
Cossacks in Spain: Tolstoyan Resonances in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*

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Hemingway's earliest perceptions of Spain's rugged land and people were filtered through a powerful foreign literary lens, not unlike Olenin's fanciful images of a "natural" existence to be found in the Caucasus of Tolstoy's *The Cossacks*. Infatuated with the Russian authors he had discovered in Sylvia Beach's Paris bookshop, the young American adventurer stuffed his book bag with volumes of Turgenev and Tolstoy to accompany his journey across the romantic landscape of Spain in the summer of 1925.¹ Many years later, when the mature Hemingway decided to try his hand at composing an epic narrative about the Spanish Civil War, he set himself up for a mighty contest with the author of *War and Peace*, bringing to a final showdown his lifelong rivalry with the literary giant in his path.² At the same time, however, Hemingway had been following closely the subtle and precise depictions of cross-cultural encounters captured by Tolstoy in his borderland tale, *The Cossacks*. In a tantalizing reference, John Bayley observes that Hemingway "often writes like a translation of *The Cossacks*" and learned much from the narrative method of that work (266, 270). Nonetheless, published accounts of Tolstoy's considerable influence on Hemingway's narrative strategies tend to emphasize the American writer's known attachment to *War and Peace*, neglecting Hemingway's obvious fascination with the ethnographic journey dramatized in Tolstoy's novella of 1863.

It is understandable that commentators have found many traits of Tolstoy's novelistic epic in *For Whom The Bell Tolls*. In his uncharacteristically large novel about the Spanish Civil War

Hemingway struggled to adopt the perspectives and devices employed by the narrative voice in *War and Peace*. In August 1940, while proofreading the galleys for his new novel, Hemingway admitted to his editor, Maxwell Perkins: "I don't like to write like God" (*SL*, 515). In writing the novel, Hemingway for the first time fully shouldered the burden of omniscience and panoramic sweep in representing the historic events of a national conflict. He widened his scope, intermingling real and imaginary persons, infiltrating the opposing camps in the civil conflict, and entering into the consciousness of various characters representing very different sociolinguistic strata. In a word, Hemingway strove to occupy the Olympian heights from which Tolstoy had contemplated war and peace.

Like his great predecessor, Hemingway valued above all else truthfulness and honesty in literary representations of reality. Consequently, Hemingway, like Tolstoy, was fiercely suspicious of literary effects, distrusting the conventions of genre and the accumulation of expressive adjectives and excessive details. Five years before the publication of his new novel, Hemingway wrote an article in *Esquire* in which he issued very Tolstoyan edicts about artistic prose:

Good writing is true writing. If a man is making a story up it will be true in proportion to the amount of knowledge of life that he has and how conscientious he is; so that when he makes something up it is as it would truly be...The more he learns from experience the more truly he can imagine. If he gets so he can imagine truly enough people will think that the things he relates all really happened and that he is just reporting. (*By-Line*: 186-87)

It is evident from this that "true writing" cannot simply be a factual account of everyday occurrences. In order to seize the "real thing," the core of experience, the writer must honestly depict "the sequence of motion and fact which made the emotion" (*DIA*: 2). The writer must extract the truly arresting details from an endless flow of impressions if he is to reproduce the feel of experience in a work of imaginative prose. This Hemingway clearly understood. In an amusing letter written in 1953, Hemingway defended the artist's

need to invent truthful scenes by appealing to the high authority of Tolstoy:

[S]ome son of a bitch will come along and prove you were not at that particular fight. Fine. Dr. Tolstoi was at Sevastopol. But not at Borodino. He wasn't in business in those days. But he could invent from knowledge we all were at some damned Sevastopol (*SL*: 800).

