

Moscow as the Main Heroine in Pasternak's Novel *Doctor Zhivago*?

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Abstract: In 2008, Robert N. St. Clair and Wei Song published a book entitled *The Many Layers of Culture Within Each City*, applying their analytical framework to case studies of Harbin, Rio de Janeiro, Venice and Lisbon (St. Clair & Song, 2008). Invited to write a preface to their book, it struck me that a number of other cities could have been included. This influenced me to revisit an earlier text I had written in 1995 on the Russian writer Boris Pasternak (1890-1960) and his novel *Doctor Zhivago*, which won him the Nobel Prize in literature in 1958. My text was concerned with Pasternak's literary prowess, especially his stylistic use of anthropomorphisms which are so typical of his style, and which infuse life into the prose and poetry parts of this great novel (Vaagan, 1996). But there were also many other ideas I had to set aside, including the role of the capital Moscow as a possible main character or heroine in the novel. Few would question the existence of many layers of culture in Moscow with its complex history, but is there enough justification to consider the city as the main heroine of the novel?

Keywords: Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, Nobel Prize, Moscow as heroine, layers of culture

1. Introduction

In October 1958, the Soviet writer Boris Pasternak was awarded the Nobel prize in literature for his epic novel *Doctor Zhivago*. It had been first published in Italian the year before, in November 1957, by a Milan-based Italian publisher, and subsequently translated into a number of languages by 1958. In May 1956, Pasternak, fully aware that the novel would not be allowed publication in the Soviet Union, had given the manuscript to an Italian Communist, Sergio D'Angelo, who worked at Radio Moscow. D'Angelo had visited Pasternak at his dacha at Peredelkino outside Moscow. He was on the lookout for promising new Soviet literature and had contact with a new Milan publishing house set up by a Party loyalist, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. Pasternak had been working on the manuscript since 1945 and regarded it as his masterpiece. Anxious to see it published, and as a precautionary measure, Pasternak gave copies of the manuscript to several other contacts who smuggled it out to the West. The novel violated the Communist Party's all-pervasive literary policy of social realism, implemented from the early 1930s. Despite Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Party Congress in February 1956, social realism and the Cold War combined to preclude its publication in the Soviet Union. It could therefore hardly have surprised Pasternak when the journal *Novy mir* in September 1957 rejected to publish his masterpiece.

Pasternak and his family had to pay a high price after he was awarded the Nobel Prize.

Acclaims and fame in the West and other parts of the world were more than offset by a vicious anti-Pasternak campaign inside the Soviet Union. Pasternak's literary agent and mistress Olga Ivinskaya and her daughter were imprisoned, and he was forced to reject the prize. Pasternak was 68 and already in poor health when he won the prize. He died in May 1960 of lung cancer, 70 years old.

The opening of archives not only in Russia but also in the U.S.A. have confirmed that the novel was part of an important ideological battleground in the Cold War. The CIA considered that the novel could assist in undermining the Soviet government. A number of front organizations including publishers, were set up, and visiting Soviet officials and citizens to fairs and events in the West were approached and offered free copies of the novel. Many of these found their way back into the Soviet Union (Finn & Couvée, 2014).

In 1995, almost fifteen years after I graduated in Political Science with an MA dissertation on Soviet-Egyptian relations during the period 1967-1976, I completed a second MA dissertation, this time in Russian literature and addressing the use of anthropomorphisms in Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. This study, which also includes some reflections on city vs. urban life, was written in Norwegian but with substantial quotations from the original Russian text. In 1996, it was published in the series *Meddelelser* by the Slavic-Baltic Institute, University of Oslo. Long since out of print, this publication is available electronically (Vaagan, 1996). Reworking some of the text into an article in English allows me to share parts of the study with a wider public. In addition, this offers me the possibility to revisit and explore a few leads I did follow in the MA dissertation. One such unexplored lead is the role of Moscow in the novel. This city plays a central role in Russian Orthodox Christianity as "the third Rome", i.e. the successor to Rome and Constantinople and final capital of Christianity (Maguire, 1998). Could Moscow be interpreted as the main character or heroine in the novel?

