Research Notes

Leo Tolstoy and the *Encyclopédistes*

Leo Tolstoy's encyclopedic mentality aligns him with the spiritual interests and traits of an earlier generation of Russian culture that had been lost when A. S. Pushkin died. Tolstoy's library at Yasnaya Polyana, as well as his personal, intellectual, and practical activities, reflect this interest.

The author first expressed his educational interests through pedagogy and subsequently through publishing compendia such as *Wise Thoughts for Every Day* and *Circle of Reading.* He expressed his plan for these works in his journal on July 3, 1881:

A necessary activity, the goal—enlightenment, correction, unification. I can direct enlightenment towards others. Correction—towards myself. Unification occurs in combination with enlightenment and correction. (*PSS* 49: 49)

At the end of the 1880s, Tolstoy made plans to publish through his Intermediary Press (Посредник) "every famous work by Voltaire, Rousseau, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Lessing, Goldsmith, Swift, Cervantes, and Plutarch, along with Franklin's 'Notebook,'" (PSS 86: 11). All of these authors were firmly rooted in the past.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the name of American Enlightenment thinker Benjamin Franklin was mainly connected with his philosophical-ethical system of self-perfection, and the young Tolstoy regarded him in this way. While still a youth, Tolstoy carried a "Franklin journal" in which he analyzed his shortcomings. Just as Pushkin converted his whole life and experiences into poetry, Tolstoy converted all of himself and his life into literature. In a similar fashion, after an unsuccessful matchmaking attempt in *Anna Karenina* Levin compares his

own tendency towards self-analysis with Franklin's:

It is I, Kostya Levin, the very same fellow who went to the ball in a black tie and was refused by the Shcherbatsky girl, and who seems so pitiful and insignificant a creature to himself—this is not the point. I am sure Franklin felt just as insignificant and distrusted himself just as I do when he took stock of himself. (*PSS* 18: 363)

Tolstoy inherited an immeasurable faith in reason from the Enlightenment, having already been predisposed towards it from birth. Throughout his life he adhered to Voltaire's motto "Dare to think for yourself"—an ability he possessed in full measure.

The works of Voltaire produced strong impressions on Tolstoy. Starting with the tragedy *Oedipe* (1718), he learned Voltaire's works by heart. Tolstoyan heroes also follow this tradition of memorizing the poetry of Voltaire, as seen in various instances within *War and Peace*. While at home in Moscow, after he has been abandoned by Russian troops, Pierre converses with a French officer. In the officer he

recognized not a French-born enemy, but his aristocratic brother, raised on the same foundation upon which he himself had been raised. [...] Their conversation, jumping from subject to subject became more and more enlivened. They talked about Friedrich's march, about Voltaire. Pierre even recited from memory several of the final poems from ... Alzira:

Des Dieux que nous servons, connaissent la différence: Les tiens t'ont commandé le meurtre et la vengeance, Et le mien, quand ton bras vient de m'assassiner, M'ordonne de te plaindre et de te pardonner. (PSS 14: 430)

We should not be surprised that the heroes of War and Peace know Voltaire's texts by heart. It is no coincidence that Tolstoy, along with his heroes, knew several "tirades" from Alzira. The author not only quoted excerpts from Alzira in several instances, but also read this tragedy intently and with interest, as evidenced by the lower and upper earmarked pages of his personal copy. War and Peace is intellectually connected to Voltaire's tragedies through its quotes. As a result, the historical moment and its literary model are both present in War and Peace as the War of 1812 is understood and brought to life through literature.

Pierre's memorization of Voltaire functions not only to portray him as an Enlightenment figure, but also to introduce one of the most important concerns of *War and Peace*: forgiveness of one's enemies, a central theme in *Alzira*. Considerations of relationships with one's enemies, and the idea that the Christian should have pity upon and forgive his enemies, resonate within both Tolstoy and Voltaire. An excerpt from *Alzira* is quoted in one of the rough drafts for *War and Peace*, and this tragedy was likely one source of inspiration for the work.

War and Peace is saturated with allusions, reminiscences, jokes, aphorisms, and paraphrases taken from Voltaire. For instance, one of the officer's jokes, "If Bagration hadn't lived, il faudrait l'inventer" (PSS 10: 15), is a paraphrase of Voltaire's famous expression, "If God didn't exist, it would be necessary to invent him." Another of Tolstoy's variations, "The French lost the battle of Borodino because Napoleon had a cold" (PSS 13: 220), paraphrases Voltaire's famous joke in which he tauntingly remarked that "St. Bartholomew's Night occurred on account of Karl the Ninth's upset stomach" (13: 221).

