazhdy za nimi, ja na pryzhke cherez shirokij ruchej svalilsja s razomchavshejsja loshadi i slomal sebe nogu, srosshujucja s ukoročeniem, chto osvobodzhvalo menja bposledstvii ot voennoj sluzhby pri vsej prizyvax.” (IV: 304-305)

transformation with the help of subtextual sources. Both writers use their autobiographies to connect the images of “illness” or “weakness” and creativity.²⁸

Thus in addition to the sources to the title “Vysokaja bolezn” which were discussed in Chapter Two from Novalis, the title has various other sources in Heine, Grillparzer, and Jean Paul. Common to all three writers, and in contrast to Novalis, is the underlying notion of art as illness. If in Novalis artistic inspiration can take the form of a temporary incapacitation, and if in Novalis illness itself is a blessed condition (a notion perhaps inspired by the long illness from which his first fiancée never recovered), then Heine, along with Grillparzer and Jean Paul before him, makes the connection between art and illness direct. Novalis makes art the cure; later Romantics, and already Novalis’s contemporary Jean Paul, turn this image around. As with much of the legacy of the later Romantics, this image of art as illness finds new expression, in extreme form, in works of Nietzsche and the Decadents. This explains Pasternak’s ironic treatment of the image in “Vysokaja bolezn”, in contrast to his absolutely serious treatment of the Novalisian image of poet as doctor or cure in several poems of his later book *Vtoroe rozhdenie*, discussed in Chapter Two. For as was discussed in Chapter Three, associations with his nearer predecessors from the Decadent era are generally negative, particularly in regard to the image of the superhuman artist. In this regard, it should be pointed out that sources for the image of ailing artist abound in Pasternak’s own era, for example, in Alexander Blok and the ultimate romantic (in the negative sense) to Pasternak, Vladimir Majakovskij, in his

²⁸Ernst Heilborn makes the following comment on the similarities between Novalis and Jean Paul precisely on this theme: “Eine frühe Auferstehung fand Novalis in den letzten Bänden von Jean Pauls ‘Titan’. Mit einzelnen Citaten läßt sich das schwer belegen, es ist eine Wiederkehr derselben Stimmung, der gleichen Zeitgeist, der sich hier wie dort erdichtete. Züge, die in Novalis’ Wesen sich entziehen, hier treten klar zu Tage. Doch war Jean Paul sich dieser Gemeinschaft schwerlich selbst bewußt. In seiner ‘Vorschule der Ästhetik’ rechnete er Novalis kühl unter *die* Talente, bei deren wahrer, echter Tendenz man den **Mangel von einem oder mehreren Beinen** nachsehen müsse. Den Sternchen, roten Wolken, Tautropfen eines schönen poetischen Morgens verglich er seine Schriften.” Ernst Heilborn, *Novalis der Romantiker* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1901), 5.

prerevolutionary verse. As is often the case, Pasternak combines Romantic and Futurist sources.²⁹

Both Pasternak and Heine add one important nuance to their common image of art as illness—namely, that specifically Romantic art is an illness. Heine characterizes art in “Die Nordsee” in a manner similar to that in “Die romantische Schule” and “Jehuda ben Halevy”, adding what he implied in the essay, that Romantic art is ailing, as opposed to the “healthy” art of Goethe. Heine writes in “Die Nordsee”:

Das ist ein Verdienst Goethes, das erst spätere Zeiten erkennen werden;
denn wir, die wir meist alle krank sind, stecken viel zu sehr in unseren
kranken, zerrissenen, romantischen Gefühlen, die wir aus allen Ländern
und Zeitaltern zusammengelesen, als daß wir unmittelbar sehen könnten,
wie gesund, einheitlich und plastisch sich Goethe in seinen Werken zeigt.
(VI: 147-148)

In fact, Heine puts his attitude toward “ailing” Romanticism in even stronger terms later in his career, in his poem “Vitzliputzli”. Here, as elsewhere in his writings on Romanticism, he continues to write that he is as sick as everyone else with this disease he has diagnosed; yet here the expression of his sufferings is stronger, since at this point he perceives Romanticism to be dead. Heine writes:

Ist kein Kirchhof der Romantik,
Ist kein alter Scherbenberg
Von verschimmelten Symbolen
Und versteinerten Perücken.

Aus gesundem Boden sprossen
Auch gesunde Bäume—keiner
Ist blasirt und keiner hat
In dem Rückgratmark die Schwindsucht.

²⁹To quote only one example of many, from “Oblako v shtanax”: “Ja—gde bol’, vezde: na kazhdoj kaple slezovoj techi/ raspjal sebja na kreste.” Vladimir Majakovskij, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenij v trinadcati tomax* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1955-62), I: 185. In fact, Aleksandr Arxangel’skij mentions another line from this poem as a subtext to the title “Vysokaja bolezn’”: “Mama! Vash syn prekrasno bolen!” (I: 179-80). See his article “Dvizhushchij rebus. Nad strokami ‘Vysokoj boleznj’ Borisa Pasternaka i ne tol’ko”, *Oktjabr’*, 12, 1990, 168. Note the resemblance between this phrase and the Heine phrase “wunderbarer Schmerz” mentioned above. That Majakovskij drew on the same Romantic tradition of the suffering poet, particularly through Blok and Nietzsche, is hardly surprising. Moreover, we know from Lilja Brik’s memoirs of his fondness for Heine, whom he read in translation. See L. Ju. Brik, “Chuzhie stixi”, in *V. Majakovskij v vospominanijax sovremennikov* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1963), 351.

[...] Doch durch jahrelangen Umgang
Mit den Todten, nahm ich an
Der Verstorbenen Manieren
Und geheime Seltsamkeiten. (III: 57-58)

Like Heine, Pasternak refers to the death of Romanticism and to his part in this now dead movement:

Но под романтической манерой, которую я отныне
возбраниял себе, крылось целое мировосприятие [...]

Зрелищное понимание биографии было свойственно моему
времени. Я эту концепцию разделял со всеми. (IV: 227-228)

A number of biographers have written that Pasternak associated the romantic manner with Majakovskij.³⁰ Here, Pasternak's reference to Majakovskij, who died in 1930, just before Part III of *Oxranaja gramota* was written, cannot be missed: Majakovskij represents for Pasternak both the Romantic concept of biography as spectacle, with all its political implications (recall the passage on this concept "smelling of blood") and its death.

In fact, there is a Pasternak poem, published in April 1931, three months after the publication of "Smert' poëta" (dedicated to Majakovskij's death) in which Pasternak links the image of Majakovskij with a highly political Heine subtext. The Pasternak poem in question is "Borisu Pil'njaku", with its lines:

Оставлена вакансия поэта:
Она опасна, если не пуста. (I: 226)

The Heine subtext is from his poem "Enfant perdu":

Verlor'ner Posten in dem Freyheitskriege,
Hielt ich seit dreyzig Jahren treulich aus.
Ich kämpfte ohne Hoffnung, daß ich siege,
Ich wußte, nie komm ich gesund nach Haus.

[...] **Ein Posten ist vakant!** — Die Wunden klaffen —
Der eine fällt, die andern rücken nach —
Doch fall' ich unbesiegt, und meine Waffen
Sind nicht gebrochen — Nur mein Herze brach. (I: 581)

³⁰See Barnes 1989, 195; E. Pasternak 1989, 234-235; Fleishman 1990, 78-79.

In writing of the dangers of Majakovskij's (not Pil'njak's, as Gifford points out) position as poet laureate of the revolution, Pasternak takes a Heine text about his position as poet/revolutionary and turns the intent of the text on its head.³¹ If Heine felt he was a hero in the war for freedom, then Pasternak saw Majakovskij in quite a different light. With this subtext, Pasternak underlines the incongruity between Majakovskij's own self-image as revolutionary poet and Pasternak's image of Majakovskij's political position; he also shows the very complexity of Majakovskij's political self-image.

The poem, of course, deals not only with Majakovskij's position, but with Pasternak's difficulties in adapting to the new era.

И разве я не мерюсь пятилеткой?
 Не падаю, не поднимаюсь с ней?
 Но как мне быть с моей грудною клеткой
 И с тем, что всякой косности косней? (I: 226)

Pasternak's images of falling and rising, and of the rib cage, recall Heine's image of the soldier falling from a broken heart.³² Pasternak places himself, as someone who cannot move in harmony with political events, in opposition to Heine's hero, who collapses from despair that the world is not moving fast enough toward his ideal. The meaning of Pasternak's poem links it to "Mne xochetsja domoj", from "Volny", which itself has subtexts from Heine as well as Novalis, as we will see below.³³ Pasternak's illness in this instance, as in "Vysokaja bolezn'", is political as well as artistic. If, as discussed in Chapter Two, the image of revolution as illness has a Novalis subtext, then

³¹See Henry Gifford, *Pasternak: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 130.

³²Another source for the image of the inadequately large rib cage is Marina Cvetaeva's first essay on Pasternak, "Svetovoj liven'", to be discussed later in this chapter. The relevant lines from Cvetaeva's essay read: "Pasternak ne govorit, emu nekogda dogovarivat', on ves' razryvaetsja, — točno grud' ne vmeschaet: a — ax!" Marina Cvetaeva, *Sobranie sochinenij v semi tomax* (Moscow: Ellis Lak, 1994), Vol. 5, 233. See also Osip Mandel'shtam's essay on Pasternak: "Stixi Pasternaka pochitat' — gorlo prochistit', dyxanie ukrepit', obnovit' legkie: takie stixi dolzhny byt' celebny dlja tuberkulesa." "Zametki o poëzii", Osip Mandel'shtam. *Sochinenija v dvux tomax* (Moscow: Nudozhestvennaja literatura, 1990), 210. Originally published as "Boris Pasternak", *Rossija*, 6, 1923 (February 1923), 29.

³³On "Mne xochetsja domoj", see A. K. Zholkovskij, "'Mne xochetsja domoj, v ogromnost'...' Borisa Pasternaka: 'Social'nyj zakaz', tematika, struktura", *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 50 (1991), No. 1, 20-34.

we see that here again Heine takes a Novalis image and turns its intent around. If for Novalis, revolution is an infectious illness, an image to which Pasternak refers in “Vysokaja bolezn’”, then for Heine, revolution is healthy. The case of Pasternak’s reception of Heine subtexts will illustrate this point.

Pasternak’s poem “Kodga smertel’nyj tresk sosny skripuchej”, written several years before “Borisu Pil’njaku”, shares with that later poem the message of the dangers of the Soviet revolution for the political health of the country, but expresses that message in much sharper form. In this poem, as in “Borisu Pil’njaku”, there is a Heine subtext, the intended message of which is the opposite of Pasternak’s. Pasternak writes of his objection to the path of revolution, as opposed to the evolutionary path which nature follows. He takes the same image which Heine uses in the subtext to make the opposite point. Pasternak writes:

Когда смертельный треск сосны скрипучей
 Всей рощей погребает перегной,
 История, нерубленною пущей
 Иных дерев встаешь ты предо мной.

Веками спит плетенье мелких нервов,
 Но раз в столетье или два и тут
 Стреляют дичь и ловят браконьеров
 И с торопом порубщика ведут. (1927, I: 548)

History to Pasternak is an organic process, like the growth of a forest. In Chapter Two we saw that Pasternak draws from subtexts by Novalis on this theme. Any interruption of that organic process is terrifying to Pasternak, particularly in the late twenties.

Heine, in contrast, aches for revolutionary change. Using the very image which Pasternak transforms, that of the axe of change felling the trees of history, Heine writes that Germany will someday give birth to such an axe-bearer. From “Heinrich”:

“Fern in meinen deutschen Landen
 Heben sich die starken Berge,
 Und im stillen Bergeschachte
 Wächst das Eisen für die Streitaxt.

Fern in meinen deutschen Landen
 Heben sich die Eichenwälder,
 Und im Stamm der höchsten Eiche
 Wächst der Holztiel für die Streitaxt.

Du, mein leibes treues Deutschland,
 Du wirst auch den Mann gebären,
 Der die Schlange meiner Qualen
 Neiderschmettert mit der Streitaxt." (II: 116)

If for Pasternak, the bearer of the revolutionary axe is described as sickly and abnormal—

Над ним плывет улыбка инвалида
 Мясистых щек китайским фонарем.

[...] Он просто краской хвачен, как подагрик,
 И ярк тем, что мертв, как лампион. (I: 548)

— then for Heine the man with the axe is a hero, likened to St. George smiting the dragon with his sword. Revolution for Heine is part of the organic process; the materials for the axe come from nature, and his homeland bears the revolutionary as one of its own children.