2. Doctor Zhivago

My research question in the MA dissertation was to which extent anthropomorphisms (personifications) – so noticeable in Pasternak's prose and poetry, throughout his entire authorship – may have been employed as a stylistic device in *Doctor Zhivago*, and if so, why? To clarify this I employed quantitative text analysis and found no less than 347 significant examples of anthropomorphisms throughout the text, both in the prose and poetry parts. I concluded that this pattern was so systematic and widespread that it could not be coincidental. Rather, it indicates that the use of anthropomorphisms is a stylistic device, and moreover that it serves several purposes. Not only does the pattern of anthropomorphisms interact with other compositional elements, particularly plot, theme, structure and composition, narrative perspective, chronology and location, genre and style. Furthermore, the pattern of anthropomorphisms serves to underpin certain thematic interpretations of the novel, notably the themes associated with a) the individual versus the collective, b) life and c) Christianity.

The text I used was volume 3 (1990) of the five-volume collected works edited by A. A. Voznesenskii (Ed.) (1989-92). Barnes (1998, p. XV) regards this as the most authoritative textual source. This point is important as the Voznesenskii edition, e.g., gives "Gethsemane" as the last of the 25 concluding poems. By contrast, the 1991 translation by Harari and Hayward

lists “Fairy-Tale” as the last poem (a variation of poem no. 13 of the cycle, “A Fairy-Tale” (*Skazka*)).

Based on the Russian text, chapter 6 of the study lists the 347 examples of anthropomorphisms identified in my analysis, and the original Russian text can be consulted at <https://blog.hioa.no/robertvaagan/files/2015/01/Medd76.pdf> (Vaagan, 1996, pp. 79-94). Several subsequent studies have corroborated some of my findings, e.g. Witt (2000) who concludes that the forest serves as a stage for the demonstration of constitutive features of the novel’s poetics and philosophy of art. Pasternak’s expression from 1922 on what he and others were attempting to achieve in literature – *poimat’ zhivoe* [to capture life] – therefore anticipated what the later Pasternak succeeded in using through his own *nezametnii stil’* [Unnoticeable style] in *Doctor Zhivago*.

Among the anthropomorphisms I had identified is the following personification of Moscow as the main heroine, perhaps of the novel itself. Zhivago’s friends Gordon and Dudurov, reminiscing in Moscow “5 or 10 years” after their earlier meeting in 1943, find that:

[...] Москва казалась им сейчас [...] главной героиней длинной повести, к концу которой они подошли [...]. (Quoted in Voznesenskii (Ed.), 1990, p. 510) [Moscow now appeared to them [...] as the main heroine of a long tale, the end of which they had reached].

Can we take this to mean that Moscow is the main heroine of *Doctor Zhivago*? Levi (1990, p. 97) sees Moscow as “the heroine of Pasternak’s lifework”. In *Doctor Zhivago* Moscow is referred to in book 2, part 16, chapter 15 as “holy” (*sviataia*) which resonates with the idea of Moscow as the “Third Rome”. This is also mentioned by Sima Tuntseva in part 13, chapter 17. But do these innocuous elements substantiate the view that Moscow is the main heroine of *Doctor Zhivago*? After all, Gordon and Dudurov are only minor characters. If the author had this intention, why did he not entitle the novel *Moscow*, paralleling Belyi’s *Petersburg*? Why did he not give Moscow more scope in the text, where most of the action and the key parts – as we shall see – take place away from Moscow, in the countryside?

Before proceeding further it is necessary to grasp the idea of Moscow as the “Third and last Rome”. In doing so, I draw on my doctoral dissertation (Vaagan, 2000, pp. 45-46):

The idea of Moscow as the Third and last Rome was first formulated in 1510 by the monk Philotheus of Pskov in a letter to tsar Vasili III. It envisaged Moscow as the centre of Orthodox Christendom in the wake of, first, the Great Schism in 1054 between Rome and Constantinople, and secondly, as a result of the suppression of Constantinople in 1453 by the Muslim Ottomans (Krag, 1932, pp. 8-20; Ware, 1964, p. 112ff.). After the establishment in 1589 of the Patriarchate in Moscow, the Russian Orthodox Church nevertheless only ranked fifth in the Orthodox hierarchy of autocephalous churches. Kollmann (1997, p. 51) thus argues that whereas the idea of Moscow as the Third and Last Rome played a minor role during the 1500s, it gained in popularity in the 1600s, primarily among the schismatic Old Believers, and that it was discredited by the official Church. Yet Bodin (1993, p. 63ff.) links the theory to apocalyptic messianism and to imperialism, which interacted to project a