In 1889 Voltaire attracted Tolstoy's attention for his interest in the problems of fate, predestination, the role of coincidence in history, fatalism, determinism, and spiritual tolerance. Tolstoy had

explored these ideas as early as War and Peace through a consideration of the European Napoleonic Wars and the French invasion of Russia, and he had read Voltaire's philosophical novel Zadig, ou la Destinée with great pleasure. According to Tolstoy, the origin of evil is an insoluble riddle from which there is no salvation other than through faith in providence. Judging by parts of War and Peace, Tolstoy studied the issue of predestination from the viewpoints of such eighteenth-century thinkers as Joseph Priestley, Dumas, Voltaire, and Kant, who do not propose a theological solution to the problem. In the eighteenth century this problem was resolved in the realm of ethics, but remained unresolved in terms of philosophy. Voltaire contentiously upheld that the moral categories of good and evil exist independently of God (Poème sur la désastre de Lisbonne). In contrast to Voltaire's opinion, Tolstoy held to the idea that everything is predetermined. This idea of fatalism is connected to his understanding of history. The problems of predestination and theodicy find no solution in Zadig, and they remain a puzzle for Voltaire. For Voltaire, running away from evil is just as impossible as eliminating it. Without any means to correct the world, it must remain as it is, and although everything in it is not wonderful, at least it is tolerable. Tolstoy achieves an everyday solution to the problem in his short story "Prayer," a work that incorporates Voltaire into its very structure (Полосина 27-30).

The novel *Zadig* is built upon one of the basic ideas of the Enlightenment, that of a singular foundation for all religions. This idea is characteristic of Tolstoy's later worldview. According to him, "the essence of all faiths is one and the same. ... All faiths differ in appearance, on the surface, but they merge closer together the deeper that you go into them" (*PSS* 55: 237-38). Tolstoy also sets forth this idea in works such as "On Faith," "What Is Religion and Wherein Lies Its Essence?" "On Spiritual Tolerance," and *What I Believe*.

"On Spiritual Tolerance" was written at the beginning of 1901, almost 140 years after Voltaire's *Traité sur la tolérance*. From the eighteenth, nineteenth, and through the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the concept of spiritual tolerance was considered to be a utopian idea. Voltaire, like Tolstoy, was aware of this and yet would not abandon the fight for spiritual tolerance, freedom of conscience, and freedom of profession.

The young Tolstoy also highly valued the novel Paul et Virginie by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, a second-tier writer and follower of Rousseau, for its portrayal of a touching relationship and tender love between a couple who were raised in the bosom of nature, unaware of the depraved morals of civilization. Though Bernardin was not an Encyclopédiste, he did adhere to the Enlightenment idea of a single basis for all religions. His short story Le Café de Surate (1790), which espouses this beloved idea of the eighteenth century, caught Tolstoy's interest in 1887, and in less than a week he had already translated it into Russian for Intermediary Press. The French edition that he used, Œuvres choisies de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, was taken from his personal library. Due to censorship, Le Café de Surate had to be published in Northern Herald (Северный вестник) in January 1893, rather than through Intermediary Press. (The censors evaluated books more harshly than newspaper articles.) This story by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was, however, published by Intermediary Press later, in 1908, under the title "All People Have the Same God" (For один у всех). Between 1897 and 1907, Tolstoy's translation of Le Café de Surate was translated into Dutch, Slovak, Yiddish, and Tatar. The statement "Work of Leo Tolstoy" appeared on the title page of these publications, and therefore Tolstoy's translation was perceived by many of his contemporaries as an original work. (It is important to note, however, that Tolstoy's original translation was never misunderstood as his own creation.) Through Tolstoy's Russian translation, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Le Café de Surate* acquired a second life, great renown, and popularity at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century.

The philosophical literature of the eighteenth century was biased towards *Encyclopédisme* and an encyclopedic style of research. Buffon and his admirers created the encyclopedic *Histoire naturelle* (1749-89), and Voltaire created an encyclopedia of human and social history entitled *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des Nations* (1769). In addition, Diderot founded and edited the grand *summa summarum* of human knowledge, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettre.*

Tolstoy's late novel Resurrection was written in the traditional philosophical style of the eighteenth century. Its basic story, the resurrection of the two main heroes, Katya Maslova and Nekhlyudov, is conveyed through its very title. The novel is built upon a favorite method of the Enlightenment whereby the hero embodies some type of doctrine, conception, learning, thesis, or idea for the reader. Nekhlyudov's character embodies the ideal of moral striving toward perfection, and Tolstoy's last novel is about the triumph of a clean conscience. Resurrection has an extremely broad scope, encompassing secular society, prison, court, church, village, and penal servitude. It is also a summarizing, encyclopedic novel that unites various genres, bringing together passion, confession, and a publicistic tract, the simplicity of a folk tale, and the characteristics of a social-psychological deterministic tale. However, it is not only the unification of these forms but also the synthesis of them that makes Resurrection a new form of novel.