For Heine, as for Pasternak, there is one more significant aspect to the image of illness. The illness referred to in the excerpt from "Jehuda ben Halevy", quoted above, is not only the illness of artistry, but also that of Judaism. Heine refers to the image of the old, ailing Jew again in his poem "Das neue Israelitische Hospital zu Hamburg" (II: 117-118), where he describes Judaism as "Das tausendjährige Familienübel" (II: 117). This image occurs in Pasternak as well, in *Doktor Zhivago*. As Dmitri Segal points out, Judaism is associated with illness and isolation in *Doktor Zhivago*.³⁴ There are elements of negative sentiment toward Judaism in Pasternak's early correspondence with his parents as well.³⁵ Here, as in Heine's fight with Romanticism, Pasternak apparently sees Heine as a model.

³⁴On the problem of Pasternak and Judaism, see Dmitri Segal, "Pro Domo Sua: The Case of Boris Pasternak", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1977, 199-250.

³⁵See, for example, his letter to his father from 22 April 1912 en route to Marburg: "Passazhiry menjajutsja ezhechasno. Vizg, detskie sljuni i pol'skie evr[ei] i evrejskie poljaki." (V: 25) Vjacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov expresses an objection to the opinion that Pasternak harbored anti-Semitic views of

But subtextual sources from Heine are richer in other areas. One example of particularly productive areas of subtextual occurrences in Pasternak is related to the image of the ailing poet: that is the image of the poet-martyr.

Heine plays on Jean Paul's phrase about poetry, "süße Schmerzen", in his "Reise von München nach Genua". Here Heine elaborates on one of his own favorite images, shared by Grillparzer in the example discussed above: that of poet-martyr. Here the pain is not that of poetry, but that of existence, which, for a poet, is inseparably linked with poetry. (In fact, elsewhere in that section of the *Reisebilder*, Heine writes even of pleasure as pain: "Vergnügen ist nichts als ein höchst angenehmer Schmerz." VII: 46) Expressing himself in a manner reminiscent of Grillparzer's play on "Quell/Qual", Heine writes about the poet's redemptive role in the world:

Ich fühle den süßen Schmerz der Existenz, ich fühle alle Freuden und Qualen der Welt, ich leide für das Heil des ganzen Menschengeschlechts, ich büße dessen Sünden, aber ich genieße sie auch. (VII: 26)

Pasternak takes the Heine text not only for his image of "teplo i bol' boleznii vysshej" (I: 557), in reference to the ailment of poets, but also for his theme of the poet as Christ figure who redeems the sins of the world with his poetry. As in many other cases, however, Pasternak alters the irony of the Heine subtext. Elsewhere, Pasternak often simply removes the irony of Heine subtexts; in this case, however, he changes Heine's light, humorous irony to a bitter irony. He turns Heine's mildly ironic self-portrait of poetic martyrdom to a biting portrait of self-pity. He writes in a refrain:

Я послан богом мучить
Себя, родных и тех,
Которых мучит грех. (I: 156-158)

Pasternak's ironic self-portrayal of poetic martyrdom in this passage will, later in his career, evolve into the theme of poet as Christ figure, as in his Zhivago poem "Gamlet", as

any kind: see Mixail Mejlah, "Jubilejnyj god Pasternaka v Anglii", *Voprosy literatury*, August 1991, 243-44.

we will see below. In the passages quoted here, the poet is not himself ill, but is rather the victim of the world's common ailment.

Heine's notion of the poet's pain appears again in another text which provides Pasternak with a subtext. In an exclamation similar to one quoted earlier in reference to the poet's illness, Heine writes in "Die Stadt Lucca":

O! es ist keine Uebertreibung, wenn der Poet in seinem Schmerze ausruft:
das Leben ist eine Krankheit, die ganze Welt ein Lazareth!
'Und der Tod ist unser Arzt—' Ach! ich will nichts böses von ihm
reden... (VII: 171)

Using his typical technique of metonymy, Pasternak alters the image of the poet crying out to make the verses cry out in a pain which both astounds and infects the world around:

Чьи стихи настолько нашумели,
Что и гром их болью изумлен?
Надо быть в бреду, по меньшей мере,
Чтобы дать согласие быть землей. (I: 136)

Pasternak expresses his notion of poetic martyrdom through the notion of broken strings, examined also in the previous chapter. The following passage has a subtext not only in Hoffmann (who, we recall, inverts Novalis's profoundly Romantic images of the lyre and the Acolian harp), but in Heine as well:

И, окуная парк за старой
Беседкою в заглохший пруд,
Похож и он на тень гитары,
С которой, тешась, струны рвут. (I: 205)

The image of the poet-martyr links the poem to one subtext, "Sie erlischt", the 18th poem from Heine's "Lazarus". In that Heine poem is also present the implied metaphor of the instrument for the poet, connected metonymically to the stated metaphor of the dying lamp.

Der Vorhang fällt, das Stück ist aus,
Und Herrn und Damen gehn nach Haus.
Ob ihnen auch das Stück gefallen?
Ich glaub' ich hörte Beyfall schallen.
Ein hochverehrtes Publikum
Beklatschte dankbar seinen Dichter.

Jetzt aber ist das Haus so stumm,
Und sind verschwunden Lust und Lichte.

Doch horch! ein schollernd schnöder Klang
Ertönt unfern der öden Bühne;—
Vielleicht daß eine Saite sprang
An einer alten Violine.
Verdrießlich rascheln im Parterr'
Etwelche Ratten hin und her,
Und alles riecht nach ranz'gem Oehle.
Die letzte Lampe ächzt und zischt
Verzweiflungsvoll und sie erlischt.
Das arme Licht war meine Seele. (III: 120)

The image of the poet as a martyr on stage from this poem appears in a number of Pasternak poems, including "O znal by ja..." (I: 412) and "Gamlet" from *Doktor Zhivago* (III: 511). In these two poems, the self-pitying poet-martyr becomes a truly Christ-like figure. In the first of the two poems:

О, знал бы я, что так бывает,
Когда пускался на дебют,
Что строчки с кровью — убивают,
Нахлынут горлом и убьют!

[...] Но старость — это Рим, который
Взамен турусов и колес
Не читки требует с актера,
А полной гибели всерьез.

Когда строку диктует чувство,
Оно на сцену шлет раба,
И тут кончается искусство,
И дышат почва и судьба. (I: 412)

The late-life poem "Gamlet" alters Heine's scene, to depict an actor entering the stage, rather than after the performance. The common link between the texts is the poet's martyrdom. Pasternak writes in "Gamlet":

Гул затих. Я вышел на подмости.
Прислонясь к дверному косяку,
Я ловлю в далеком отголоске
Что случится на моем веку.

На меня наставлен сумрак ночи
Тысячью биноклей на оси.
Если только можно, Авва Отче,
Чашу эту мимо пронеси. (III: 511)

Heine uses the same metaphor of the broken string for the poet in “Florentinische Nächte”, this time with considerable irony:

Aber der gequälte Violinist tat plötzlich einen Strich, einen so wahnsinnig verzweifelten Strich, daß seine Ketten rasselnd entzweisprangen und sein unheimlicher Gehülfe, mitsamt den verhöhnenden Unholden, verschwanden.

In diesem Augenblick sagte mein Nachbar, der Pelzmakler: “Schade, schade, eine Saite ist ihm gesprungen, das kommt von dem beständigen Pizzicati!” (V: 219)

This episode occurs at a climactic moment in the music:

Aus der Violine drangen alsdann Angstlaute und ein entsetzliches Seufzen und ein Schluchzen, wie man es nie gehört auf Erden, und wie man es vielleicht nie wieder auf Erden hören wird... (V: 219)

The occurrence of an “injury” to the instrument at the moment of greatest inspiration in this text links it to Pasternak’s 1916 story “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”, discussed in the previous chapter in reference to Hoffmann. As is frequently the case, Pasternak deprives both the Hoffmann and the Heine texts of their comedy or irony, in this case rather leaning toward the melodramatic. Pasternak writes in a manner which anthropomorphizes the instrument in much the same way Heine does. In the Pasternak story:

[...] когда, на рискованнейшем повороте одного басового предложения, орган отказал двум клавишам в повиновении и из грандиозного бастиона труб и клапанов рванулся какой-то нечеловеческий крик [...] (IV: 442)

In the previous texts on the broken string, the key metaphor is that of the poet or artist undergoing injury or actually sacrificing his life for the sake of his art. Here, in “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”, that motif is put in a different form: Pasternak personifies the instrument to create the image of an injured instrument, when it is actually an innocent child who is victim. Yet the hero of the story perceives himself as victim because he is rejected from the society of the town and no longer allowed to play on “his” instrument. In all of the texts, in some form or other, the moment of greatest inspiration is also the moment of injury. Audience members, if mentioned at all, are treated either as hapless onlookers or as instigators of the act leading to the poet’s/artist’s martyrdom. Unlike the group of texts

above on the hyperbolization of the poet's pain to become the world's pain, in this set of texts the pain of martyrdom is the poet's alone (as the poet perceives it—of course, this is not the case in “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”, where a child falls victim, although the musician perceives the situation otherwise). The world cannot experience the inspiration, and thus does not become victim to the pain.

In the ways discussed above, then, Pasternak takes Heine's image of the poet in pain both at his own illness and at the ills of the world, and he transforms that image, depriving it of Heine's irony. The common trait of all these texts is the sacrificial nature of the poet's pain. If Heine treats that theme with some irony, as a reaction to early Romantic notions of poet as high priest who suffers the shocks accompanying inspiration (recall Novalis's images of inspiration as temporary incapacitation), then Pasternak, on the other hand, takes the theme of the artist's sacrificial role quite seriously, as a Romantic himself, even in his exuberant passages on this theme.

Another excellent example of Pasternak's tendency to deprive Heine subtexts of their irony is in the introduction to Pasternak's *Sestra moja zhizn'*, in which Pasternak identifies himself with his Romantic ancestors:

Пока в Дарьял, как к другу, вхож,
Как в ад, в цейхгауз и в арсенал,
Я жизнь, как Лермонтова дрожь,
Как губы в вермут, окунал. (I: 110)

With this passage Pasternak celebrates his Romantic ancestry. Ironically, he is quoting a passage from Heine in which Heine mocks the Romantic image of insane poet and political idealist, suffering for his ideals at the hands of imagined persecutors, much the way Don Quixote fought imaginary enemies. Heine writes from the point of view of this insane poet:

Ich bilde mir ein, man habe alles mögliche angewendet um mich mager zu halten; als mich hungerte da fütterte man mich mit Schlangen, als mich

dürstete da tränkte man mich mit **Wermuth**, man goß mir die **Hölle ins Herz**, daß ich **Gift weinte und Feuer seufzte** [...] (VII: 203)³⁶

Pasternak takes the Heine text and deprives it of its mocking irony at the expense of the Romantic poet and idealist. While Heine's comparison of the Romantic poet to an insane Don Quixote type is less than complimentary, Pasternak takes his Romantic ancestry very seriously and treats it with a kind of exuberant reverence. This applies as well to the Don Quixote metaphor, which appears implicitly in Pasternak's poem "Mel'nicy", discussed in Chapter Two. While Heine laughingly equates the poet's insanity with Don Quixote's, as in this passage —

Vielleicht habt ihr doch Recht, und ich bin nur ein Donquichote und das Lesen von allerley wunderbaren Büchern hat mir den Kopf verwirrt, ebenso wie den Junker von La Mancha [...] (VII: 202)

— then in Pasternak's "Mel'nicy", the image of the poet's vision as deluded, in the way Don Quixote's vision also arises as the delusions of his over-sensitive imagination, is treated in nightmarish fashion. The Quixotic mills which Pasternak's poet creates in his mind, mills which themselves grind meaningless poetry, form a terrifying contrast to Heine's ironic picture of Quixotic poetic illness and martyrdom, expressed in a passage soon after the passage quoted above: "Ach! solche Heldentat bekommt mir oft ebenso schlecht wie ihm, und ich muß, ebenso wie er, viel erdulden für die Ehre meiner Dame." (VII: 202)

In another example of the same technique of "re-romanticizing" Heine, as it were, Pasternak chooses a Proust quotation for the epigraph to his last book of verse, *Kogda razguljaetsja*. The Proust passage itself has a Heine subtext, of which Pasternak must have been aware, since he knew Heine so well. The Proust epigraph reads:

Un livre est un grand cimetière où sur la plupart des tombes on ne peut plus lire les noms effacés. (II: 72)

³⁶ Jerzy Faryno points out the second meaning of "vermut" as "wormwood", or "bitterness". See Faryno, "K probleme koda liriki Pasternaka", *Russian Literature*, Vol. 6. No. 1 (January 1978), 69-101. This links the Pasternak text further to Heine's image of "pouning hell".