vision of Muscovite ‘Rossiya’ from the late 1500s as the custodian of the right faith, a bulwark against Asia, and a protector of secular power in the face of the impending Last Judgement. The feeling that Russia had a historic, religiously sanctioned, leading mission internationally re-emerged in Slavophilism in the late 1800s (Ransel, 1997, p. 163ff.; Krag, 1932, 1991), and later in utopism (Mørch, 1997) and Bolshevism. Kalpani has, e.g., argued that Russian messianism was a central motive in both the tsarist and Bolshevik policy of colonization and domination of the Caucasus and Central Asia: “If the tsarist government sought justification for the colonization in Christianity and Russia’s mission on earth as the Third Rome – the savior of mankind – the socialist government sought refuge in Marxism. There was an uncanny similarity between the two, each projected itself as the sole champion of truth and salvation with promises of paradise at the end of the road”. (Kalpani, 1997, p. 110). (Quoted from Vaagan, 2000, pp. 45-46)

Maguire notes Zhivago’s escape to the countryside from the privations and dangers in Moscow. By embracing the rural east, Zhivago learns that all life is interconnected and sacred. Yet he returns to Moscow and, before dying, he ponders that big cities like Moscow are the only inspiration for a truly new modern art. This leads Maguire to the view that:

Moscow is ‘the real heroine of a long story’, the most Russian of subjects, indeed a ‘holy city’, the embodiment, we might say, of an authentically Russian life that knows no polarities, but is organic, unitary and vital. The similarity to medieval views of Moscow, and more recently, to Tolstoi’s views in *War and Peace*, though unremarked, is obvious. (Maguire, 1998, pp. 38-39).

These formulations suggest that Maguire in his article on the city, while not subscribing to the reading that Moscow is the main heroine of the novel, nonetheless embraces the view that Moscow plays an important textual and referential role. Revisiting my own analysis and Pasternak’s original Russian text some 20 years later – now through the lenses of city vs. country life – I realized that the text allows for a multitude of interpretations other than anthropomorphisms, which had been my primary focus.

Obviously, there have been a number of new contributions to Pasternak studies and to the reading of *Doctor Zhivago* since 1995, in addition to Maguire (1998). Some works completed at about the same time had simply escaped my attention, such as Clowes (1995). Others had only partially been published, notably the authoritative 2-volume biography by Barnes (1989, 1998). Together with later studies by Witt (2000) and Weir (2002), these present invaluable new material and perspectives. Several studies in Russian by e.g., Frolovskaja (2000) on the use of masks as a literary device in Pasternak’s work, the revised and updated in-depth study of Fleishman (2005) on Pasternak and the volatile 1930s, and by Sokolov (2006) on the political dimensions of *Doctor Zhivago* in post-Soviet Russia, all reflect great appreciation of *Doctor Zhivago* among Russian readers. Further, a number of adaptations have been made for the TV, film and theatre. A mini-series appeared on British ITV network in November 2002 and at the Masterpiece Theatre in the US in November 2003. A musical adaptation was staged at

the La Jolla Playhouse in 2005 and a Broadway musical appeared in April 2015. In Russia a screen-version directed by Aleksander Proshkin was released in 2006. While acknowledging the personal drama and spiritual longings of the main protagonist, the Proshkin film does not embrace a Biblical interpretation of the novel (see below) or the notion of Moscow as the main heroine of the novel. In an interview in *Moskovskie novosti* on April 5, 2006 Proshkin also claimed that 90% of Russian viewers had never read the novel. Moreover, a Russian musical was premiered in 2007 in Perm (Iuriatin in the novel).