In his work Bemerkungen zu den 'Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen' (Remarks on the 'Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime'), Kant admits that he disdained the ignorant masses, but Rousseau

admonished and corrected him, and he thus learned to respect people (Кант 176). Tolstoy's first reading of Rousseau reminds one of the well-known words of M. Montaigne concerning his friendship with La Boétie: "Весаизе he is who he is, and I am who I am" (Монтень 179). If Rousseau and Tolstoy had been friends, Rousseau would not have had to teach him to respect people, as he did Kant; Tolstoy was inclined to do so from birth.

Such thinkers and writers as Lessing, Herder, Kant, Fichte, Schiller, and Goethe in Germany, and Fonvizin, Karamzin, Radishchev, Pushkin, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky in Russia were attracted by the convergence of Rousseau's natural religion with Christianity. Tolstoy advocated almost every one of Rousseau's ideas, including religious morality. He very much loved Rousseau's Emile and reread it many times. "La Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard" (a part of Emile) especially impressed him. Every time he read this "gospel of tolerance" (as Goethe described it), Tolstoy found answers to questions that were on his mind at a particular time. In the 1850s he was concerned with the idea of founding a new, practical religion, which would coincide with humankind's development. In the 1900s, his interest in Rousseau was revived in connection with his work on Circle of Reading and preparations to publish "La Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard" through Intermediary Press. Tolstoy's copy of this work (published in the ninth volume of the Oeuvres de J.-J. Rousseau), from his private library at Yasnaya Polyana, has been marked in numerous places that even to this day are only known to a small group of specialists. Most of the marked passages, found on pages 84-113, later appeared in A. Rusanov's 1903 translation from the French of the "La Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard." Tolstoy's editorial comments were not included in the publication. An excerpt from the work was included in Circle of Reading under the title "Revelation and Reason." It is notable-and

Tolstoy remarked upon it—that passages on Church dogma in the "La Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard" were excised by the censors.

Let us now turn to several of Tolstoy's marks in the fourth part of *Emile*. The lower corner of page eighteen shows evidence of having been earmarked and then straightened out; the following excerpt is also underlined:

In this imaginary world everyone forges a path for himself which he believes to be good, yet no one can know whether or not this road will lead to its intended goal. In the meantime we all desire to penetrate everything, to know everything. There remains one thing alone that we are unable to do: we are unable to remain ignorant regarding that which it is none-theless impossible to know. We would rather resolve mysteries and believe.

Further on, Tolstoy twice underlined the following fragment:

Being an insignificant part of the great whole, whose borders continually elude us and slip away from us, which the Creator nonetheless handed over to us as an object for our senseless quarrels, we are so vain that we wish to define what this whole is exactly and the particulars of our relationship to it. (Rousseau 318)

It is worth noting here that a journal entry written by the young Tolstoy on June 27, 1852, contains a similar idea, written in French:

I read Rousseau. I had some wonderful thoughts but they have all flown away. Petite partie d'un grand tout, dont les bornes nous échappent, et que son auteur livre a nos folles disputes, nous sommes assez vains pour vouloir décider ce qu'est ce tout en lui-même, et ce que nous sommes par rapport à lui. (*PSS* 46: 127)

The third paragraph of page nineteen of *Emile*, underlined by Tolstoy, reads:

I understood, furthermore, instead of saving me from my useless doubts, philosophers only multiply those which torment me, and do not solve even one of them. It is for that reason that I have taken for myself another guide and said, 'Turn towards the inner light, for it entangles me less than the philosophers, or at the very least my error will then be my very own, and as I follow my own illusions I will bring myself less harm than if I become entangled in someone else's lies.' (Rousseau 318)

Sentiments like these occur in works and letters penned by Tolstoy. The above-cited passage by Rousseau, singled out by Tolstoy, might serve as an epigraph to them. In *Anna Karenina*, for instance, Levin starts to contemplate the "essence of life." According to Tolstoy's narrator, neither materialism nor idealism can solve this problem:

[T]houghts about the essence of life agonized and tormented Levin: sometimes weakly, and other times more forcefully, but they never left him.

