Kindred Minds: Pasternak, *Zhivago* & Merton

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Introduction

This three-part article will focus on Boris Pasternak, his epic novel *Doctor Zhivago*, his letters to his Georgian friends and Thomas Merton, concluding with a brief reflection on the connection between Pasternak's situation and Merton's *The Behavior of Titans* (1961).[1] 2020 was the 60th anniversary of Pasternak's death, and this year marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of Amnesty International (1961-2021). I have a copy before me of Amnesty's initial publication, *Persecution 1961*, by Peter Benenson, one of the founders of the organization.[2] The book highlights the plight of 9 prisoners of conscience including Olga Ivinskaya (1912-1995), a Russian poet and writer, and a friend and lover of Pasternak during the last 13 years of his life. She has been seen by many as the Larissa (Lara) in *Doctor Zhivago* just as her daughter Irina is seen as Larissa's daughter Katya. The ongoing relationship between the novel and Pasternak's own life has been told from various angles, including *A Captive of Time: My Years with Pasternak* (1978) by Olga Ivinskaya, *Lara: The Untold Love Story and the Inspiration for Doctor Zhivago* (2017) by Anna Pasternak and *Moscow has Ears Everywhere: New Investigations on Pasternak and Ivinskaya* (2019) by Paolo Mancosu. The fact Olga Ivinskaya played a significant role in getting *Doctor Zhivago* published in English in 1958 meant that she was under suspicion by the Russian state and the KGB. When Pasternak died in 1960, Ivinskaya was arrested and given an eight year prison sentence, her daughter three years. Irina was released from prison in 1962 and Olga in 1964. It was not until 1988 that Gorbachev rehabilitated Ivinskaya.

The Precarious Journey of Life

There tend to be two tendencies that often collide when interpreting the

precarious journey of life. There is the comedic version in which challenges will come our way, the 'agon' which cannot be avoided between the protagonist and antagonist but when day is done, goodness emerges victorious and the ending is positive.[3] Such a comedic version of life can be found in Dante's *Divine Comedy* and such modern epics as *Star Wars, Lord of the Rings, Harry Potter, Chronicles of Narnia* and most Walt Disney films. There is also the tragic interpretation of the all too human journey. There is, as anticipated, the challenge and 'agon', but the ending is often not pleasant, positive or victorious. Such a tragic approach can be found in the Greek tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, Shakespeare's *Hamlet, MacBeth, Lear* and Hardy's later novels or the American poet, Robinson Jeffers. Such tragic endings can be explained by the 'tragic flaw' but there is much more to tragedy than such a formulaic approach to the dire and sad end of the main actors in life's drama.

How do Boris Pasternak and *Doctor Zhivago* find their way within these comedic-tragic tensions? Needless to say, both Pasternak and Zhivago are thrown into the tumult and violence arising from the Russian Revolution of 1917 which continued throughout the Stalinist era. Pasternak was constantly being watched by the Russian state, his many books of poetry meticulously combed, and his translations of significant European and English classics heavily scrutinized. Given her relationship with Pasternak, Olga Ivinskaya was initially imprisoned in the late 1940s and early 1950s as a means of silencing him. Passages of *Doctor Zhivago* were written as early as the 1910s and 1920s but mostly in the 1950s, being completed in 1956, when hopes were held high, following Stalin's death in 1953, that there would be a Soviet thaw in hardened political, religious and literary attitudes. The novel was smuggled out of Russia and published in Italian in 1957 and in English in 1958, the author being awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature that year. The 1965 and 2003 films from the novel scarcely do the epic minimal justice. Thomas Merton urged Boris Pasternak in his correspondence to prevent the novel from being turned into a movie:

> If the question of making *Dr. Zh.* into a movie in America should arise and become an issue with you over there, I would strongly advise that you attach no importance to any movie but rather that you should, if the case arises to make a decision, *oppose* yourself to it. ... A Hollywood production of *Dr. Zh.* would do more harm than good in every respect.[4]

Pasternak died in 1960 so the production of the 1965 film was not his decision

What makes this book such a classic beyond the notion of it being a useful Cold War text or a lyrical tale of doomed love? For Merton, reading the book was a 'great and rewarding experience':

> The book is a world in itself, a sophiological world, a paradise and a hell, in which the great mystical figures of Yurii and Lara stand out as Adam and Eve and though they walk in darkness walk with their hand in the hand of God. The earth they walk upon is sacred because of them.[5]

The principal characters of the book are Doctor Yuri Zhivago, Tonya (Zhivago's first wife), Komarovsky, Pasha-Strelnikov, Larissa (Lara) and Yevgraf Zhivago.