2.1. Genre and Style

As noted by many, *Doctor Zhivago* defies ordinary genre conventions, a feature it shares with Belyi's *Petersburg*. The main legacy of the major protagonist Zhivago is a slim volume of poems. Lichachëv (1983) coined the term "starry rain" (*zvëzdnyi dozhd'*) to describe Pasternak's prose. Sokolov (2006, pp. 5-7) asserts that many literary scholars believe the novel is the most poetic prose in Russian literary history. Indeed, the text incorporates several elements from Russian realism such as chronology, location and historical background with features of Russian romanticism and symbolism, especially lyrical language, imagery, nature depictions, subjective and impressionistic renderings of historical background, coincidences (*tseptenie*) in the plot and also the inclusion of the main protagonist's poems. Moreover, as I discuss below, the narrator's identity remains unknown. All characters and most of the place names depicted are fictional, except tsar Nicholas II portrayed at the Galician front in 1916, in book 1, part 4, chapter 12. The depictions are quite realistic, although character portrayal is sketchy. The novel follows the tradition of Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin*, Turgenev's *Rudin* and Goncharov's *Oblomov* in that the title reflects the main protagonist. On balance, however, style and genre do not seem to offer us any suggestion as to whether Moscow can be regarded as the main heroine. As noted, this contrasts with Belyi's *Petersburg*.

2.2. Plot

A number of studies, including my own, have shown that the plot is structured around the relationship between Iurii and Lara. They are brought together three times in book 1, under dramatic circumstances. Their third meeting at the front creates expectations of a romantic relationship, which is developed further in book 2 when they meet in the library in Varykino and start a relationship. Some readings (reinforced by the 1965 remediated film version of David Lean) mainly interpret the novel as a tragic love story set against the background of revolution and war. Yet if we reflect on the dimension of city versus country life, other readings become apparent. Iurii Zhivago and his family evade troubled Moscow wrought by revolution, hunger and all kinds of shortages, including fuel, in the freezing winter. They seek refuge, food and safety at the family estate Varykino in the countryside, near the town of Iuriatin in the Urals. The climax of the novel and the fulfilment of the relationship between Iurii Zhivago and Lara take place in her home in Iuriatin and at Varykino, in part 9. It is here that Iurii writes his diary and where his poetic potential is in evidence. But this temporary bliss cannot last. Lara leaves with Komarovskii – and Iurii lets her go. Iurii and Lara both return to Moscow, where

Iurii declines and eventually dies.

The plot, then, suggests that poetic creativity as well as fleeting love unfold in the countryside, away from urban Moscow life. In this perspective, Moscow appears to be a negative and destructive force. This hardly supports a reading of Moscow as the main heroine of the novel.

2.3. Composition and Structure

The novel consists of two books (*knigi*) with 7 and 10 parts (*chasti*), respectively, each divided into chapters. Book 1 (parts 1-7) runs to around 250 pages with 123 chapters of varying length. Book 2 (parts 8-17) also runs to roughly 250 pages with 110 chapters. Although Voznesenskii (1990) lists part 17 containing the poems as an integral part of the text, the 1991 translation by Hariri and Hayward give chapter 16, Epilogue, as the last chapter, adding the poems. As noted earlier, they also give “Fairy-Tale” as the last poem.

It is noticeable that most of the plot and text – and hence most of the anthropomorphisms – unfold in rural surroundings away from Moscow. The novel begins in Siberia with the funeral of Iurii’s father. The prose part ends in Moscow (Epilogue), but the final poetry part ends with Iurii’s poem “Gethsemane”. In book 1, parts 2, 3 and some of part 4 as well as part 6 take place in Moscow. Yet the remaining textual parts are all located outside Moscow, either in Siberia, Galicia or in the Urals. In book 2, parts 8-14 all unfold outside Moscow, in Iuriatin in the Urals, at the family estate Varykino, in Siberia with the partisans and again at Iuriatin and Varykino. Iurii’s degradation and death are set in Moscow, and part 15 as well as some of part 16 are also located in Moscow.

The 25 poems of the Zhivago cycle that conclude the novel are organized according to a nature cycle: spring/summer/autumn/winter/spring. Several of the poems can be defined geographically, e.g. poem no. 21, “The Earth” (*Zemlia*) – which is located in Moscow. The last poem is no. 25, “Gethsemane”. Of the 25 poems concluding the novel, poem no.13, “A Fairy-Tale” (*Skazka*) is particularly important. First, it is the mid poem, no.13, with 12 poems coming before and after. It is also the only poem whose genesis we hear about, in book 2, part 14, chapter 9. The novel therefore begins and ends in rural surroundings, not in a city.