The more that he read and thought, the further away he felt from the goal that he was pursuing. ... Having become convinced that he would not find an answer in materialism, he reread ... Plato, Spinoza, Kant, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer-those philosophers who do not explain life in a materialistic way. While he was either reading or formulating his own arguments against opposing viewpoints, especially those of materialism, the process seemed to be fruitful; however, just as soon as he had read or formulated his own argument the same experience would inevitably repeat itself. Working with the given definitions of ambiguous words such as soul, will, freedom, substance, he would fall into the trap that was set for him by the philosophers or by himself, and it was as if he would begin to understand. But all it took was for him to turn from life to what was satisfying in the train of thought... and all of a sudden this artificial structure would collapse like a house of cards. (*PSS* 19: 369-70)

The young Tolstoy was deeply affected by Rousseau's denigration of science and art. Following the Russian tradition, in Tolstoy's understanding, progress acquired an ethical dimension. Taking Rousseau as a starting point, Tolstoy engaged in a long search that led him to conclude firstly that true progress consists of moral perfection and secondly that humanity's progress is based upon "religious consciousness," by which religious-moral consciousness. he meant Throughout his life Tolstoy explored the idea of progress,1 one of the central ideas of the Enlightenment, and formulated a series of philosophical positions on it. In 1906, Tolstoy defined progress in the context of the following dictum by Luc de Clapiers, Marquis de Vauvenargues, an eighteenth-century French moralist (1715-47): "Great thoughts emanate from the heart."2 According to Tolstoy, "All progress is found in the purification, simplification, and clarification of unquestionable truth. When you arrive at a thought then it is solid (understood, accepted). Les grandes pensées viennent du cœur" (Маковицский 186). Vauvenargues first came to Tolstoy's attention as early as 1870 when, upon reading Discours sur la liberté in Vauvenargues' Oeuvres, he wrote the following in his notebook (October 28):

Within the works of Vauvenargues, who has already been dead for thirty-two years, there is a small, clear, and powerful essay on the 'freedom of man.' No one is aware of it, and in the preface the author writes that it is a weak attempt at imitation. It is remarkable how strong is the unspoken conspiracy of people to hide their conscious awareness of their own lack of freedom. (*PSS* 48: 129)

Selecting aphorisms that were then translated by G. A. Rusanov, Tolstoy published, through Intermediary Press, the first Russian translation of Vauvenargues, "Selected thoughts of Labrador, with additional selections of aphorisms and maxims by La Rochefoucald, Vauvenargues, and Montesquieu" ("Избранные мысли Лабрюйера, с прибавлением избранных афоризмов и максим Ларошфуко, Вовенарг и Монтескье"). Tolstoy wrote the foreword for the collection as well as the short biographical essays about La Rochefoucald, Vauvenargues, and Montesquieu that accompany their sections of the collection. Tolstoy also translated some of the thoughts by Labrador (the first parts were translated by Rusanov, and the rest by Tolstoy), La Rochefoucald (Rusanov translated the first part and Tolstoy translated the second part), and Montesquieu. He also edited Rusanov's translation, comparing it to the original and excising those parts that were unsuitable, and added new aphorisms, translating them from books that he had in his library. He used the foreword ("Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Vauvenargues") from Œuvres de Vauvenargues as the source for his short biographical essay about the author.

Tolstoy was also responsible for the first Russian translation of the aphorisms of another French thinker, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu. Montesquieu was one of the first to introduce the young Tolstoy to "intellectual activities." While at university in Kazan, Tolstoy started a comparison of Catherine II's Instructions with Montesquieu's Esprit des lois. With the characteristic ardor of youth, he first studied Montesquieu, then philosophy of law, then philosophy in general, and subsequently he quit university. Afterwards he said that his work on Instructions and his reading of Montesquieu vastly broadened his horizons, and he began to reread Rousseau. Montesquieu's political ideas played an important role in the creation of War and Peace.