Yuri Zhivago comes from a troubled family, the novel beginning with his mother's death, his raffish father having found in suicide the answer to his life's problems. Zhivago is adopted by the wealthy Gromeko family in upper class Moscow, but he is constantly torn between his empirical, scientific view of life and his poetic, intuitive way of being and knowing. He is also conflicted regarding the revolution — injustices obviously had to be dealt with, but once in power the oppressed soon became the violent oppressor. Very much like Hamlet, Zhivago was often paralyzed and impotent when making hard decisions, his will often weak, a passive victim of life and the decision of others; such was to be his unfolding, indulgent and, in many ways, tragic end, his weak heart, as though a metaphor, failing him.

Tonya and Zhivago grew up almost as brother and sister once Zhivago had been adopted into her family, the relationship more of familiar friendship than deep love. It lacked the deeper connection and unity that Zhivago, the orphaned child, ever longed for. There was an emptiness deep in Zhivago that Tonya, even as his wife, could not fill, although she was a fine and caring woman, gentle and sensitive, cultured and gifted.

Komarovsky embodies those who do not have a moral compass, using one and all to advance his narcissistic interests. His conniving ways are partially responsible for Zhivago's father's suicide, he seduces the innocent Larissa, takes advantage of her mother, and cunningly plays people and the political system to his egotistic ends, ever the self-serving entrepreneur.

Pasha begins life as a cheerful boy in a working class family. If his

early life is full of 'songs of innocence', it is the 'songs of experience', the injustices of life perpetuated by the bourgeois and aristocratic classes which converts him into a political warrior, becoming the dreaded Strelnikov. When young he was married to Larissa, but the horror of the times and her seduction by Komarovsky further fuelled his anger. He equates justice with overthrowing the ruling classes, seeing reason and diplomacy merely as distractions, with violence necessary to bring in a new society. Idealism, justice and violence are all wed in Strelnikov, but on the way he loses his basic humanity which he tries, too late, to reclaim. When he realized that he was dispensible to the militant left, he tried to find Larissa again, but too late, suicide his answer.

Yevgraf is Yuri Zhivago's half brother, a faithful and high ranking member of the Communist Party; but deeper than Yevgraf's faithful commitment to the Communist Party is that to his brother. Ideology and party commitment never undermines Yevgraf's basic humanity and compassion. He embodies, in many ways, a notion of Divine Grace, ever and always there, to assist and aid Zhivago, Tonya, Larissa and her children in their hours of desperate need. He is often hidden and unseen and yet ever present, easing painful and tragic passages for one and all.

There are a variety of ways of interpreting Larissa (Lara). She can be viewed as a woman who faces, again and again, disappointments, betrayals, failed expectations, dreams and hopes dashed and yet she never becomes bitter and angry. She embodies, in many ways, a life force that will not and cannot shrink to the level of anger, bitterness and vindictiveness or allow poisons and toxins to inhabit her soul. She also has been seen as Lady Wisdom, Mother Russia, a voice calling all to hope and to a higher life even though ignored and rejected many times. The three men who turned to her (Komarovsky, Pasha-Strelnikov and Zhivago) all eventually desert her, and the price she pays is tragic. Larissa, with comedy and tragedy dwelling in the same soul, rises above her mistreatment though suffers because of it — her end is not pleasant as is often the treatment of Lady Wisdom throughout time.

In a letter to Pasternak, Merton recounts a dream he had had:

> Shall I perhaps tell you how I know Lara, where I have met her? ... One night I dreamt that I was sitting with a very young Jewish girl of fourteen or fifteen, and that she suddenly manifested a very deep and pure affection for me and embraced me so that I was moved to the depths of my soul. I learned her name was 'Proverb', which I thought very simple and beautiful.

This letter was written seven months after his experience at Fourth and Walnut. It goes on to describe his visit to Louisville:

> I was walking alone in a crowded street and suddenly I saw that everybody was Proverb and that in all of them shone her extraordinary beauty and purity and shyness, even though they did not know who they were and were perhaps ashamed of their names — because they were mocked on account of them.[6]

Clearly the character of Lara spoke strongly to Merton, a woman taking on a spiritual dimension, at once both Wisdom and Sophia.