The Heine text which serves as a source for Proust, from "Die romantische Schule", is in an entirely different tone:

Die Literaturgeschichte ist die große Morgue wo jeder seine Todten aufsucht, die er liebt oder womit er verwandt ist. (VIII: 135)

Pasternak chooses the Proust passage over the ironic Heine passage. In both cases, Pasternak is deadly serious, because in both cases he is discussing his literary autobiography, linking himself to those literary ancestors whom he most respects. Unlike Heine, when the subject at hand is literary ancestry or autobiography, Pasternak does not allow himself any irony or flippancy. This is precisely the subject on which Heine is at his most ironic. One of the aspects which probably most strongly attracted Pasternak to Heine, Heine's respectful and yet distanced and ironic attitude toward Romanticism, does not find expression in Pasternak's poetic system in the form which Heine most often uses to express that distance. Though Pasternak shares Heine's attitude toward Romanticism, he does not allow himself ironic remarks about his own closeness to the Romantic movement. Literary autobiography is very serious business for Pasternak.

So, too, is the poet's relationship to politics. Another case in which Pasternak's literary autobiography echoes Heine's is linked with the theme of poetic martyrdom, this time at the hands of political forces. Pasternak's "Volny", as Zholkovskij shows in his analyses of "Mne xochetsja domoj", depicts Pasternak's struggle with the Moscow of 1930 while he is away in the (literally and figuratively) fresh air of Georgia, away from problems personal and political.³⁷ Some of the aspects of this cycle were discussed at the end of Chapter Two. The oppositions between Pasternak's darkly ambivalent feelings about

³⁷ On the political implications of "Mne xochetsja domoj", see Aleksandr Zholkovskij, "Ljubovnaja lodka, uprjazh' dlja Pcgasa i poxoronnaja kolybel' naja (Tri stixotvorenija i tri perioda Pasternaka)"; idem, "Mexanizmy 'Vtorogo rozhdenija'", *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2, 1990, 35-41; idem, "'Mne xochetsja domoj, v ogromnost'..." Borisa Pasternaka: 'Social'nyj zakaz', tematika, struktura", *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija literatury i jazyka*, Vol. 50 (1991), No. 1, 20-34; some attention is devoted to *Vtoroe rozhdenie* in Zholkovskij's "Invarianty i struktura poetičeskogo teksta. Pasternak", in Zholkovskij and Ju. K. Shcheglov, *Poëtika vyrazitel'nosti. Sbornik statej* (Vienna: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 2, 1980).

Moscow and the feeling of relative freedom in Georgia, which itself is nevertheless depicted in terms of its complexities, can best be explained in these two stanzas of “Vdny”.

On Moscow:

Мне хочется домой, в огромность
Квартиры, наводящей грусть.
Войду, сниму пальто, опомнюсь,
Огнями улиц озарюсь. (I: 375)

And on Georgia:

И мы пойдем, в сколь тонких дозах
С землей и небом входят в смесь
Успех и труд, и долг, и воздух,
Чтоб вышел человек, как здесь. (I: 379)

This opposition of urban fetters and mountain freedom has as a subtext the Prologue to Heine’s *Die Harzreise*. Heine writes bitterly of the society from which he wishes to escape:

Schwarze Röcke, seid’ne Strümpfe,
Weiße, höfliche Manschetten,
Sanfte Reden, Embrassieren—
Ach, wenn sie nur Herzen hätten!

Herzen in der Brust, und Liebe,
Warme Liebe in dem Herzen—
Ach, mich tötet ihr Gesänge
Von erlog’nen Liebesschmerzen.

Auf die Berge will ich steigen,
Wo die frommen Hütten stehen,
Wo die Brust sich frei erschließet,
Und die freyen Lüfte wehen.

Auf die Berge will ich steigen,
Wo die dunkeln Tannen ragen,
Bäche rauschen, Vögel singen,
Und die stolzen Wolken jagen.

Lebet wohl, ihr glatten Säle!
Glatte Herren, glatte Frauen!
Auf die Berge will ich steigen,
Lachend auf euch niederschauen. (VI: 83)

Pasternak's poem does not carry the simple message that Heine's poem carries. If Heine's poem is a clear condemnation of the society he wishes to flee, then Pasternak's poem reflects much more mixed feelings toward the land to which he has temporarily fled.

Мы были в Грузии. Помножим
Нужду на нежность, ад на рай [...] (I: 379)

While Heine's poem reflects an unequivocal desire to leave the society of which he is a part, Pasternak's poem reveals something closer to a longing for his home and the society he is familiar with ("Мне хочется домой...", I: 375). Yet the poems share the same basic oppositions: city/country, and linked to that valley/mountain and limited vision/clear vision. Heine writes of "Lachend auf euch niederschauen." Pasternak writes of the clarity of vision he receives while away in the Caucasus:³⁸

Кавказ был весь как на ладони
И весь как смятая постель,
И лед голов синел бездонней
Тепла нагретых пропастей. (I: 380)³⁹

That perception extends from the literal clarity of the landscape from his view atop a mountain to the clarity of vision about his society which this escape to the mountains gives him.

Ты рядом, даль социализма.
Ты скажешь — близь? — Средь тесноты,
Во имя жизни, где сошлись мы,—
Переправляй, но только ты.

Ты куришься сквозь дым теории,
Страна вне сплетен и клевет,
Как выход в свет и выход к морю,
И выход в Грузию из Млет. (I: 380)

³⁸ See previous footnote.

³⁹ Another subtext to this poem can be found in Majakovskij's "Tamara i Demon": "Da tak, / chtob skala / raspostelilas' v pux." It is significant that this poem also contains the image of the broken string ("revet' / starat' sja v golos vo ves' / sryvaja struny gitaram") and a reference to Pasternak ("pro èto' pishet sebe Pasternak"). See Majakovskij, op. cit., VI: 74-78.

Pasternak takes Heine's poem both as a starting point for his own basic opposition (Moscow constraints versus Georgian freedom), and as a basis for polemic. In setting his poem in the mountains of the Caucasus—a traditional setting for either escape or exile—he preserves the main oppositions of the Heine text, which expresses a desire to escape from the society and a life he finds difficult to understand (“a smoke of theory,/ A country outside gossip and slander”). Moreover, there are formal similarities which link the two texts: the four-foot binary meter (trochees in Heine's poem, iambs in Pasternak's); the tendency in both texts to split a line into two anaphoric halves (“Glatte Herren, glatte Frauen” in Heine; and in Pasternak “Za rodom rod, za shagom shag./ Za godom god, za rodom plemja”, I: 377); and the common landscape imagery of pines and roving clouds (penultimate stanza in the Heine poem, in Pasternak: “Shli dni, shli tuchi, bili zorju,/ Sedlali, povskakavshi s takht,/ I—v gory roshchami predgor'ja/ I von iz roshch, kak ètot trakt.”, I: 377).⁴⁰ After establishing that framework, however, Pasternak then turns Heine's message around. Rather than echoing Heine's message of unmitigated contempt toward the society in which he works, Pasternak writes of his desire to learn to accept the society from which he is only temporarily escaping: “I ja primu tebja, kak uprjazh” (I: 376). Pasternak takes Heine's message of escape and open contempt and, perhaps reluctantly, notes that such an escape and an open expression of feeling would be impossible in his situation. This message reflects the message of the entire book of verse *Vtoroe rozhdenie*, and his poetry of the 1930s in general. The following stanza from a 1936 poem shows that this tendency continues after that book of verse:

Он жаждал воли и покоя,
А годы шли примерно так,
Как облака над мастерскою,

⁴⁰The mountain landscape of “Volny” also harks back to Pasternak's earlier story “Detstvo I juvers”, with its Heine subtext to be discussed below. The relevant passage in “Volny” reads: “V gorax zavarivalas' kasha./ Za ispolinom ispolin.: Odin drugogo zlej i krashe. Spirali v'yxod iz dolin.”, I: 377. This literary backward look toward a story loved by his first wife in the middle of a poem referring to his romance with his soon-to-be second wife is typical for the book *Vtoroe rozhdenie*. The common link between these texts is Heine.

Где горбился его верстак.
 (“Мне по душе строптивый норов”, II: 7)

The common reference to Lermontov (through the Caucasian setting of “Volny” and through the Lermontov paraphrase in the first line of this stanza)⁴¹ and to clouds overhead point to the underlying message linking both texts. The reference to Lermontov (as well as to Pushkin’s “Pora moj drug, pora! pokoja serdce prosit...”)⁴² in both texts is another example of Pasternak’s use of literary-biographical models in the construction of his own literary biography. Both Heine and Lermontov in the case of “Volny” represent the courage of poets in dangerous times, a courage which Pasternak clearly wishes to emulate.⁴³

If, then, literary biography is a subject which Pasternak takes with deadly seriousness, even to the point of depriving Heine subtexts on similar subjects of their irony, then his personal autobiography is a different matter. In works throughout his career, and particularly in verses from 1915-17, Pasternak quotes extensively from Heine on autobiographical themes related not to his literary ancestry or his relationship as a writer to Romanticism, but in reference to his personal life.

The first example of this phenomenon links autobiographical themes with those of a specifically artistic autobiography: the theme of the birth of artistic feeling. We have already encountered subtexts on this theme from Novalis in Chapter Two and from Jean Paul in this chapter. Not all of that which refers to the birth of artistic gifts involves illness, as Pasternak’s reception of the Jean Paul subtexts would have us believe. A late-life

⁴¹Lermontov’s line reads “Ja ishchu svobody i pokoja”, from his poem “Vyxozhu odin ja na dorogu”. On another instance of textual correspondence between this Lermontov poem and a Pasternak poem, “Gamlet”, see Kiril Taranovsky, “O vzaimootnoshenii stixotvornogo ritma i tematiki”, in *American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1963), Vol. I, 287-322.

⁴²A. S. Pushkin, *Sobranie sochinenij v desjati tomax* (Moscow: Xudozhestvennaja literatura, 1974-1978), II: 315. I am grateful to Assya Humesky for pointing this Pushkin subtext out to me.

⁴³On Pasternak and Lermontov, see Irene Masing-Delic, “Pasternaks naturfilisovska vandrings-dikter från Peredelkinocykeln”, *Boris Pasternak och hans tid*, 27-38; Efim Ètkind, “Pasternak i Lermontov”, *Norwich Symposia on Russian Literature and Culture. Vol. I. Boris Pasternak 1890-1990*, 105-122; T. L. Frolovskaja, “Lermontov i Pasternak: Problema liricheskoj lichnosti”, *Pasternakovskie chteniya*, 136.

description of Pasternak's first impressions of music shows a different side of the artistic personality, as it reacts to art. This text is from his autobiographical essay "Ljudi i polozhemja":

Записанную Родионовым ночь я прекрасно помню.
Посреди нее я проснулся от сладкой, щемящей муки, в такой мере
раннее не испытанной. Я закричал и заплакал от тоски и страха.
[...]

Отчего же я плакал так и так памятно мне мое страдание?
[...]

Эта ночь межевою вехой пролегла между беспмятностью
младенчества и моим дальнейшим детством. С нее пришла в
действие моя память и заработало сознание, отныне без больших
перерывов и провалов, как у взрослого. (IV: 299)

Details of this episode—the "sweet, aching torment", the mysterious tears, the motif of recollection—all connected to playing at a concert, have a subtext in Heine's poem "An eine Sangerin":

**Ich denke noch der Zaubervollen,
Wie sie zuerst mein Auge sah!
Wie ihre Tone lieblich klangen,
Und heimlich su in's Herze drangen,
Entrollten Thranen meinen Wangen,—
Ich wute nicht wie mir geschah.** (I: 105)

Pasternak develops the same motif in a poem from *Vtoroe rozhdenie*, "Godami kogda-nibud' v zale koncertnoj..." (I: 392), in the modified refrain:

Мне Брамса сыграют,—я вздрогну, я сдамся

Мне Брамса сыграют,—я сдамся, я вспомню

—and in the stanza:

И сразу же буду слезами увлажен
И вымокну раньше, чем выплачусь я.
Горючая давность ударит из скважин,
Околицы, лица, друзья и семья. (I: 392)

This motif is further connected to childhood in "Godami kogda-nibud'..." by the use of a Brahms intermezzo with a lullaby theme as a subtext (Opus 117, No. 1), as Pasternak indicates with the three-beat rhythm and the last line:

Под чистый, как детство, немецкий мотив.⁴⁴

Typically for his technique of metonymy, Pasternak takes another part of the same Heine poem as a subtext for another work, "Detstvo Ljuvers", also dealing with the theme of childhood and the development of consciousness in an unusual, artistic mind.⁴⁵ Heine writes in "An eine Sangerin":

Ein Traum war uber mich gekommen:
Als sey ich noch ein frommes Kind,
Und sae still, beim Lampenscheine,
In Mutters warmen Kammerleine,
Und lase Marchen wunderfeine,
Derweilen drauen Nacht und Wind. (I: 106)

Pasternak takes Heine's description of the dream of childhood and adapts it in a scene from the real childhood of the heroine of the story, Zhenja Ljuvers. Again, as in the previous case, Pasternak selects small details highly relevant to the scene at hand.