The books that the novel's heroes read almost always coincide with what the author himself had read. For Prince Andrei, for example, a "reader of Montesquieu," the idea that honor is the basis of the monarchy seems indisputable. Several episodes in *War and Peace* provide evidence that the heroes read Montesquieu. At his "Bogucharovo retreat," "Prince Andrei led... a monastic life":

"He thought, studied, and worked on self-improvement... he received many books... Along with his usual activities, his reading with excerpts and comments (as was always his habit)... he... was involuntarily drawn into the composition of a note that eventually reached the size of a tract." He also tells Pierre that he will "no longer serve in the army," and that he was reconciled "not before men,"... "but before life... just look, as I am reading Montesquieu I am copying out excerpts." (*PSS* 13: 610)

Nikolai Rostov, to whom "thinking and reasoning" are amusements, follows the tradition of the nobility and "puts together a library" comprised of the works "of Sismondi, Rousseau, and Montesquieu" (PSS 12: 292).

In the tract The Kingdom of Heaven Is within You, Montesquieu's name is mentioned in association with discussions of governmental violence, the infectiousness of militarization, and the arms race. If reading Montesquieu's Esprit des lois, the most celebrated book of the eighteenth century, marks the beginning of Tolstoy's philosophical education, then it must be added that he also greatly admired Montesquieu's Lettres persanes and recommended this work to Maria L'vovna, his daughter, after he came across it in 1906 while working on Circle of Reading. He then went on to read Montesquieu's Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence and paid special attention to Montesquieu's "scarcely noticed and unknown works," referring to his aphorisms in the section "Different

Thoughts" within the book Œuvres de Montesquieu. Tolstoy highly valued this work, which he had in French in his own private library, for its "excellent, marvelous language." To acquaint the public with Montesquieu, Tolstoy became the first to translate his work into Russian through his aforementioned publication through Intermediary Press ("Избранные мысли Лабрюйера, с прибавлением избранных афоризмов максим Ларошфуко, Вовенарг и Монтескье"). In the "biographical sketch" for that work, Tolstoy noted that "this writer is so well-known for his larger works such as Lettres persanes, Considérations sur les causes de grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence, and especially his well-known work Esprit des lois, which influenced the government's treatment of the Christian people so powerfully, that the smaller collection of his thoughts are almost unknown" but "carry within themselves a spirit of tranquility and soundness inherent to Montesquieu" (PSS 40: 333). Above all Tolstoy enjoyed Montesquieu's saying, "I love the common man, he is insufficiently educated to reason incorrectly," a quote he included in Circle of Reading (PSS 41: 352).

In his last years, Tolstoy collected and published sayings, aphorisms, and maxims of renowned people. During this process he came to a more comprehensive understanding of the statements made by the eighteenth-century philosophers and writers, and he reached the conclusion that "enlightenment and education exist in order for us to appropriate and assimilate the spiritual inheritance that has been left to us by our ancestors" (*PSS* 75: 169).

While working on the article "Science and Art" at the beginning of 1891, Tolstoy was reading widely. In his search for an authoritative definition of science he became so interested in Diderot's materialistic ideas that he ordered his book *Œuvres choisies de Diderot*. In it, Tolstoy found confirmation for his own views, and upon comparing his impressions with those of his

friend N. N. Strakhov, he recorded them in his journal: "I read Diderot yesterday on the sciences, mathematics, and natural, physical sciences, as he calls them, and on their limits, which are defined by their usefulness—wonderful" (March 24, 1891; *PSS* 52: 24). Like Diderot, Tolstoy thought that "there is not one proposition in science (except for mathematics) that is not harmful to those who learn it" (*PSS* 30: 237). The only science that Tolstoy did not view negatively was that founded upon experience. In Diderot's article *Questions sociales et politiques*, Tolstoy was most interested in the author's definition of happiness. He underlined the following passage in *Evolution sociale*:

'Le bonheur idéal': Voulez-vous que je vous dise un beau paradoxe? C'est que je suis convaincu qu'il ne peut y avoir de vrai bonheur pour l'espèce humain que dans un état social où il n'y aurait ni roi, ni magistrate, ni prêtre, ni lois, ni mien, ni tien, ni propriété foncière, ni vices, ni vertus; et cet état social est diablement idéal. (Le temple du bonheur). (Diderot 334)

This passage is included in condensed form in Tolstoy's journal: "Yesterday I read the part in Diderot regarding the fact that people will only be happy once they are rid of tsars and authorities and rules, regardless of whether they are mine or someone else's" (*PSS* 52: 15).