Merton's Correspondence

The correspondence between Merton and Pasternak was initiated by Merton in August 1958. Pasternak had asked John Harris to be put in touch with three persons in the West including Thomas Merton. It ended, after three letters from each, with a letter from Pasternak in February 1960, a few weeks before his death.[7] Merton's letters are much longer than Pasternak's whose grasp of English was not very strong and who was in failing health. There is much packed into Merton's longer letters to Pasternak, leaving one in no doubt that Merton senses a real affinity both with Pasternak as a person and poet-novelist. With his first letter written before he had read *Doctor Zhivago*, Merton expresses his feelings for this fellow writer:

> With other writers I can share ideas, but you seem to communicate something deeper. It is as if we met on a deeper level of life on which individuals are not separate beings. In the language familiar to me as a Catholic monk, it is as if we were known to one another in God. ... Each person is destined to reach with others an understanding and a unity which transcends individuality, and Russian tradition describes this with a concept we do not fully possess in the West — *sobernost*.[8]

Merton mentioned a variety of Russian poets he was interested in and sent Pasternak 'a kind of prose poem or meditation on *Prometheus*'. Merton's letters to Pasternak are worth careful reading, revealing a vision of a higher unity of humanity that transcends all factional divisions.

In support of Pasternak, in October 1958 Merton wrote a lengthy

letter to Aleksei Surkov, head of the Soviet Writers' Union, opposing Pasternak's expulsion from the organisation.[9] His letter is a plea for the role of literature as a means of humanizing the human condition rather than an agent of docile ideology, seeing Pasternak's silencing 'as a sign of insecurity and weakness'. Merton pointed out that Pasternak was no more an enemy of communism than was Khrushchev when, in 1956, he condemned the horrors of the Stalinist era. His letter highlighted how the high quality of Russian writers and artists embodied the best of world literature, hence it would be quite natural for Pasternak and *Zhivago* to be lauded and embraced by the Writers' Union — regretfully and predictably so, there was no response from Surkov.

Merton's correspondence with Helen Wolff between 1959-1968 is rich with Pasternak reflections.[10] Helen Wolff and, her husband, Kurt, were a dynamic publishing team, and Kurt was at the forefront of publishing Franz Kafka. Helen Wolff worked for Pantheon Books in the USA that published *Zhivago.* Most of the more than twenty letters that Merton sent to Wolff return, again and again, to Pasternak and his perennial significance. The sheer success of *Zhivago* meant that many were the publishers more than keen to draw together interpretive commentaries on the epic novel. Edmund Wilson's articles in *The New Yorker* in November 1958, and *The Nation*, April 1959, reduced the book to what Merton called a 'Joycean labyrinth of allegory' which Pasternak opposed. According to Wolff, 'Pasternak emphatically denied any intention of creating the allegorical structure Wilson had "discovered".'[11] Wolff contacted Merton and asked if he would be interested in contributing to such a book of essays, given his obvious interest and enthusiasm about *Zhivago* and his correspondence with Pasternak. Merton had already written an article, 'Boris Pasternak and the People with Watch Chains' that Pasternak had seen and approved, the article deftly avoiding Wilson's excessive allegorization or simplistic politicization of the novel. Apparently, though, Pasternak did not want a commentary to be written on *Zhivago*. Merton's article was published in *Jubilee* in July 1959.

The death of Pasternak in May 1960 ended the more intense correspondence between Wolff and Merton, but by 1967 Merton and Wolff were pondering publishing a collection of Pasternak's letters to his Georgian friends, and Wolff asked Merton if he would write an introduction to the book. More than happy to oblige, Merton sent off his introduction in January 1968: 'Here is my piece on the Pasternak letters. ... They are really quite remarkable. It is always a joy to get in contact with a mind as rich and free as was that of Pasternak.'[12] Harcourt Brace

published *Letters to Georgian Friends* in 1968, translated by David Magarshack.[13] As a Russian specialist he was deemed more appropriate to write the introduction, Merton's essay finally being published as a separate article in 1978 in *New Lazarus Review*.