Pasternak writes:

Редкие хлопья приплывали из черной ночи. Они подплывали к уличному фонарю, оплывали его и, вильнув, пропадали из глаз. На их место подплывали новые. Улица блистала, устланная снежным санным ковром. Он был бел, сиятелен и сладостен, как пряники в сказках. Женя постояла у окна, заглядевшись на те кольца и фигуры, которые выделявали у фонаря андерсоновские серебристые снежинки. Постояла-постояла и пошла в мамину комнату за "Котом". Она вошла без огня. Было видно и так. Кровля сарая обдавала комнату движущимся сверканием. [...] С книжкой в руках она подошла к одному из окон спальни. Ночь была звездная. [...]

Женя воротилась к себе и взялась за "Сказки". Она прочла повесть и принялась за дружю, затая дыхание. (IV: 74-75)

⁴⁴See commentary to the poem. Pasternak I: 720. See also Johanna Renate Doring, *Die Lyrik Pasternaks in den Jahren 1928-1934*.

⁴⁵On the development of consciousness in the heroine and its connections to the German Romantic notion of balance between the worlds of unconscious "infancy" and the rational "grown-up" world, see B. L. Gasparov, "'Gradus ad Parnassum' (Samosovershenstovanie kak kategorija tvorcheskogo mira Pasternaka)", *Pasternakovskie chtenija*, 124-126. Gasparov also notes the distinction between Zhenja as a sensitive soul and her brother Serezha, who works according to prepared formulas, *Ibid.*, 125. See also Anna Ljunggren, "'Ural v 'Detstve Ljuvers' Pasternaka", *Russian Literature*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (15 May 1991), 489-499.

Pasternak's use of details from much-admired Heine in depicting his heroine (whom Christopher Barnes identifies as an alter-ego of Pasternak himself) underline the development of Zhenja as an artistic personality, the development of her higher consciousness. In using the Heine subtext for both his memoirs and the story about Zhenja Ljuvers, Pasternak underlines (consciously or unconsciously) the link between himself and his model, Heine.⁴⁶

Another scene in the same story has a subtext from Heine. As in the last case, in this case the subtext appears in a scene which is extremely important to the psychological development of the heroine. Here the importance of the scene is primarily symbolic: the scene focuses on Zhenja's amazement at crossing the border between Europe and Asia, when the family moves to Ekaterinburg. Her sensitivity to this border between continents, symbolizing her crossing of psychological borders as she develops, is set in contrast to her brother's obliviousness to the significance of that border.⁴⁷ Pasternak writes:

Весь остаток пути она не отрываясь провела у коридорного окна. Она приросла к нему и поминутно высывалась. [...] Величественные знакомцы туманятся и отходят в даль. После краткой разлуки с ними, в течение которой с отвесным грохотом, на гремящих цепях, обдавая затылок холодом, подают перед самым носом новое диво, опять их разыскиваешь. (IV: 47)

Heine gives a similar traveller's portrait of the mountain landscape, but in an entirely different tone. He writes in "Reise von München nach Genua":

Nur dann und wann durfte ich den Kopf zum Wagen hinausrecken, und dann schaute ich himmelhohe Berge, die mich ernsthaft ansahen, und mir mit den ungeheuern Häuftern und langen Wolkenbärten eine glückliche Reise zunickten. Hie und da bemerkte ich auch ein fernblaues Berglein, das sich auf die Fußzehen zu stellen schien, und den anderen Bergen recht neugierig über die Schultern blickte, wahrscheinlich um mich zu sehen. (VII: 35-36)

⁴⁶On Zhenja's role as alter-ego to Pasternak, see Christopher Barnes, trans. and ed., *Boris Pasternak: The Voice of Prose* (New York: Grove Press, 1986), 2 vols., Vol. I: 13-14. On Ljuvers as sensitive child-poet, see Anna Ljunggren, "U'ral v 'Detstve Ljuvers' Pasternaka", *Russian Literature*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (15 May 1991), 489-499.

⁴⁷Gasparov, op. cit.; Ljunggren, op. cit.

If Heine's autobiographical hero can laughingly make himself the center of nature's attention, thus putting his self-portrait in an ironic light, then Pasternak's alter-ego heroine perceives the world around her in an equally self-focused way, but without Heine's irony.

The opposite happens, however, when Pasternak takes subtexts from Heine on the subject of rejected or unrequited love. There Pasternak not only preserves Heine's irony—for the lover's ridiculous state is another favorite target of irony for Heine—but in some cases also de-romanticizes sentimental Heine subtexts using typically Futurist devices.⁴⁸ An excellent example of this technique is Pasternak's poem "Marburg", written in 1915, the period when he quoted most frequently from Heine, and revised for the first time in 1928. Both versions make use of subtexts from Heine, and I will thus quote from both.

The poem tells of Pasternak's recovery from the shock of rejection. In *Oxvannaja gramota*, he relates more clearly the events of his marriage proposal to Ida Vysockaja and her rejection of it (IV: 176-187). By the end of the poem the lyric hero overcomes his grief at the events and looks toward his future as a poet, writing "Ja tjanus' k solov'ju" (I: 108, 493). His recovery from unrequited love is expressed in a tone that reveals his desire to turn away from the quintessentially Romantic pose of forlorn suitor. The banality of the rejected lover's pose is reflected in the opening, which bears the marks of the "poet of tastelessness", Ego-Futurist Igor' Severjanin (I: 491);⁴⁹ one of those characteristically Severjaninesque traits of the early variant, the rhymes on foreign words, in fact goes back to Heine as well, who also uses rhymes on barbarisms to produce an ironic effect. In the early Pasternak variant one sees such rhymes as "tjule"/ "stul'ja", "tancklass" (Tanzklass)/ "pljas", "matine"/ "dline"/ "strune", which pair Russian words (second half in each rhymed pair, second and third in the last two) with foreign words (I: 491). In Heine's "Die Erde

⁴⁸On the use of similar devices in the 1917 poem "Zamestitel'nica", see Jurij M. Lotman, "Analiz dvux stixotvorenij", *Tret'ja letnjaja shkola po vtorichnym modelirujushchim sistemam. Tezisy* (Tartu: Uchennye zapiski Tartuskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1968), 210-223.

⁴⁹Lazar Fleishman notes this in *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 107.

war so lange geizig", I: 150-160), Heine pairs "spendabel"/ "kapabel"/ "Fabel"/ "miserabel", as well as "ennuyiret"/ "tituliret", all foreign words.

Other textual links are on the level not of technique, but of meaning. In both the 1915 and 1928 versions of "Marburg", Pasternak refers to Heine's depictions of the rejected lover staggering through the city which reminds him of his beloved, only then to debunk that melodramatic pose. On the one hand, Pasternak repeats the self-mocking portrait of the grieving lover in Heine's poem "Still ist die Nacht..." (I: 231). On the other hand, Pasternak subverts Heine's sentimental image of the poet standing outside, looking up at the window from which his beloved used to look out, with only the moon for his companion in sorrow. The "subversion" occurs through the use of techniques described by Lotman in his analysis of "Zamestitel'nica" and its use of Heine's "Ich stand in dunkeln Träumen": fragmentation, illogical cause-effect relationships, unexpected juxtapositions, and identification of word and thing.⁵⁰ Although "Marburg" is not nearly the impenetrably difficult poem that "Zamestitel'nica" is, it uses some of the same typically Futurist techniques found in the more difficult poem.

In "Marburg", Pasternak works with numerous subtexts from Heine. As in the Heine poems, the hero of "Marburg" wanders about the city which reminds him of his beloved. In both versions of the Pasternak poem, however, other romantic clichés are turned on their heads. The bewildered onlookers in one Heine poem become a bewildered landscape in a metonymical "shift" typical for Pasternak.⁵¹ The importance of the companion moon from the Heine poems is diminished in the Pasternak poem almost to the status of background. Pasternak blurs the boundaries of inside and outside, so clear in Heine's sentimental portrait of the poet outside looking in. All of these devices distance the

⁵⁰Lotman, *op. cit.*

⁵¹On the metonymic "shift" see Roman Jakobson, "Randbemerkungen zur Prosa des Dichters Pasternak", *Slavische Rundschau*, 8, 1935, 357-374, and Lazar Fleishman, "Fragmentsy 'futunisticheskoy' biografii Pasternaka", *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 4, 1979, 79-113.

lyric hero from the situation, and strip the hero's portrait of the emotional pull present in Heine's sentimental depictions. Let us turn to the texts.

The mocking self-portrait is the same in Pasternak's "Marburg" and Heine's "Still ist die Nacht...":

В тот день всю тебя, от гребенок до ног,
Как трагик в провинции драму Шекспирову,
Носил я с собою и знал назубок,
Шатался по городу и репетировал. (I: 107, 492)

Heine draws a similar portrait of his lyric hero:

Da steht auch ein Mensch und starrt in die Höhe,
Und ringt die Hände, vor Schmerzensgewalt;
Mir graust es, wenn ich sein Antlitz sehe, —
Der Mond zeigt mir meine eigne Gestalt.

Du Doppeltgänger! du bleicher Geselle!
Was äffst du nach mein Liebesleid, [...]
("Still ist die Nacht...", I: 231)

Pasternak's mocking self-portrait draws on another Heine poem on the theme of the rejected lover wandering around his beloved's city. In the text below, Heine works with two themes which find numerous echoes in Pasternak's works: the theme of rejected love, explored through various Heine subtexts in "Marburg", and the theme of the ailing poet, discussed above. Heine writes:

Wenn ich an deinem Hause
Des Morgens vorüber geh',
So freut's mich, du liebe Kleine,
Wenn ich dich am Fenster seh'.

Mit deinen schwarzbraunen Augen
Siehst du mich forschend an:
Wer bist du, und was fehlt dir,
Du fremder, kranker Mann?

"Ich bin ein deutscher Dichter,
Bekannt im deutschen Land;
Nennt man die besten Namen,
So wird auch der meine genannt.

Und was mir fehlt, du Kleine,
Fehlt manchem im deutschen Land;
Nennt man die schlimmsten Schmerzen,

So wird auch der meine genannt." (I: 223)

The image of love as bad theatre, discussed by Sheikholeslami in regard to *Sestra moja zhizn'*, is one which Pasternak draws from Heine as well.⁵² If Pasternak's rejected lover wanders about the city like an actor in a provincial theatre, then in Heine's "Nun ist es Zeit...", both lovers play mediocre theatrical roles, which the rejected lover then continues to play:

Nun ist es Zeit, daß ich mit Verstand
 Mich aller Torheit entled'ge;
 Ich hab' so lang als ein Comödiant
 Mit dir gespielt die Comödie.

Die prächt'gen Coulissen, sie waren bemalt
 Im hochromantischen Style,
 Mein Rittermantel hat goldig gestrahlt,
 Ich fühlte die feinsten Gefühle.

Und nun ich mich gar säuberlich
 Des tollen Tands entled'ge,
 Noch immer elend fühl' ich mich,
 Als spielt ich noch immer Komödie.

Ach Gott! im Scherz und unbewußt
 Sprach ich, was ich gefühlet;
 Ich hab mit dem Tod in der eignen Brust
 Den sterbenden Fechter gespielt. (I: 257-258)

Heine writes in very similar terms in his prose piece "Ideen. Das Buch Le Grand":

[...] und auf dieser großen Weltbühne geht es auch außerdem ganz wie auf unseren Lumpenbrettern, auch auf ihr gibt es besoffene Helden, Könige, die ihre Rolle vergessen, Coulissen, die hängen geblieben, hervorschauende Souffleurstimmen, Tänzerinnen, die mit ihrer Lendenpoesie Effekt machen, Costümes, die als Hauptsache glänzen — Und im Himmel oben, im ersten Range, sitzen unterdessen die lieben Englein, und lorgniren uns Komödianten hier unten, und der liebe Gott sitzt ernsthaft in seiner großen Loge, und langweilt sich vielleicht, oder

⁵²Sheikholeslami op. cit. The theme of love as theatrics is also of focal importance in Pasternak's story "Apellesova cherta", from the same year. Eliot Mossman has noted Heine's importance to the story in his article "Pasternak's Short Fiction", *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, 2, Winter 1972, 279-302. Indeed, one of the most important subtexts to "Apellesova cherta" is not only "Florentinische Nächte", mentioned by Mossman, Sheikholeslami, and Greber, but also Heine's "Ideen. Das Buch le Grand". In that prose piece are present not only constant manifestations of this basic metaphor of love as theatre, but also the marked repetition of the hero's address to his beloved, "Madame!", of which Pasternak's story is reminiscent, and the more important play on name switching and masking. Heine writes: "Madame! ich habe Sie belogen. Ich bin nicht der Graf vom Ganges. Niemals im Leben sah ich den heiligen Strom, niemals die Lotusblumen, die sich in seinen frommen Wellen bespiegeln." (VI: 178)

rechnet nach, daß dieses Theater sich nicht lange mehr halten kann, weil der Eine zu viel Gage und der Andre zu wenig bekommt, und alle viel zu schlecht spielen. (VI: 200-201)

The city setting and its significance to memory remain the same as in another Heine poem. In Pasternak's second version, the monuments that make Marburg famous also recall the pain of rejected love:

Тут жил Мартин Лютер. Там — братья Гримм.
Когтистые крыши. Деревья. Надгробья.
И все это помнит и тянется к ним.
Все живо. И все это тоже — подобья.