Akin to Diderot, who viewed enlightenment as the purpose and aim of life and its activities, Tolstoy directed his activities towards enlightenment by opening schools in the Krapivenski District and on his own estate and by creating his ABC Book and Russian Books for Reading. Additionally, his founding of and involvement with Intermediary Press was aimed towards enlightenment, and his book Circle of Reading was directed towards moral and religious enlightenment. Such concerns and activities coincided with his interest in encyclopedic dictionaries, which he possessed in Russian and foreign languages in his

library at Yasnaya Polyana, including, for example, The Dictionary of Saints, Celebrated in the Russian Church; The Dictionary for Latin Herodotus; The Dictionary of Practical Knowledge, Necessary to the Life of Everyone; The Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary; William Bliss' The Encyclopedia of Social Reform; Jacque Migne's Troisième et dernière encyclopédie théologique (volume 37, Dictionnaire des preuves de la divinité de Jésus-Christ); Nouvelle encyclopédie portative ou Tableau général des connaissances humaines by the eighteenth-century French scholar Augustine Ru; and Felix Trune's Encyclopédie des chemins de fer et des machines à vapeur. As is evident from this list, Tolstoy had an encyclopedic interest in various fields. He made plans in 1910 to compile an encyclopedic reference dictionary "for the working people" that would be "compiled in such a way that it would be accessible to the simplest person, as long as he was literate, and would allow him to become increasingly more educated in those fields that were relevant to his work or that he needed to know further" (PSS 81: 140). This project, however, was never realized.

Tolstoy supported the idea of religious enlightenment, publishing a series of brochures that included "great works by great writers" through Intermediary Press (*PSS* 75: 168). Within that group he included Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Pascal, Montesquieu, Arnold, Rousseau, Lessing, Kant, Lichtenberg, Schopenhauer, Ruskin, Emerson, Mohammad, Buddha, the Chinese philosophers Confucius and Laozi, and others.

In his formative years, Tolstoy read the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. These works powerfully influenced him and left deep impressions. Like the lifelong memory of a first love, the memory of the books read in his youth remained with Tolstoy. At the end of his life, Tolstoy returned to these books, translating the French *Encyclopédistes* for Russian readers to discover.

Alla Polosina Yasnaya Polyana (Translated by Amber Aulen)

Notes

- 1. One of the most important objectives of Tolstoy's artistic and philosophical investigation was the idea of perfection as an indispensable feature of man's inner world. This idea is rooted in the ancient world. Ideas regarding the connection between man's civility and his morality date back to Socrates' idea about the interconnection between truth and goodness. Yet experience has demonstrated that there is not a line of parallel development between the two. In the eighteenth century Rousseau, following the ancient idea that humanity is progressing intellectually, asserted his thought on man's moral regress. Yet, since man is by nature endowed with a capacity to move towards perfection, then it follows that as this ability is made possible through different circumstances then it leads to a gradual development of other abilities. Tolstoy's idea of perfection (or philosophical perfection in the words of E. H. Kuprianova) ascends to Rousseau's ideas, coincides with the philosophy of Kant ("to the extent to which it relies on Rousseau") and with Fichte's "religion of the conscience" (I. Ilyich), and is based on the gospel commandments (Matt. 5:48, Luke 6:40) and on the private demands of spiritual perfection that Tolstoy strictly laid down and to which he was spontaneously inclined even in his youth. Further treatment of this subject can be found in Орвин, 43-58.
- 2. Vauvenargues was not an *Encyclopédiste* in the strictest sense of the word since he died long before Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, yet his worldview was formed at the beginning of the Enlightenment period, when all the foundational problems, such as the theories of knowledge, freedom, and necessity, and the relationship between feelings, the intellect, and the role of progress were reflected and discussed in the contemporary philosophy.

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Reply to Barbara Lonnqvist's Research Note, "Tolstoy Rewriting the Caucasus" (*Tolstoy Studies Journal*, Volume XIX)

Although the 1934 Литературная энциклопедия goes so far as to assert, somewhat cryptically, that Tolstoy's "Prisoner of the Caucasus" shows traces of his reading Xavier de Maistre's "Les Prisonniers du Caucase" and that these traces may be seen in the nearly homonymic story by Tolstoy, it is not possible to prove a direct influence of de Maistre on Tolstoy's "Prisoner of the Caucasus." For one thing, the copy of de Maistre's book in the Yasnaya Polyana library is an 1880 edition, far too late to be the one in which Tolstoy read de Maistre, if indeed he did. Still, there is much internal evidence that Barbara Lonnqvist is right when she argues for a connection between de Maistre's "Les Prisonniers du Caucase" and Tolstoy's "Prisoner of the Caucasus." Unfortunately, neither she nor Tolstoy gives de Maistre and his work enough credit.

Xavier is not merely Joseph's kid brother, and his story is no generic "Three Little Bears" that one may legitimately appropriate without acknowledgement. In many ways, "Les Prisonniers