The Pasternak Affair

In his book *Disputed Questions* (1960), dedicated to Pasternak, Merton included two essays under the title *The Pasternak Affa*ir.[14] Introduced by a short passage, 'In Memoriam', written shortly after Pasternak's death, Merton's admiration for Pasternak clearly shines out, describing him as 'a kind of "sign" of that honesty, integrity, sincerity which we tend to associate with the free and creative personality', and as 'a genuine human being stranded in a mad world'.[15]

Merton had sent a copy of the first of the two essays, 'The people with watch chains' to Pasternak, and he records that 'Pasternak himself read the first of these two studies, and accepted it with kind approval.'[16] The title is derived from a poem from Pasternak's volume *My sister Life* published in 1917, these lines standing at the start of Merton's essay:

> My sister-called-life, like a tidal wave breaking
> Swamps the bright world in a wall of spring rain:
> But people with watch-chains grumble and frown
> With poisoned politeness, like snakes in the corn.[17]

Merton's catholic humanism shared much with Pasternak's humanistic world view and both artist-writers held high the fact that the creative human spirit could not reduce reality to a highly organized and predicable 'watch-chain' existence, either that of communism or of the capitalist west. Zhivago means 'life' in Russian, hence Merton suggests that Pasternak was pointing to the fact that *Doctor Zhivago* embodied the complex nature of being alive in the midst of forces that threatened to shrink life to such restrictive and reactive ideologies. For Merton, 'the dimensions of Pasternak's worldview are more existential and spiritual and are decidedly beyond left or right.'[18]

Merton suggested that Pasternak had affinities with Gandhi, both embodying the deeper meaning of love and how it is often betrayed. The Divine Feminine also shines through in both Larissa (Lara) and Pasternak's notion of his sister, Life.[19] More to the point, Merton thought that Pasternak in *Doctor Zhivago* portrayed a pre-Christian liturgical depth that Nature so consistently reflected, but that 'his Christianity is first of all quite personal, then quite Russian', a Christianity in which

'cries of joy and reverence spring up on every page to hymn the sanctity of Life and of that Love which is the image of the creator.'[20]

If, according to Merton, 'the first essay is the more literary of the two', the second, 'Spiritual Implication', examines in detail the 'Pasternak Affair', and tries to assess 'its significance for the spiritual and intellectual life of our time'.[21] Merton suggested that with Stalin's death in 1953, the possibilities for Soviet literary and political life might be opened up; but this brief thaw was short lived: 'The events in Poland and Hungary in 1956 made this abundantly clear.' Merton sees in Pasternak an artist and humanist who not only challenged Soviet ideology but also the sadly thinned version of Christianity in the West. But above all it is liberty that Pasternak defends, 'the liberty of the spirit which is almost as dead in the West as it is behind the Iron Curtain.' For Merton, 'Pasternak stands first of all for all the great spiritual values that are under attack in our materialistic world.'[22]

It is quite understandable, therefore, why Merton saw Pasternak as a 'kindred mind', recognizing that 'in a language familiar to me as a Catholic monk, it is as if we were known to one another in God.'[23] Merton's affinity with Pasternak shines forth in these essays, at times using phrases that could equally well apply to Merton himself:

> Both as a writer and as a man, Pasternak stands out as a sign of contradiction in our age of materialism, collectivism, and power politics. His spiritual genius is essentially and powerfully solitary. Yet his significance does not lie precisely in this. Rather it lies in the fact that his very solitude made him capable of extraordinarily intimate and understanding contacts with men all over the face of the earth.[24]

Pasternak's Letters to Georgian Friends

As mentioned earlier, Merton's essay, 'Pasternak's Letters to Georgian Friends'[25], was not published until 1978, an essay by Magarshack, considerably different in tone and content, being used instead, as the introduction to Pasternak's *Letters to Georgian Friends* (1968). The essay, if nothing else, celebrates, in the midst of Pasternak's isolation and varied forms of oppression in Russia, the way in which the Georgian poets inspired Pasternak. Needless to say, such poets faced the same opposition as Pasternak, Merton highlighting Titsian Tabidze who disappeared in 1936, and Paolo Yashvili who committed suicide in 1937. Pasternak corresponded with Tabidze's widow, Nina, such open support for her and other friends demanding considerable courage on his part.