О нити любви! [...] (I: 107)

In Heine, details of the city are equally significant to memory:

Sagt an, ihr Thürme und Thore,
Wo ist die Liebste mein?
Euch hab' ich sie anvertrauet,
Ihr solltet mir Bürge seyn.
("Sey mir begrüßt", I: 227)

Pasternak creates some distance from the situation, however, by eliminating the direct address to the city.

In both "Marburg" and Heine's "Manch Bild vergessener Zeiten", the lyric hero prefers nighttime to daytime:

Достаточно, тягостно солнце мне днем,
Что стынет, как сало в тарелке из олова,
Но ночь занимает весь дом соловьем,
И дом превращается в арфу Эолову. (I: 492)

Heine, similarly, writes:

Des Nachts war es besser,
Da waren die Straßen leer;
Ich und mein Schatten selbender,
Wir wandelten schweigend einher.
("Manch Bild vergessener Zeiten", I: 171)

The daytime is more difficult for both poets than the nighttime, because of the oppressive presence of others. Pasternak uses a metonymic shift, changing the surrounding people into objects in the landscape, in order to subvert Heine's banal image of the grieving lyric

hero attracting the attention of those around him. Heine's hero, like Pasternak's, staggers about the town:

Am Tage schwankte ich träumend
Durch alle Straßen herum;
Die Leute verwundert mich ansah'n,
Ich war so traurig und stumm.
("Manch Bild vergessener Zeiten", I: 169)

Pasternak "shifts" Heine's image by depicting the cobblestones in the same role as Heine's onlookers, while preserving the same tone of Heine's romantic cliché in his poem.

Pasternak writes:

Плитняк раскалялся, и улицы лоб
Был смугл, и на небо глядел исподлобья
Булыжник, и ветер, как лодочник, греб
По липам. И все это были подобья.

Но, как бы то ни было, я избегал
Их взглядов. Я не замечал их приветствий. (I: 106)

This same Heine poem, "Manch bild vergessener Zeiten", also contains the image of the lyric hero crossing a bridge:

Mit wider[sc]hallendem Fußtritt
Wandelt' ich über die Brück; [...] (I: 170-171)

This image appears not only in the first (1915) version of "Marburg", but also in another poem from which Pasternak quotes in the second (1928) version of "Marburg":

Majakovskij's "Chelovek", which itself quotes from Dostoevskij's novel *Prestuplenie i nakazanie*.⁵³ In all three subtexts (from Heine, Dostoevskij, and Majakovskij), the bridge and the emphasis on the hero's step signify the hero's move away from an old life. While eliminating the image of the bridge in the later variant, Pasternak emphasizes in both variants the image of taking steps toward a new life, with the line "Shagni, i eshche raz', — tverdil mne instinkt..." (I: 106, 492). Here Pasternak combines subtexts which

⁵³See I. P. Smimov, "Dostoevskij i poèzija Pasternaka ('Marburg')", *Dostoevskij und die Literatur* [=Schriften des Komitees der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur Förderung der Slawischen Studien, hrsg. von H. Rothe, 7], (Köln/Wien: Böhlau, 1983), 275-296; Lazar Fleishman, *Boris Pasternak v dvadcatye gody*, 107.

were not previously related into one whole, in what Smirnov would call “constructive intertextuality”.⁵⁴ Considering Pasternak’s association of Heine with Majakovskij (who himself was fond of Heine), discussed above in connection with Heine subtexts about Romanticism, such a link between the two poets in a Pasternak poem is not surprising. Moreover, the association with Majakovskij and Dostoevskij, along with the Heine subtext, emphasizes the underlying theme of suicide in “Marburg”, a theme which appears not in this Heine subtext, but in a subtext involving the motif of the moon.⁵⁵

This motif of the moon as companion is among those images which Pasternak debunks in his effort to “de-romanticize” Heine subtexts. Heine writes sentimentally of the moon as his only constant friend:

Der Mond ist mein Begleiter,
Er leuchtet mir freundlich vor;
[...]

Ich danke dir, alter Vertrauter,
Daß du meinen Weg erhellt;
Jetzt will ich dich entlassen,
Jetzt leuchte der übrigen Welt!
 (“Wie dunkle Träume stehen”, I: 287)

Pasternak takes issue with this typically Romantic image of the moon as the suicidal hero’s “old, trusted friend”; instead, he diminishes the moon’s role. In Pasternak’s depiction the role of the moon gradually diminishes: first the moon and the poet are friends, then the poem’s hero is “not the moon’s vessel”, and finally, the moon becomes part of the background to a chess game.

Рассудок? Но он — как луна для лунатика.
Мы в дружбе, но я не его сосуд. (I: 108)

Ведь ночи играть садятся в шахматы
Со мной на лунном паркетном полу, [...] (I: 108, 493)

⁵⁴I. P. Smirnov, *Porozhdenie interteksta*.

⁵⁵Smirnov, “Dostoevskij i poëzija Pasternaka”, discusses the motif of suicide as a significant element of these subtexts.

Finally, in the earlier variant of “Marburg”, Pasternak shifts the players and blurs the borders of Heine’s image of the poet standing outside his beloved’s house, looking in. In the Heine text the hero stands outside the window in the moonlight like a statue:

Ich weiß, du hast aus dem Fenster
 Gar oft herabgesch’n,
 Und sah’st mich im Mondenlichte
 Wie eine Säule steh’n.
 (“Manch Bild vergessener Zeiten”, I: 171)

In the Pasternak text the positions of players are more complicated:

В саду — ты глядишь с побелевшей губой —
 С земли отледается каменный памятник.

Тот памятник — тополь. И каменный гость
 Тот тополь: луна повсеместна и целостна,
 И в комнате будут и белая кость
 Березы, и прочие окаменелости. (I: 492)

Pasternak blurs the lines of outside and inside, and of present time and memory.

The clearly delineated boundary in Heine’s poem, by which the poet is “left out in the cold”, so to speak, is virtually eliminated in “Marburg”, so that the reader is not sure whether the lover is present in actuality, or only as a recollection. The whiteness of the moon and the stone guest seem to enter the room in which the poet stands. Pasternak’s image of fossils refers to the statue (and Heine’s pillar), the lyric hero whom the statue mirrors, and the memory of his beloved. Thus the roles in this scene are shifted from those in Heine to create the effect of distance from Heine’s Romantic clichés. Through his transformation of Heine texts, Pasternak rejects both the typically Romantic image of abandoned lover and the Romantic style with which it is associated. Through his reference to Heine poems, Pasternak makes his already fictionalized account of a biographical fact part of a literary line. He links his own pseudo-autobiography to Heine’s pseudo-autobiography. Thus Pasternak takes what we presume to be facts of his autobiography and makes literary facts of them. He alters the facts to put them into literary form through typical Futunst devices of metonymy, fragmentation, and shifting perspective. He places

this episode of his biography into the context of literary history by referring to Heine texts on the same theme. Moreover, this remains true not only for the period in which “Marburg” was written, but also for the period in which it was revised for the first time (another slightly revised version appeared nearer the end of his career), though with less Futurist-style metonymic “shifting” and fragmentation of the Heine text than in the earlier version. Heine remains for Pasternak a model not only in regard to themes related to the rejection of Romanticism, but also as a model in depictions of non-literary aspects of the poet’s life.

There are other examples of Heine subtexts in Pasternak poems related to his autobiography, but not related to the theme of anti-romanticism; these date from the period of the first variant of “Marburg” up to the period of *Oxannajagramota*. A case of particularly close correspondence between groups of texts is that of Pasternak’s book of verse *Sestra moja zhizn'* and Heine’s book of verse *Die Heimkehr*. Pasternak quotes extensively from *Die Heimkehr* already in “Marburg”. Among the texts discussed above in relation to “Marburg” are “Still ist die Nacht...”, “Nun ist est Zeit...”, and “Wie dunkle Träume stehen...”, all from that book of verse. This is hardly surprising, since the theme of “Marburg” matches the theme of *Die Heimkehr*. Heine expresses that theme toward the end of the book in this way:

Jene Flammen sind erloschen,
 Und mein Herz ist kalt und trübe,
 Und dies Büchlein ist die Urne
 Mit der Asche meiner Liebe. (1: 301)

Similarly, Pasternak ends “Marburg” with a turn from failed love toward poetry, in his image of reaching for the nightingale:

Ведь ночи играть садятся в шахматы
 Со мной на лунном паркетном полу,
 Акацией пахнет, и окна распахнуты,
 И страсть, как свидетель, сидит в углу.

И тополь — король. Я играю с бессонницей.
 (1915: Королева — бессонница.)

И ферзь — соловей. Я тянусь к соловью.
И ночь побеждает, фигуры сторонятся,
Я белое утро в лицо узнаю. (I: 108, 493)

The theme of “Marburg” extends to the end of *Sestra moja zhizn'*, in which the affair portrayed comes to an end. Pasternak’s book of verse is dotted with bitter poems about love, some of which have subtexts in Heine. One example of this is “Ljubimaja—zhut’!” (I: 166), in which Pasternak bitterly mocks the poet in love:

Любимая — жуть! Когда любит поэт,
Влюбляется бог неприкаянный.
И хаос опять выползает на свет,
Как во времена ископаемых.

Глаза ему тонны туманов слезят.
Он заслан. Он кажется мамонтом.
Он вышел из моды. Он знает — нельзя:
Прошли времена и — безграмотно. (I: 166)

Here Pasternak works with two related subtexts from Heine’s *Die Heimkehr*. “Ich unglücksel’ger Atlas!” (I: 235) and “Wer zum ersten Male liebt...” (I: 275). The first ironically treats the poet in love as a martyr-god, bearing the burdens of the entire world.

Its first stanza reads:

Ich unglücksel’ger Atlas! eine Welt,
Die ganze Welt der Schmerzen, muß ich tragen,
Ich trage Unerträgliches, und brechen
Will mir das Herz im Leibe. (I: 235)

In the second poem, Heine contrasts the first rejected love with the second, again using an ironic comparison of the lover with a god:

Wer zum ersten Male liebt,
Sey’s auch glücklos, ist ein Gott;
Aber wer zum zweitenmale
Glücklos liebt, der ist ein Narr.

Ich, ein solcher Narr, ich liebe
Wieder ohne Gegenliebe!
Sonne, Mond und Sterne lachen,
Und ich lache mit— und sterbe. (I: 275)

The comparison in the second poem to a god is extended even to the second love, that is the love of a fool, since the lover’s sufferings are again those of the entire world—or its joke.

Later in *Die Heimkehr*, Heine writes again of his doubts regarding the feelings of his beloved. In this case, Pasternak reverses the situation which Heine describes. If Heine is depicting a scene in which the poet leaves his love in the middle of the night, wondering doubtfully whether she is dreaming of him, Pasternak's famous scene depicts the hero on a train en route to see his beloved, without any worries as to whether his beloved is dreaming of him or not. Heine writes:

Ueber die Berge steigt schon die Sonne,
Die Lämmerherde läutet fern;
Mein Liebchen, mein Lamm, meine Sonne und Wonne,
Noch einmal sah' ich dich gar zu gern!

Ich schaue hinauf, mit spähender Miene—
Leb' wohl, mein Kind, ich wandre von hier!
Vergebens! Es regt sich keine Gardine;
Sie liegt noch und schläft— und träumt von mir? (I: 297)

At the beginning of a book of verse, the end of which will depict a relationship gone sour in a tone much resembling Heine's, Pasternak turns Heine's scenario on its head to make it positive:

Мигая, моргая, но спят где-то сладко,
И фата морганой любимая спит
Тем часом, как сердце, плеча по площадкам,
Вагонными дверцами сыплет в степи.
("Сестра моя—жизнь", I: 112)

Later in the book the depiction of the relationship turns dark and bitter. A refrain from two of the poems from this later section of the book, like "Ljubimaja— zhut'!", has a subtext from Heine's bitter love poetry, this poem from later in his career. Heine writes:

In den Küssen welche Lüge!
Welche Wonne in dem Schein!
Ach, wie süß ist das Betrügen,
Süßer das Betrogenseyn! (I: 489-490)

Pasternak takes the repetitive structure of this phrase, and its underlying meaning, for his refrain:

Как усыпительно — жить!
Как целоваться — бессонно!
("У себя дома", I: 160)

Как усыпительна жизнь!
 Как откровенья бессонны!
 (“Возвращение”, I: 156)

There are, on the other hand, instances where Heine subtexts appear in Pasternak’s work in regard to themes which could be considered quintessentially Romantic but which are not related to the poet’s autobiography, as in the examples cited above. An excellent example of this phenomenon is Heine’s treatment of the profoundly Romantic *Naturphilosophie*. This is one aspect of Heine’s poetics which shows his Romantic roots. Heine makes no attempt to hide that connection; passages in which he as a poet identifies with nature have unmistakable quotations from the master of this theme, Novalis. In a few cases, Pasternak works with both Heine and Novalis subtexts on *Naturphilosophie*-related themes.