Several interpretations have been advanced regarding the composition and structure of the work. Danow (1991) finds that the organizing principle of the prose parts in *Doktor Zhivago* is a dominating picture in each of the chapters. These “cinematic shots” are interlinked and their confluence generates a panorama effect with the reader. Gasparov (1989, pp. 315-319) reminds us of the important role of music in the authorship of Pasternak and invokes the musical concept of “counter point”. He argues that “time counter point” (*vremeni kontrapunkt*) is the organizing principle at different levels in the novel. The author uses partly overlapping and partly parallel story lines: the uneven advance of the train towards the Urals is seen as a picture of Russia’s development. Iurii Zhivago moves inside the tram in parallel with Mademoiselle Fleury walking on the pavement. The tram comes to a halt and Iurii dies, as the train had stopped and his own father had died. Frolovskaja (2000) focuses on the use of the mask as a key organizing literary device in Pasternak’s work, particularly in *Doctor Zhivago*. Sokolov (2006) focuses on biographical dimensions of Pasternak’s life and reads *Doctor Zhivago* largely as a great writer’s

vision of life and politics in Russia under Stalin. Borisov (1989, pp. 426-428) draws attention to Russian folklore, e.g., in the rendering of the characters Evgraf and Samdeviatov. Lönnqvist (1991, p. 105) is of the opinion that all names in Pasternak's work carry significance and the characters in their lives act out the etymology contained in their names. Pasternak himself, however, disassociated himself from this type of interpretation (Ivinskaja, 1980, p. 263).

Also in terms of composition and structure, the conclusion is that we cannot substantiate a reading that sees Moscow as the main heroine of the novel. Quite the contrary, the novel begins and ends in rural surroundings and the structural and compositional peaks are set in the countryside, at Varykino.

2.4. Narrative Perspective

The novel is mainly written in polyphonic and kaleidoscopic third person singular, allowing us to sweep over Russian cities, towns and countryside alike. This includes the only textual specific reference to Moscow as *a/the* main heroine quoted initially. An exception is the structurally important part 9, where Iurii writes in his diary at Varykino in the presence of Lara. Here first person singular is used with Iurii as focalizer (chapters 1-9). One can discuss to what extent the text at this point is autobiographical, since author, narrator and focalizer seem to be identical (Lejeune, 1989; Vaagan, 2000, p. 155ff). Otherwise, there are examples in book 1 of patriotic use of first person plural in the war scenes (p.102, 113). Several of the poems attributed to Iurii are understandably written in the first person singular, others in the third person singular. Taken together, this suggests that the prose and poetry parts have different authors. Whereas the prose to a large extent is *about* Iurii, the poems are *by* Iurii.

Defying genre conventions, the author intervenes, as Belyi does in *Petersburg*. At the beginning of part 15 the author reminds readers that all that remains to be recounted are the remaining eight to nine difficult years of Iurii's life. Yet the narrator's identity remains unknown. It cannot be Iurii since in book 2, part 9, chapter 9, it is stated that he did not resume his diary, and he dies of a heart attack in 1929. Other possible narrators who survive Iurii include Gordon, Dudurov, Evgraf, Tonia and Lara. Yet these are all described in third person and are therefore not probable narrators (Vaagan 1996, p. 75). A more down to earth view is that the author and the narrator are identical, taking into consideration the stylistic parallels between the prose and poetry parts. Some will argue that the unknown narrator reinforces a Christological interpretation of Iurii as Christ. An impression is created that the omniscient narrator could be an apostle, a follower of Zhivago, one to whom Iurii's poems have a special significance. Personally, I have always favoured this line of interpretation. A possible narrator could be Vasha Brykin, Iurii's young assistant. He knew Iurii very well, he had his writing printed and he was in a sense a "disciple". Parallel with Peter's abnegation of Jesus, Vasha disowns Iurii. But of course Vasha may later have repented and written about Iurii (Vaagan, 1996, p. 75).

The polyphonic and kaleidoscopic narrative perspective combines well with the noted thematic richness and 50-year time perspective of the novel. Taken together, these suggest that a single city, even a "sviataia" capital like Moscow, the third Rome, is not the main heroine in this novel.

2.5. Chronology and Location

The chronology and location are largely realistic and documentary, which bears on the novel's themes and genre. Book 1 deals with the period from around 1901 until 1918. We are first told that Iurii is ten years old when his mother dies, and part 1, chapter 4 starts in 1903. In part 3, chapter 7 we learn that the Christmas party at the Sventitskiis takes place 1911/1912. In part 3, chapter 15 we hear that Iurii's mother died ten years ago. The train travel to the Urals took place in March 1918, possibly 1919. Iurii returns to Moscow in 1922 at the beginning of the NEP, and seven years passed before his death in August 1929.