Merton in his essay aptly sums up the inspiration that Pasternak derived from Georgia and its poets: 'Georgia and the Georgian poets were for Pasternak an unfailing source of light and strength.' He recognised that Pasternak's visits to Georgia and his friendships with Georgian poets bore the secret of his survival:

> Much more than Italy for Goethe or the Algerian beaches for Camus, Georgia for Pasternak was the living and indestructible witness of a reality that was beyond the reach of abstractness, that could not be reduced to banality — a light that could not be extinguished by the inhumanity of political or literary cliché.[26]

Merton extolled, again and again, how and why the Georgian poets breathed light and life into Pasternak in the midst of so much darkness. Pasternak's letters, written to the Georgian poets between 1931-1959, manifest how Pasternak was both inspired by them and, in so being, was lifted above the partisan literary and political tribalism of his time. They all knew oppression, disappearances and death, expressing it all in their layered and subtle verse. It was the friendship of a shared vision in the midst of such immense suffering that bonded Pasternak to the Georgian Poets and that Merton articulated with such clarity and insight. It was their 'ascesis', their interior discipline of the heart, mind and imagination in the midst of oppressive political structures and realities that birthed a deeper meaning of liberty and freedom, and helped them not to succumb to their circumstances. Merton finds links to their ascesis of openness, generosity and response rather than that of rigour and restraint in the *Prison Letters* of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the essays of Albert Camus, and *The Divine Milieu* of Teilhard de Chardin.

Needless to say, Merton understood such tensions, experiencing them at a more benign level in his own life. Many of Merton's letters were penned in the midst of loneliness and frustration, opposition from within his order, and political aggression within the USA to all those seeking peace and justice. From his own experience he could write: 'No one can fully appreciate these letters who has not lived under some kind of censorship.'[27] Merton's many 'Letters to Writers' are of the same ethos as Pasternak's to his Georgian friends.

Merton's essay concludes with a quote from one of Pasternak's letters that has a perennial ring of truth to it: 'Everywhere in the world one has to pay for the right to *live* on one's own naked spiritual reserves.'[28] Pasternak and the Georgian Poets knew this only too well, as did Merton.

Merton's essay is a fine commentary on these letters which reveal so much about the deeper meaning of friendship in one of the most painful political chapters of the last century.

Merton and *The Behavior of Titans*

I have, before me, a lovely hard copy 1st edition of *The Behavior of Titans*, published, significantly so, in 1961. Merton had sent his article, 'Prometheus', to Pasternak under separate cover in the summer of 1958. It is virtually impossible to miss the fact that *The Behavior of Titans* is aimed at types of ideology and statism that undermine a meaningful human existence and the need, via liberty, to oppose such dehumanizing constructs.

The first section of the book, 'The Behavior of Tyrants', starts with two essays on Prometheus. In the second essay, 'Prometheus: A Meditation', Merton presents two contrasting views of Prometheus put forward by the writers Aeschylus (5th Century BCE) and Hesiod (8th century BCE).[29] For Hesiod Prometheus is the villain for challenging the established order set up by Zeus; whereas for Aeschylus, it is Zeus, who chose tyranny, inertia and death against mercy, love and life, not Prometheus, who is the usurper. Merton saw that these two faces of Prometheus represent two attitudes towards life, one positive, one negative. For Merton, 'The Prometheus of Hesiod is Cain. The Prometheus of Aeschylus is Christ on the Cross.' In his meditation he 'started from Hesiod's view in order to argue against it', seeing in the Aeschylean version of Prometheus, aspects that were 'deeply and implicitly Chrstian'.[30]

The second section, 'The Guilty Bystander' takes to task the intellectual class that is largely silent, impotent or paralyzed when confronting such realities. In 'A Signed Confession of Crimes against the State' Merton mocks the absurdity of the power of the state over the individual, confessing that 'the worst traitor is one who simply takes no interest. That's me. Here I sit on the grass. I watch the clouds go by, and like it.'[31] Merton is making it abundantly clear that there is a certain form of statism that deadens human creativity and liberty.

The third and final section, 'Herakleitos the Obscure', offers an antidote to such ideological reductionism, Herakleitos sharing much with other Greek Titans such as Prometheus and Atlas. The section ends with 'The Legacy of Herakleitos', Merton's own version of twenty of the 'fragments' of this obscure philosopher. For Merton,

> [Herakeitos] spoke ... of a wise man clinging with all his strength to the 'common' thought which unites him with other enlightened minds. The wise man must cling to the logos and to his unity with those who are aware of the logos. He must bear witness to the 'common' thought even at the cost of his own life. To die for truth is then the 'greatest death' and wins a 'greater portion.'[32]

There can be no doubt that in *The Behavior of Titans* Merton has brought together a series of essays in which an antidote is offered to a form of ideology that is ill and toxic. Merton perceived he had a 'kindred mind' with Pasternak, although the context in which he worked out his struggles was more subtle and nuanced than the cruder and more obvious reality that Pasternak faced throughout his life. There is a sense, though, that *The Behavior of Titans* can be read as an afterword to Merton's 'Pasternak Affair', Pasternak sadly the recipient of the Soviet Zeus, and an Hesiod-like establishment literary class.