Pasternak’s poem “Èxo” was discussed in Chapter Two, in regard to its intertextual connection to Novalis’s poem “Die Nachtigall”. In his highly ironic prose work “Ideen. Das Buch Le Grand”, a text which provides subtexts to Pasternak’s “Marburg” and “Apellesova cherta” (both from 1915, the year “Echo” was written),⁵⁶ Heine refers to Novalis’s poem on the nightingale’s song. In doing so, he maintains Novalis’s typically Romantic images of the nightingale’s song under the starry sky, and the “echo” such a setting produces in the poet’s receptive soul. Heine, as one would predict, treats this setting with gentle irony, however seriously he may take the underlying message which he shares with his Romantic predecessor. Heine writes:

Und ich lebe! Der große Pulsschlag der Natur bebt auch in meiner Brust, und wenn ich jauchze, antwortet mir ein tausendfältiges Echo. Ich höre tausend Nachtigallen. Der Frühling hat sie gesendet, die Erde aus ihrem Morgenschlummer zu wecken, und die Erde schauert vor Entzücken, ihre Blumen sind die Hymnen, die sie in Begeisterung der Sonne entgegeningt—die Sonne bewegt sich viel zu langsam, ich möchte ihre Feuerrosse peitschen, damit sie schneller dahinjagen —Aber wenn sie zischend ins Meer hinabsinkt, und die große Nacht heraufsteigt, mit ihrem großen, sehnsüchtigen Auge, O! dann durchbebt mich erst recht die rechte

⁵⁶See footnote 52 on “Ideen”.

Lust, wie schmeichelnde Mädchen legen sich die Abendlüfte an mein
brausendes Herz, und die Sterne winken, und ich erhebe mich, und
schwebe über der kleinen Erde und den kleinen Gedanken der Menschen.
(VI: 176-177)

Here there are clearly echoes not only from Novalis's poem "Die Nachtigall", with its image of the nightingale's nighttime song, but also from Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht* and from the opening dream from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, with its image of the sea's waves at night surrounding Heinrich like the touch of many girls, as well as its image of the poet floating over the earth. Except for its humorous image of the whip hurrying on the day and its ironic reference to men's petty thoughts, the passage is essentially in the style of Romanticism. In his poem "Echo", Pasternak picks up on this mix of closeness to the Romantic notion of the poet's identification with nature and of a distancing from that notion, epitomized in Heine's comic image of the whip. The central image of Pasternak's poem is that of the chain, whipping song out of a log cabin. In the Heine passage, the poet wishes to take up a whip in order to hurry the coming of daylight and thus to wake up the Earth, so that the flowers can sing their hymns to the sun in an echo of the sun's warmth, in the same way that his own rejoicing produces a thousand-fold echo. Pasternak takes that image, transforming the flowers to felled trees: though those trees have no echo, the song beats the cabin like an iron chain, in order to force out a kind of melting with nature, implying a kind of echo in itself.

И если березовых куп
Безвозгласно великолепие,
Мне кажется, бьется о сруб
Та песня железною цепью,

И каплет со стали тоска,
И ночь растекается в слякоть,
И ею следят с цветника
До самих закраинных пахот. (I: 87)

In both texts the echo goes back and forth between nature and poetry, set in both works in the metaphor of earth and sky. An image which looks typically Futurist, that of the wiiip, turns out to have its roots in Heine (via Nietzsche, from *Also sprach Zarathustra*).⁵⁷

Heine repeats this image of the echo of nature ringing in the poet's soul in another prose work of great importance to Pasternak, "Reise von München nach Genua", also discussed in a number of instances in this chapter. Here again Heine expresses a quintessentially Romantic notion, and again with gentle humor:

Ist es eine braune oder blonde Sonne gewesen, die den Frühling in meinem Herzen aufs neue geweckt, und all die schlafenden Blumen in diesem Herzen wieder aufgeküßt und die Nachtigallen wieder heineingelächelt? War es die wahlverwandte Natur selbst, die in meiner Brust ihr Echo suchte und sich gern darin bespiegelte mit ihrem neuen Frühlingsglanz? (VII: 24-25)

The references in this passage to "Ideen" are clear. Earlier in this passage, Heine refers to another Novalisian image, that of ringing forests:

[...] es krachten und brachen die Eisdecken der Seen, die Erde schlug die blauen Augen auf, aus ihrem Busen quollen hervor die liebenden Blumen und die klingenden Wälder, die grünen Palläste der Nachtigallen, die ganze Natur lächelte, und dieses Lächeln hieß Frühling. (VII: 24)

That image, as well as the image of the echo later in the Heine text, are reflected in Pasternak's "Echo".

Another Pasternak poem which refers to this text is "Zerkalo". In the passage quoted above Heine speaks of nature being mirrored in the poet's breast. Later in "Reise von München nach Genua", Heine elaborates on this thought:

Wir schauen nemlich darin überall thatsächliche Auffassung und die Ruhe der Natur. Goethe hält ihr den Spiegel vor, oder, besser gesagt, er ist selbst der Spiegel der Natur. Die Natur wollte wissen, wie sie aussieht, und sie erschuf Goethe. Sogar die Gedanken, die Intenzionen der Natur vermag er uns widerzuspiegeln, und es ist einem hitzigen Goetheaner, zumal in den Hundstagen, nicht zu verargen, wenn er über die Identität der Spiegelbilder mit den Objekten selbst so sehr erstaunt, daß er dem Spiegel sogar Schöpfungskraft, die Kraft, ähnliche Objekte zu erschaffen, zutraut. (VII: 61)

⁵⁷See I. Buschmann, "Boris Pasternak und die deutsche Dichtung. Zweiter Beitrag: Pasternak und Nietzsche", *Sowjetstudien*, 20, 1966, 74-87.

It is precisely this ability of the mirror to create images itself, and the resulting visual “echo” back and forth, which Pasternak recreates in his poem “Zerkalo”. In that famous poem, along with its paired poem “Devochka”, the fundamental image is that of the movement back and forth between the mirror and the garden, the inside and the outside.

В трюмо испаряется чашка какао,
 Качается тюль, и — прямой
 Дорожкой в сад, в бурелом и хаос
 К качелям бежит трюмо. (I: 114)

Из сада, с качелей, с бухты-барахты
 Вбегает ветка в трюмо! (“Девочка”, I: 116)

In Pasternak’s depiction, the garden is a second mirror; the mirror and the garden reflect each other, in much the same way that Goethe and nature according to Heine can reflect each other in a back-and-forth movement.

Родная, громадная, с сад, а характером —
 Сестра! Второе трюмо! (I: 116)

Another aspect of this poem also harks back to Heine: the image of the statues in the garden. The image of garden statues coming alive has its most famous antecedent in Eichendorff’s story “Das Marmorbild”. Heine plays on that image in “Florentinische Nächte”, taking over as well the erotic overtones of the Romantic story, but turning the image on its head by making the hero who sees this statue, typically for Heine heroes, a not-quite-sane artist. Heine writes:

Ich mochte mich rechts oder links wenden auf meinem Lager, ich mochte die Augen schließen oder wieder ungeduldig öffnen, immer mußte ich an die schöne Marmorstatue denken, die ich im Grase liegen sehen. Ich konnte mir die Blödigkeit nicht erklären, die mich bey ihrem Anblick erfaßt hatte, ich ward verdrießlich ob dieses kindischen Gefühls, und ‘morgen’ sagte ich leise zu mir selber: ‘Morgen küssen wir dich, du schönes Marmorgesicht, wir küssen dich eben auf die schönen Mundwinkel, wo die Lippen in ein so holdseliges Grübchen zusammenschmelzen!’ Eine Ungeduld, wie ich sie noch nie gefühlt, rieselte dabey durch alle meine Glieder, ich konnte dem wunderbaren Drange nicht länger gebieten, und endlich sprang ich auf mit keckem Muthe und sprach: ‘Was gilt’s und ich küsse dich noch heute, du liebes Bildnis!’ [...] Im grünen Grase lag die schöne Göttin ebenfalls regungslos, aber kein steinerer Tod, sondern nur ein stiller Schlaf schien ihre lieblichen Glieder gefesselt zu halten, und als ich ihr nahete, fürchtete

ich schier, daß ich sie durch das geringste Geräusch aus ihrem Schlummer erwecken könnte [...] (V: 202)

In this story, Heine takes the highly Romantic Eichendorff story and de-romanticizes it by changing the ambiguous image of the Venus statue/character in Eichendorff to a clearly lifeless statue, and by changing the stylistic level of the hero's speech to the statue. In doing so, Heine produces a variant image of another text in which he characterizes one camp's attitude toward Goethe, "Die romantische Schule". Here, too, are details which are significant to Pasternak's "Zerkalo" — the lifeless eyes and the marble smile, which in Pasternak are the victims of the pranks, rather than themselves coming to life. Thus Pasternak combines two Heine subtexts referring to Goethe's relationship to art and nature. Heine writes:

Keineswegs jedoch läugnete ich bey dieser Gelegenheit den selbständigen Werth der goetheschen Meisterwerke. Sie zieren unser theueres Vaterland, wie schöne Statuen einen Garten zieren, aber es sind Statuen. [...] Die Statue, die der Pygmalion verfertigt, war ein schönes Weib, sogar der Meister verliebte sich darin, **sie wurde lebendig unter seinen Küssen**, aber so viel wir wissen, hat sie nie Kinder bekommen. [...] Da standen sie mit den **stummen weißen Augen, in dem marmornen Lächeln** eine geheime Melancholie, eine trübe Erinnerung vielleicht an Egypten, das Todtenland, dem sie entsprossen, oder leidende Sehnsucht nach dem Leben, woraus sie jetzt durch andere Gottheiten fortgedrängt sind, oder auch Schmerz über ihre tote Unsterblichkeit [...] Sonderbar! diese Antiquen mahnten mich an die Goetheschen Dichtungen, die eben so vollendet, eben so herrlich, eben so ruhig sind und ebenfalls mit Wehmuth zu fühlen scheinen, daß **ihre Starrheit und Kälte** sie von unserem jetzigen bewegt warmen Leben abscheidet, daß sie nicht mit uns leiden und jauchzen können, daß sie keine Menschen sind, sondern **unglückliche Mischlinge von Gottheit und Stein**. (VIII: 154-155)

If Heine undermines the Eichendorff text with his story, then in "Zerkalo", Pasternak, in turn, takes the scene from "Florentinische Nächte" and de-romanticizes it even further, in much the same way he debunks the Romantic clichés of Heine texts in "Zamestitel'nica" and "Marburg". As in those poems, he reduces Heine's images to highly fragmented images and changes the already only semi-romantic tone to the mocking tone of a childish prank. The image of the statue hovering between sleep and wakefulness, as if the hero could easily wake her up (in contrast to the cold and lifeless Goethian statues), is reduced to the image of slugs crawling across the statue's eyes. The central image of the kiss is

reduced to the child's stunt of painting the statue's lips with berries. Pasternak's image thus remains set ambiguously between the two Heine texts on garden statues. Pasternak writes:

И вот, в гипнотической этой отчизне
 Ничем мне очей не задуть.
 Так после дождя проползают слизи
 Глазами статуй в саду.

Шуршит вода по ушам, и, чирикнув,
 На цыпочках скачет чиж.
 Ты можешь им выпачкать губы черникой,
 Их шалостью не опоишь. (I: 115)

Pasternak's "Zerkalo", as is usually the case with Pasternak texts, is interwoven with a complex network of other texts. Not only is it clear from this passage and from the opening passage with the steamed-up mirror (above) that Pasternak is aware of the famous Eichendorff story, as well as the equally famous Heine story; for the images of mirrors and candles (the "smoke and mirrors", so to speak, of deception) are central to "Das Marmorbild". Along with that link, the eroticism of both Romantic subtexts, and particularly of Heine's image of the statue in "Florentinische Nächte", is reflected not in this poem, but in Pasternak's early poem "Vchera kak boga statuëtka...", with its opening image of a broken cupid in a garden (recall that Heine's statue is lying down) as a metaphor for lost innocence. That early Pasternak poem, in turn, is linked with an intermediary subtext, Rimbaud's "L'amour par terre", the central image of which is also that of a broken garden cupid. Finally, the Pasternak text is also linked with the passage from the famous Heine work on Romanticism through Heine's image of Goethian art as lifeless classicism.