Book 2 deals with the period from around 1918 until Iurii's death in August 1929. In addition, some retrospective reminiscences are included from the front in 1943, and "5 or 10 years" later in Moscow by his friends Gordon and Dudurov. The novel thus embraces almost 50 years of Russian and Soviet history. The concluding poems are, as noted above, organized according to a nature cycle but with some interesting deviations from a linear time line. In the last poem "Gethsemane", Jesus is alive while in the two preceding poems he is already dead. The period 1900-1929 is built up chronologically, consistent with a realist-naturalist framework.

We also notice a switching between the past and present tenses, the latter mostly in the dialogues. The author intervenes at the beginning of part 15 to notify the readers that all that remains is to tell about the last difficult eight to nine years of Iurii's life. This creates distance between the narrator and the text but the identity of the narrator remains unknown.

The plot takes place in Moscow and on the train from Moscow to the town Iuriatin (Perm) in the Urals and the family estate Varykino, both located at the large river Ryn'va. The climax in terms of plot and structure unfold at Varykino. The war scenes with Iurii's two years as a doctor until the 1917 revolution are in Galicia, i.e., the areas at the Russian-Austrian-Hungarian border. Iurii's two-year captivity with the partisans takes place in the Urals. The conversation between Dudurov and Gordon in 1943 is at the front and their subsequent conversation "5 or 10 years" later takes place in Moscow. The poems can to some extent be associated with locations in the prose part.

In Figure 1 below, I have listed the two books and chapters of the book and included the number of 347 anthropomorphisms I found in the text. Anthropomorphisms are often personifications of phenomena in nature and, therefore, it would seem that as a literary device they favour descriptions of nature and country life rather than city life.

2.6. Themes

Cornwell (1986) in a review of scholarly writing on *Doktor Zhivago*, distinguishes among 12 main analytical approaches ranging from traditional belletristic analysis (focusing on text, biography, ideology, literary contexts) to post-belletristic analysis (stressing perspectives that are either formal-structural, allegorical, receptionist, intertextual, deconstructivist, metatextual supra/intercultural or metacritical). In Cornwell's typology, my study can be grouped under traditional text analysis of language features. Cornwell (1986, p. 15) also lists nine main interpretations of *Doctor Zhivago*:

- The ideological contrast between Zhivago and Antipov/Strel'nikov
- How and why poetry is written
- A poetical biography of an individual
- The instinct of life
- Human choice and man's life on earth
- The significance of Russian history in the 20th century
- The struggle of the individual conscience for truth and against tyranny
- A poet's hagiography
- Death and resurrection

In my analysis I found a systematic pattern of anthropomorphisms throughout the prose and poetry parts of the text. This led me to the conclusion that my "anthropomorphist" approach most meaningfully reinforced existing thematic interpretations emphasizing the following three main themes a) the individual versus the collective, b) life and c) Christianity.

Interestingly, none of the nine main analytical approaches or thematic foci noted by Cornwell consider the dichotomy urban vs. country life as a major perspective. I believe the contribution by Maguire (1998) suggests that Cornwell's list may need revision on this point.

Barnes (1998, p. 254) states that Pasternak in 1947 had conceived the Jewish apostate Misha Gordon as the main hero of the novel. Yet this must have changed as Pasternak continued working on the novel. Gordon and Dudurov are not central characters, which means that there is not sufficient weight behind the interpretation of Moscow as the main heroine of the novel.

2.7. Anthropomorphisms: City vs. Country

In figure 1 below we see that the number of 347 anthropomorphisms I identified throughout the novel varies. It also shows that most of the novel's text is set away from Moscow, and therefore most of the anthropomorphisms I have found are not linked with Moscow. Location, then, also fails to give credence to the reading that Moscow can be seen as the novel's main heroine.