Merton saw himself and Pasternak as the Herakleitos that subtly overcame the temptation of being an 'innocent bystander', to become, each in their own way, in their thoughts, words and deeds, confessions against the state. It is significant to note that Herakleitos is a combination of Hera, the Greek goddess and wife of Zeus, and 'Kleitos', the Greek for called, summoned or invited. Thus, by turning to Herakleitos' many aphorisms in *The Behavior of Titans,* Merton suggested it was the Divine Feminine — for Pasternak, Sophia as expressed in the character of Lara — that calls, summons and invites those who have ears to hear the call to challenge the religious and political establishment of their time with a deeper wisdom and sense of justice.

Notes

1. Thomas Merton, *The Behavior of Titans* (New York: New Directions, 1961).
2. Peter Benenson, *Persecution 1961* (London: Penguin, 1961).
3. Agon, in classical Greek ἀγών, is an ancient Greek term for a conflict, struggle or contest.
4. Letter to Boris Pasternak, December 15, 1958, in *Thomas Merton, The Courage for Truth – Letters to Writers,* selected and edited by Christine M. Bochen (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1993), p.92.
5. Letter to Boris Pasternak, October 23, 1958, in *The Courage for Truth*, p. 89.
6. *The Courage for Truth*, p. 90.
7. All three of Merton's letters to Pasternak are included in *The Courage for Truth*, pp. 87-93.
8. Letter to Boris Pasternak, August 22, 1958, in *The Courage for Truth*, pp. 87-88.
9. Letter to Aleksei Surkov, October 29, 1958, in *The Courage for Truth*, pp. 93-95.
10. Twenty of Merton's letters to Helen Wolff are included in *The Courage for Truth*, pp. 96-109.
11. Quoted from a letter from Helen Wolff dated June 5, 1959, *The Courage for Truth*, p. 98.
12. Letter to Helen Wolff, January 19, 1968, *The Courage for Truth*, p. 108.
13. Boris Pasternak, *Letters to Georgian Friends,* introduction by David Magarshack (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968).
14. Thomas Merton, *Disputed Que*stions (London: Hollis & Carter, 1961). It is also included in *The Literary Essays of Thomas Merton.*
15. 'In Memoriam', *Disputed Questions,* p. 5.
16. *Disputed Questions,* p. 6.
17. 'The People with Watch Chains', *Disputed Questions,* p. 7.
18. *Disputed Questions,* p. 9.
19. Christopher Pramuk has noted this connection in his finely crafted tome, *Sophia: The Hidden Christ of Thomas Merton* (2009).
20. *Disputed Questions,* p. 15.
21. 'In Memoriam', *Disputed Questions,* p. 6.
22. 'Spiritual Implication', Disputed Questions, pp. 40, 31.
23. Letter to Pasternak, August 22, 1958, The Courage for Truth, p. 88.
24. 'The People with Watch Chains', *Disputed Questions,* p. 10.
25. The essay is included in *The Literary Essays of Thomas Merton,* edited by Brother Patrick Hart (New York: New Directions, 1985), pp. 84-91.
26. *The Literary Essays,* pp. 84, 85.
27. *The Literary Essays,* pp. 84.
28. *The Literary Essays,* pp. 91.
29. 'Prometheus: A Meditation' is included in *Raids on the Unspeakable* (London: Burns & Oates, 1988), pp. 55-64.
30. *Raids,* p. 59.
31. 'A Signed Confession of Crimes against the State' is included in *The Thomas Merton Reader,* edited by Thomas P. McDonnell (New York: Doubleday, 1989), pp. 116-119. Quote from p. 118.
32. The first part of the essay, 'Herakleitos: A Study' is included in *The Thomas Merton Reader* with the title 'Herakleitos the Obscure', pp. 258-271. Quote from p. 270.

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