The implied image of statues coming alive under the influence of the poet's hypnosis links Pasternak's "Zerkalo" also with a slightly earlier poem, "Vozmozhnost'" (originally called "Fantazm", from *Poverx bar'erov*).⁵⁸ That poem contains the central

⁵⁸The image of things coming alive is also typical for Futurist poetics. See Nardzhiev and Trenin, *Poëticheskaja kul'tura Majakovskogo* (Moscow, 1970).

image of statues and other inanimate objects coming alive to confront each other at night. It has not only “Florentinische Nächte” as a subtext, but Heine’s poem “Geoffroy Rudel und Melisande von Tripoli” (III: 47-49), with its image of tapestry figures coming alive at night, as well as “Das Marmorbild”, with both its dream scene of the statue of Venus coming alive and seeing her reflection in the water (a scene depicting in particular the opening of the eyes and the movement of the lips) and the same image of moving figures from a tapestry. A further link between “Das Marmorbild” and “Zerkalo” can be found in the appearance of the illusion at its most compelling during an oncoming storm; the storm in both texts underlines the poet’s “clouded” state of hypnosis. This hypnosis, which, as was discussed in Chapter Two, has in “Zerkalo” subtexts from Novalis, allows the free play of man and nature which always takes place, according to Romantic and Pasternakian poetics, to be expressed more clearly.

In this way, Pasternak develops Heine’s image of the Goethian mirror of nature, with the help of a second Heine text on the hero’s interaction with a work of art (“Florentinische Nächte”); a third Heine text on the precarious position of art as a living work but also potentially a lifeless one, like a statue; a fourth Heine text on the illusions created by art when the artist weaves his/her soul into the artwork (“Geoffroy Rudel” — compare the original title of “Zerkalo”, “Ja sam”); and the common subtext important to all of the texts discussed here, Eichendorff’s “Das Marmorbild”, in which all of these themes are interwoven into an archetypically Romantic text. He takes all of these texts and interweaves the meanings of these works into one poem about the dialogue carried on between the poet, his work of art, and nature. Pasternak’s poem is complex and has numerous subtextual sources; the Heine subtexts, along with the Eichendorff story which presumably provided Heine with material for the two works discussed here, provide guidance toward one of many possible interpretations of the poem: the dialogue between poet and nature.

This dialogue is the theme of another case of subtextual reception: the significance of Heine's "Die Bäder von Lucca" to Pasternak's "Opređenje poëzii". This Pasternak poem was shown to have a Novalis subtext in Chapter Two. As I have mentioned before, Heine made wide use of Novalis texts in his own works, and "Die Bäder von Lucca" is no exception. This passage from "Die Bäder von Lucca" quotes a Novalis Fragment very closely. Heine writes:

Meine Brust war eine Quelle von Offenbarung, und ich verstand alle Formen und Gestaltungen, den Duft der Pflanzen, den Gesang der Vögel, das Pfeifen des Windes und das Rauschen der Wasserfälle. (VII: 109)

Here is the excerpt from the Novalis Fragment, discussed in Chapter Two, which Heine quotes:

Alle Töne, die die Natur hervorbringt, sind rauh — und geistlos — nur der musikalischen Seele dünkt oft das Rauschen des Waldes — das Pfeifen des Windes, der Gesang der Nachtigall, das Plätschern des Bachs melodisch und bedeutsam. (II: 573-574, #226)

Pasternak quotes the Novalis text more closely, including Novalis's sound orchestration, but there can be no doubt that Pasternak was aware of the Heine text as well, as it comes from his famous *Reisebilder*.

Indeed, Cvetaeva, also a great admirer of Heine's work, was aware of those aspects of Heine's poetics which Pasternak's work reflected. In her first essay on Pasternak's poetics, Cvetaeva characterizes Pasternak's original voice as a renaming of all things, a modification of the Creation. Cvetaeva writes of Pasternak:

Пастернак — большой поэт. Он сейчас больше всех: большинство из сущих *были*, некоторые есть, он один будет. Ибо, по-настоящему, его еще нет: лепет, щебет, дребезг, — весь в Завтра! — захлебывание младенца, — и этот младенец — Мир. Захлебывание. Пастернак не говорит, ему некогда договариваться, он весь разрывается, — точно грудь не вмещает: а — ах! Наших слов он не знает: что-то острожитянски-ребячески-первомайски невразумительное — и опрокидывающее. В три года это привычно и называется: ребенок, в двадцать три года это непривычно и называется: поэт. [...] Не Пастернак — младенец (ибо тогда он рос бы не в зори, а в сорокалетнее упокоение, — участь всех земнородных детей!) — не Пастернак младенец, это

мир в нем младенец. Самого Пастернака я бы скорей отнесла к самым первым дням творения: первых рек, первых зорь, первых гроз. Он создан до Адама.⁵⁹

With this characterization, Cvetaeva quotes Heine's image of himself as a poet in love. In doing so, she both perceives the common poetic heritage from which they come (in the same essay she calls Pasternak Lermontov's brother) and anticipates the romantic correspondence in which she engages with Pasternak soon afterward. Cvetaeva quotes from the following passage:

Man gebehret sich nemlich wie ein Narr, man tanzt über Hügel und Felsen und glaubt, die ganze Welt tanze mit. Zu Muthe ist einem dabey, als sey die Welt erst heute erschaffen worden, und man sey der erste Mensch. Ach, wie schön ist das Alles! [...] Es war mir, als müßte ich allen Pflanzen und Tieren einen Namen geben und ich bekannte alles nach seiner innern Natur und nach meinem eignen Gefühl, das mit den Außendingen so wunderbar verschmolz. [...]

'Ja', rief ich, der lachende Himmel küßt die geliebte Erde — O Franscheska, schöner Himmel, laß mich deine Erde seyn! (VII: 109-110)

This passage, which serves as a linking point between Cvetaeva and Pasternak, is a typical sign for the admiration which Pasternak's entire generation felt for Heine as the knight fighting against Romanticism, like Heine's own Quixotic image of the lonely poet, as a breath of fresh air after the spirit of the neo-Romantic Symbolists, even while many the Symbolists themselves were great admirers of Heine. This, however, is a theme so rich that it warrants a separate study.

⁵⁹Marina Cvetaeva, *Sobranie sochinenij v semi tomach*, Vol. 5, 233.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

As we have seen in the previous chapters, Pasternak quoted works from German Romanticism on an enormous variety of topics. His thoughts on aesthetics and the role of the artist, which show an evolution from the Hoffmannesque to the Heineesque, with some aspects of Novalis's thought throughout; his ideas on art as illness and as cure; on inspiration; on love; on the poet's relationship to world around; on revolution and the role of the poet in history reflect the writings of the Romantics he read and admired to varying degrees during the course of his literary career. At each stage of his career, he selects aspects of German Romantic literature appropriate to his life and work at the time: early mysticism from Novalis, the notion of poetic ailment from Hoffmann and subsequently from Heine, irony on the role of the poet and on his ailment from Heine (about whose Romantic irony Apollon Grigor'ev wrote half a century before Pasternak began writing).

In Chapter Two, we saw that Pasternak's reception of Novalis evolved over the course of his career, from early prose sketches, in which his quotation of the great Romantic was so close that the sketches were virtual improvisations on Novalis texts, to late verse, in which quotation from Novalis becomes a mere shadow of his own earlier quotations, with his own texts acting as intermediaries. The Novalis which attracted the early Pasternak was the mystic of the *Hymnen an die Nacht*, which had a great impact on the Russian Symbolist Vjacheslav Ivanov. We see in Pasternak's treatment of Novalis's Hymns the occasional presence of Russian Romantic Fedor Tjutchev. In Pasternak's conception of the world of animated things, we see not only the impact of Rilke, but also of Novalis, in whom Rilke himself found a source for subtexts. We also see in Pasternak's reception of Novalis the source, common to both writers, of Leibniz's *Monadentheorie*.

Pasternak's choice and treatment of Novalis subtexts changes as his own writing becomes more mature. Novalis's notion of the mystical homeward path, clearly evident in an early prose sketch, appears later in more subtle form in a 1931 poem, which has nothing

else in common with the 1910 sketch. Pasternak's 1928 revision of the 1913 poem "Èdem" involves the replacement of one series of Novalis subtexts by another, changing from the theme of the mystic union of the poet with both this world and the next to the theme of the organic, plant-like course of human history, a theme which remains with Pasternak in *Doktor Zhivago*.

In some cases, one Novalis text serves Pasternak as material for numerous texts. The best example of this is Novalis's *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, translated into Russian by Pasternak's colleague Grigorij Petnikov. The presence of both Novalis's original work and Petnikov's translation, along with Novalis excerpts from the Thomas Carlyle essay on Novalis and its translation into Russian, can be felt in Pasternak's mature poetry and prose, mainly from the period of his middle books of verse *Sestra moja zhizn'*, *Temy i variacii*, and *Vtoroe rozhdenie*. Since *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* itself discusses many different manifestations of man's relationship to nature, and nature itself in all its variety, so is Pasternak's use of subtexts from this Novalis work highly varied, from the theme of poetry's origins in nature to the theme of nature as a kind of gastronomic landscape. Intermediaries in Pasternak's reception of *Lehrlinge* include not only the translations mentioned above, but also verse of Sergej Bobrov and Arthur Rimbaud. One of the most elaborate reworkings of this and related Novalis texts in Pasternak's *oeuvre* is in the image of the mill from *Lehrlinge*. Here the network of subtexts involved is vast and complex, including other Pasternak texts, Novalis in original and translation, Bobrov, Jean Paul, Wilhelm Müller and a Franz Schubert song cycle based on Müller's verse, Blok, and Majakovskij.

In addition to the complex series of subtexts involved in some cases of Pasternak's Novalis reception, there are also simpler cases in Pasternak's middle verse of quotation of a single or pair of texts, involving various motifs and images, including verse as an echo of nature, verse-writing as drowning, sunrise as epiphany, the poet's relationship to time and space, the development of consciousness, and, most importantly, on poetic inspiration as

both the loss of one's senses (in the literal sense of the term, as a kind of temporary physical incapacitation) and as the cure for the world's ills—a theme which appears as well in the verse of the Russian Romantic Baratynskij. The worldly ailments listed by both poets include the illness of revolution. Poetry to both poets is also infection, passion, and reproduction. In one case, Pasternak alters the meaning of the Novalis subtext: Novalis speaks of illness as the sin of transcendence. To Pasternak, poetry itself is that illness of transcendence, and therefore a sin.

Later Pasternak, from 1928 to 1931 and after, involves a kind of distillation of motifs from the work of Novalis. The motif of the organic growth of history has already been mentioned in the context of Pasternak's 1928 revisions. The motif of the light beam in *Oxrannaja gramota* and *Vtoroe rozhdenie* comes from Novalis's *Lehrlinge*, mentioned above. Another Novalisian theme which arises in the Pasternak of the 1920s is that of poetry as lies, meant in a positive sense as lies which actually get to the truth of things. This notion becomes a significant aspect of Pasternak's aesthetic system and world view. A number of Novalis subtexts appear in Pasternak's *Vtoroe rozhdenie*, including cases already mentioned, as echoes of earlier motifs. In general, Pasternak's turn to Novalis texts around 1930 involved the transformation (rather than his youthful improvization) of more mystical elements of Novalis's writing related less to the theme of nature in poetry—the poet's particular perception of landscapes and their philosophical meanings, the unity of time and history, the paradox of the difficulty of simplicity and the ease of complexity. Finally, appearances of Novalis subtexts in Pasternak's late verse, from after *Vtoroe rozhdenie*, are essentially "distillations" of earlier cases of subtextual reception, as, for example, in "Svad'ba" from the Zhivago verse, or "Dusha", from Pasternak's last book of verse, *Kogda razguljaetsja*. By late in his career, when he writes in correspondence of his dislike of what he perceives as "romanticism", the presence of Novalis is merely a shadow, a reiteration.

Pasternak's reception of Hoffmann is a good deal less rich and varied, and strongly affected by neo-Romantic perceptions of the artist. While Pasternak never mentions Novalis anywhere in his prose or correspondence, he singles out Hoffmann, whom he had been so fond of in his youth, for special criticism late in life, because of his artificiality, in Pasternak's opinion, his use of the fantastic themes so foreign to Pasternak's poetics. Nevertheless, Hoffmann remains a subtextual presence even in late Pasternak, paradoxically in an essay condemning romanticism in art and music.