Book One Location		No. of Anthropo- morphisms
Part 1 The Five O'Clock Express:	Siberia, Duplianka	10
Part 2 A Girl From a Different World:	Moscow	22
Part 3 Christmas Party at the Sventitskis'	Moscow	19
Part 4 The Advent of the Inevitable	Moscow, the war front, Galicia, Iuriatin	17
Part 5 Farewell to the Past:	Meliuzeevo, the front, return to Moscow	29
Part 6 Moscow Bivouac	Moscow	17
Part 7 The Journey	Trip to Iuriatin in the Urals	22
Book Two		
Part 8 Arrival	Arriving in Iuriatin, the Urals	13
Part 9 Varykino	Varykino estate	18

Part 10 The Highway	Khodatskoie, Kuteiny Posad, Malii Ermolai	14
Part 11 Forest Brotherhood	Iurii with the partisans	14
Part 12 Iced Rowanberries	Iurii with the partisans	17
Part 13 Opposite the House of Caryatids	Iuriatin	19
Part 14 Again Varykino	Varykino	33
Part 15 Conclusion	Last 8-10 yrs of Iurii's life, back to Moscow	15
Part 16 Epilogue	Moscow 1943, Karachev, Moscow 1948/53	6
Part 17 The Poems of Iurii Zhivago	Various	62
		347

Figure 1. Chapters, Location and Number of Significant Anthropomorphisms

With respect to the further analysis of anthropomorphisms, the concept, its use in Russian poetry and in Pasternak's works, the occurrences in *Doctor Zhivago*, their nature, typology, etc., these considerations are beyond the limited scope of this article. They are, however, interesting enough *per se* and I have discussed them elsewhere (Vaagan, 1996).

2.8. The Poems

To what extent can the 25 poems of the Zhivago cycle be associated with Moscow? In book 2, part 15, chapter 11, the narrator quotes from the deceased Iurii Zhivago's diary, with reflections on city life in Moscow versus country life. Although the narrator tells us that these reflections were not expressed in the poems left behind, I believe that the reflections can be traced in the seventh poem of the 25 poem cycle concluding the book, "Summer in town" (*Leto v gorode*). I therefore disagree with Gifford (1977, pp. 201-222) who claimed that it is not interesting to connect the poems with the prose parts. Magomedova (1995, pp. 116ff) apparently concurs in showing how poem no. 12, "Autumn" (*Osen*) relates with part 14 of the novel. In my study, I attempted to connect the prose and poetry parts, which I believe is highly relevant also in the perspective of this article. Relying on the analysis of Davie (1966), Gifford (1977) and Bodin (1976), my intention in dealing with the poems was only to relate anthropomorphisms to mainstream, accepted interpretations. I found 62 anthropomorphisms, on average 2-3 in each poem. The poem with the single largest concentration of anthropomorphisms (7) is no. 21, "The Earth" (*Zemlia*), a nature poem communicating the spring in Moscow. As Barnes (1998, p. 244) reminds us, the novel's religious message resonates strongest in the poems. Nine of the poems are widely considered Biblical, including the final poem "Gethsemane".

Above I have touched on the structure of the 25 poems and noted that only "The Earth" (*Zemlia*) is clearly linked with Moscow, and partly also "Explanation" (*Ob'iasnenie*). Several others are associated with specific geographic references: "In Holy Week" (*Na strastnoj*) is linked with the Siberian town Krestovozdvizhensk, and "White night" (*Belaja noch*) with St. Petersburg. "Autumn" (*Osen*) as well as "Parting" (*Razluka*) are primarily associated with Varykino. The 9 Biblical poems all carry connotations with the Holy Land.

The poems, then, join the same pattern as the other elements discussed above in that they apparently do not lend sufficient support to the view that Moscow is the main heroine of the novel.

3. Conclusion

In these reflections on Moscow as a possible “glavnaia geroinia” (main heroine) of *Doktor Zhivago* I have argued that in terms of genre and literary style, plot, composition and structure, narrative perspective, chronology and location, themes, the 25 poems, as well as with respect to the occurrences and patterns of anthropomorphisms, the answer must be an affirmative “no”. I think the late Robert A. Maguire would agree. Although the theme of city vs. country life may warrant inclusion in the list of standard interpretations provided by Cornwell (1986), there is not enough textual or interpretational evidence to corroborate the impression of Gordon and Dudurov, when Moscow appeared to them as the main heroine of a long story, in which they had reached the end. Although Moscow does play an important role in the novel, as shown by Maguire (1998), this is mainly as a part of the texture and setting, not as the main heroine.

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