As is the case with his early treatment of Novalis, Pasternak's early prose sketches also feature improvisations based on Hoffmann texts, for example, "Der Sandmann". This reception, too, evolves from improvisation to more subtle subtextual reception.

Hoffmann's "Ritter Gluck" provides a rich source of subtexts for a series of interrelated Pasternak texts, from the 1913 poems "Liricheskij prostor" and "Venecija" to *Oxrannaja gramota* and correspondence devoted to his sojourn in Venice and the resulting violent birth of inspiration. Pasternak associates Hoffmann texts with leaps into another realm, either poetic flights upward or leaps into the sea, where the foam is the mythic source of inspiration. On the theme of inspiration and nature, it should be noted that Pasternak's 1917 poem "Zerkalo" has subtexts from both Novalis and Hoffmann, in whose work the image of the mirror appears frequently in various fantastic and supernatural contexts.

The Hoffmann theme of poetry itself as illness, both as an extension of Novalis's notion of poetic inspiration as temporary incapacitation and in opposition to Novalis's idea of poetry as cure, provides Pasternak with rich subtextual material. Hoffmann inverts Novalis's images of poetry as the traditional lyre or as the Aeolian harp of nature to make the crazed artist in one story toss a guitar into the bushes; this latter image finds resonance in Pasternak's image of the poet as a martyred guitar with its strings being torn off. The Pasternakian image of fettered or blocked inspiration, which appears only a few times in a cycle within *Poverx bar'erov*, has as a source one of Hoffmann's

incapacitated creators, from “Des Veters Eckfenster”, again in opposition to Novalis’s notion of the healthy flow of inspiration from nature.

All of the cases mentioned here are from Pasternak’s work prior to and including *Sestra moja zhizn’*. After that 1917 book of verse, there is a long break in Pasternak’s reception of Hoffmann. During the 1920s and 1930s, when Pasternak begins to formulate and then articulate his notion of romanticism and his dislike of what he perceives as romanticism, Hoffmann disappears from view, while Novalis remains active as a subtextual source. Paradoxically, Pasternak makes one significant exception, in one of his key texts opposing romanticism and propagating his notion of realism, his 1945 essay “Shopen”. His description of Chopin’s musical realism echoes a number of Hoffmann statements on music, including the Romantic music of Beethoven. The paradox is deepened by the presence of still more repellent texts, from the point of view of the late Pasternak, namely, essays on Chopin by the Polish Decadent Stanislaw Przybyszewski, which depict Chopin as a Nietzschean superman and martyr. Chopin’s biography in Przybyszewski’s telling becomes the source for Chopin’s biography in Pasternak’s telling. This is not necessarily a case of pure reception of one subtext in another text, but more likely the common reception of legendary notions of Chopin’s biography, which both writers repeat. Even so, textual correspondences indicate direct subtextual links as well. These subtextual links point to ties between Pasternak’s Chopin essay and his early depiction of a crazed artist/superman in his “Istorija odnoj kontroktavy”, which itself has subtexts from both Hoffmann and from the same Przybyszewski essays, as well as from Andrej Belyj’s tirade against the dangers of music as vampire. The Hoffmann of early twentieth-century perceptions—via Nietzsche, Przybyszewski, and Belyj—remains the Hoffmann which Pasternak quotes, then rejects, then quotes again toward the end of his life, while still rejecting his poetics.

The chain continues in Pasternak’s reception of subtexts from the work of Heinrich Heine. Pasternak’s reception of Hoffmann’s irony directed toward the insane artist

heightens in his reception of Heine's biting irony toward himself and poets in general. Of greatest significance to Pasternak in the perception of Heine is Heine's turn away from the very romanticism from which he suffers. Critical statements at the time of Pasternak's literary beginnings on Heine's turn away from otherworldly mysticism toward this world are significant not only to Pasternak, but to his entire generation, particularly Mandel'shtam and Cvetaeva. Themes in common between Novalis and Heine are of great significance to Pasternak; Heine, however, inverts Novalis's intentions in most cases. The best examples of this inversion, and Pasternak's reception of it, are in Heine's depiction of poets as liars, and in his depiction of Romantic poets as suffering from the illness of Romanticism. As is the case with Pasternak's mill imagery in regard to the work of Novalis, Pasternak's reception of Heine texts on the theme of poetry as "lofty malady" involves a complex network of other subtexts as well, some of which Heine himself responds to ("reconstructive intertextuality", to use Smirnov's term), and some of which Pasternak links with Heine ("constructive intertextuality"). In this case the additional subtexts come from the work of Grillparzer and of Jean Paul.

As I mentioned in Chapter One, a number of critics linked Pasternak's character Heine in "Apellesova cherta" with Majakovskij, the ultimate romantic in Pasternak's perception. This is significant for Pasternak's poem "Borisu Pil'njaku", which actually refers to Majakovskij's awkward position as poet laureate of the Soviet era; the poem has a subtext from Heine about the poet as revolutionary, the intent of which Pasternak inverts to treat the poet/revolutionary with irony. On the theme of revolution, Pasternak follows the ideas of Novalis on revolution as illness, and rejects Heine's revolutionary notions as inappropriate to his own era of bloody revolution.

Heine inherits and develops Hoffmann's image of the poet as martyr. He, like Hoffmann, uses the image of the poet as a broken string, and his verse on this theme, along with Hoffmann's, serves Pasternak as a subtext to his parallel image. Heine's ironic image of the crazed poet and political idealist in "Reise von München nach Genua" serves

as a telling subtext to Pasternak's "Pro èti stixi", the second poem in *Sestra moja zhizn'* which proclaims Pasternak's link to the Romantic tradition. Pasternak takes the subtext without its irony. If there is irony in Pasternak's bow to his Romantic ancestors here, it is the irony toward Romanticism of a self-proclaimed Romantic.

One of Heine's most important subtextual roles in Pasternak's work is in the realm of autobiography. Pasternak so admires Heine's turn away from Romanticism that he quotes Heine in his autobiographical statements in verse and prose, thus using Heine as a model in his own attempt at rejecting Romanticism. Subtexts include Heine's famous introduction to his *Reisebilder*, on escaping to the mountains from the shallowness of those around him, which finds resonance in Pasternak's depiction of his flight to the Caucasus in "Volny"; a Heine poem on hearing a concert, reflected both in Pasternak's depiction of the first night he felt music as an artist in his second autobiography, *Ljudi i polozhenija*, and in a scene on the development of an artistic personality from Pasternak's "Detstvo Ljuvers", the heroine of which can be perceived as an alter ego to Pasternak; and finally a series of self-mocking Heine poems on the poet's unrequited love in Pasternak's "Marburg".

As is the case with Novalis, Pasternak takes subtexts from Heine on the theme of *Naturphilosophie*; this is one theme on which Heine does not reject his claims to Romanticism. Both he and Pasternak follow the Romantic philosophy in certain depictions of poetry reflecting nature. Pasternak's poem "Zerkalo", which has subtexts from Novalis and Hoffmann, takes subtexts from Heine as well. Heine de-romanticizes the image of statues in the garden from Eichendorff's "Das Marmorbild" to make the statues lifeless. Pasternak carries the de-romanticization further by a Futurist-influenced mocking portrayal of the statue, with slugs crawling across its eyes and the implication that one could smear berries on its lips.

In sum, we see cases in Pasternak's reception of Heine in which he follows Heine's irony toward Romanticism, cases in which he follows Heine the Romantic, and cases in which he takes ironically anti-Romantic Heine subtexts and deprives them of their

irony. Heine to Pasternak is both Romantic and anti-Romantic. As Fleishman has pointed out, it is precisely this polarity which attracts Pasternak to Heine as a model for his own rejection of that Romanticism with which he is infected. Cvetaeva notices Pasternak's kinship with Heine, and in writing admiringly of Pasternak, takes as a subtext an ironic Heine self-depiction of the poet in love. This intertextual chain is intriguing, and suggests the need for a further look at other post-Symbolist reactions to Heine and Heine's role in post-Symbolist intertextual dialogue.

Thus we have examined Pasternak's reception of three generations of German Romantic literature. His treatment of subtexts from the Romantic era can be both faithful to the intent of its source and engaged in polemic with it. As is always the case in Pasternak's poetic system, his reception of German Romantic subtexts is complicated by the presence of intermediary texts, which can form rich and complex networks of subtexts. His use of subtexts from German Romantic literature also reflects his profound knowledge of his sources, and of their interaction with each other, for example, in the evolution of the image of the ailing poet, which develops further in Nietzsche and in his Decadent and Symbolist predecessors. He knows that he, like his Romantic sources, suffers from the same illness.

There remain many unanswered questions related to Pasternak's reception of German Romantic literature. Pasternak's reception of other writers from the German Romantic era, particularly Kleist, which was not touched upon at all here, and Jean Paul, whose case we examined only to some extent in this study, needs further attention from scholars. Pasternak scholars have made fruitful study of Pasternak and Kleist which could be further deepened and expanded, and have not at all touched the theme of Pasternak and Jean Paul, which deserves serious examination. The role of nineteenth-century Russian writers, primarily Romantics, as intermediaries in Pasternak's reception of the German Romantics—for example, Lermontov, Tjutchev, Fet, Grigor'ev—deserves greater attention. This is true as well of Pasternak's closer literary intermediaries, particularly Blok and Rilke, whose impact on the writer was so profound that instances of his reception of

their work, and through them of the German Romantics, form an enormously rich source of material for scholarly attention. Further study of the translation projects of Pasternak's contemporaries, particularly Bobrov and Petnikov, and of the *Lirika* and *Musaget* circles in general, would shed further light on the reception of German Romantics at the time. The impact of sources not purely literary, for example the art song, on Pasternak's reception of German literature, was only touched upon in Chapter Two of this study and, in light of Pasternak's musical education, deserves further study. Finally, the impact of German Romantic literature not only on Pasternak, but on his contemporaries, particularly Majakovskij, Axmatova, Cvetaeva, and Mandel'shtam, and cases of their textual correspondence based on common sources in German Romanticism, is a highly intriguing topic which would provide virtually endless material for study. Much work has been done, but there is a great deal left to do.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to heavy noise and low contrast. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or report, with several lines of text per paragraph. Some words are barely discernible, but the overall structure is that of a formal communication.]

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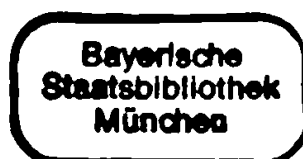
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 Belastung von Strukturelementen der frühen ostslavischen Chroniken

Es handelt sich um eine textorientierte, aber streng linguistisch ausgerichtete Untersuchung eines kompletten Textes (Novgoroder Chronik), der exemplarisch für die Textsorte 'Chronik' behandelt wird. – Das Interesse gilt analog zu dem Begriff 'Sprachkontakt' dem Textkontakt 'Chronik – Prätexte', d.h. der Art und Weise, wie ein Chronist Elemente aus einem fremden Text (genetische Biblismen) in seinen eigenen integriert. Hierzu wird zum ersten Mal ein paradigmatisches Vergleichsverfahren entwickelt, das nach

einer einheitlichen Methode zu bestimmen erlaubt, wie Textkontakt ('intertextuelle Beziehungen') im eigentlichen Sinne *sprachlich* zustandekommt. – Auch innerhalb des Chroniktextes wird eine paradigmatische Analyse von Inhaltselementen vorgenommen. Intra- und intertextuell motivierte Textsegmente werden anschließend auf ihre Textfunktion hin untersucht sowie daraufhin, wie der Textproduzent dem Leser diese chronikspezifischen Funktionen sprachlich signalisiert. Es wird gezeigt, daß die intertextuelle Bezugnahme nur einen Spezialfall intratextueller Kohärenzverfahren darstellt, daß jedoch eine zweite Kohärenzebene – die der Prätexte – hinzukommt. Diese komplexe Kohärenz- und Funktionsstruktur wird als ein bisher nicht behandeltes Textsortenmerkmal herausgearbeitet, das prinzipiell an beliebigen Textsorten überprüft werden kann.

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**Band 24 EIN LEBEN ZWISCHEN LAIBACH UND TÜBINGEN
PRIMUS TRUBER UND SEINE ZEIT**

Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich
Herausgegeben von Rolf-Dieter Kluge

Dieser Band unterscheidet sich von ähnlichen Sammelwerken dadurch, daß er das Wirken des Reformators und Begründers der slowenischen Schriftsprache, Primus Truber, neben seiner Bedeutung für die slowenische Gesellschaft und Kultur vor allem auch im süddeutschen (württembergischen) öffentlichen und kirchlichen Leben der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jh.s darstellt. Insoweit bietet er die bisher umfassendste interdisziplinäre Bestandsaufnahme und kritische Analyse der theologischen, sprachlichen und literarisch-übersetzerischen Tätigkeit Trubers und seiner Mitarbeiter und Nachfolger.

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