For Whom The Bell Tolls has much in common with *War and Peace*, especially in its plausible reproduction of live episodes in the chaos of actual warfare.³ We observe the same irresistible push toward battle and the same arbitrary acts by individuals which determine victory or defeat for whole armies. We are witness both to the bravery and the bestiality of the sides which are contending with one another. We experience the confusion and bewilderment of fresh recruits in the midst of battle because both writers so compellingly present the inner swarm of impressions and thoughts that distract and endanger young soldiers. For Hemingway, as for Tolstoy, war is a messy, nasty business that follows no leader or plan. Remarkably like Tolstoy's General Kutuzov, Hemingway highlights the loss of control experienced by General Golz when he realizes that he cannot stop the fatal onslaught of a surprise air attack that the enemy already anticipates:

He was sitting leaning back against the sandbag, his feet against a rock, a cigarette hung from his lower lip and he was looking up... He watched them come shining and beautiful in the sun. He saw the twin circles of light where the sun shone on the propellers as they came.

"Yes," he said into the telephone..."*Nous sommes foutus. Oui. Comme toujours. Oui. C'est dommage. Oui.* It's a shame they came too late. (*FWBT*: 428)

The epic calm with which Golz accepts the inevitable and the unpredictable is surely modeled on Tolstoy's philosophy of history, though Hemingway is careful not to be caught "Thinking with a capital T."⁴

My concern in this essay, however, is to draw attention to less audible, quite different echoes of

Tolstoy in Hemingway's novel. During his hunting expedition to Africa in 1933, Hemingway read very attentively the reissue by his own publisher, Scribner's, of Nathan Haskell Dole's 1899 translation of *The Cossacks*. In the introduction to that volume, Dole recommended that work as "an incomparable picture of men and things in the Caucasus" and he cited Turgenev's high praise for it as "the masterpiece of Tolstoy and of the whole of Russian fiction."⁵

Two years later, in his memoir, *Green Hills of Africa*, Hemingway tenderly reminisced about his literary journey with a collection of Tolstoy's works:

I still had the Sevastopol book of Tolstoi and in the same volume I was reading a story called "The Cossacks" that was very good. In it were the summer heat, the mosquitoes, the feel of the forest in the different seasons, and that river that the Tartars crossed, raiding, and I was living in that Russia again. I was thinking how real that Russia of the time of our Civil War was, as real as any other place... So I would go on reading about the river that the Tartars came across when raiding, and the drunken old hunter and the girl and how it was then in the different seasons. (*GHA*: 108-109)

What's interesting here is that Hemingway pays particular attention to the realistic details that convey vicariously the sensation of inhabiting a borderland region at a time of civil conflict and internecine warfare. It's also interesting that Hemingway gives special notice to two figures set against this large historic backdrop: the old hunter, Diadia Eroshka, and the young girl, Marianka. The American writer pays tribute, somewhat enviously, to Tolstoy's success in drawing his readers into the look and feel of a remote Caucasus world that is both dangerous and alluring.

When Hemingway, after several years, attempted to lead his readers into the theatre of the Spanish Civil War, he had not forgotten the lessons he learned from reading *The Cossacks*. Like Tolstoy, he composed a romantic adventure tale against the backdrop of a military epic. He inserted within the frame of a large historic fiction a fantasized love affair, overlaying the bright colours of an exotic romance on a dark Goya-like

canvas of men at war. Each writer in his own fashion adopted a hybrid narrative form reminiscent of the borderland novels of Scott and Cooper, featuring a central hero who finds himself at the rear of an internecine conflict and who, willy-nilly, becomes a cultural intermediary.⁶ Both in Tolstoy's *Cossacks* and Hemingway's Spanish novel, the hero simultaneously becomes enamoured of a native girl and is befriended by a wise local huntsman. In essence, the hero seeks to merge with a hospitable "primitive" culture which strikes him as being more natural and authentic than the sophisticated culture of his homeland. In short, the love intrigue (or better put, borderland romance) Hemingway placed at the centre of his epic Spanish novel is a motif he had encountered in his reading of Tolstoy's Caucasus tale.

It is not surprising that Tolstoy's novella made a strong impression on Hemingway. Olenin, after all, would strike an American reader as a familiar type. The classic texts of American literature are thickly populated with young male protagonists who flee the constraints of social convention and seek refuge in the forests of New England, at sea with harpooners, on a raft in the middle of the Mississippi River. They, too, seek a more authentic, more egalitarian relationship with Others who reside closer to the rhythms of the natural world. But these so-called "American Adams" are unaccompanied by a seductive female partner—they are remarkably celibate.⁷ Voluntary chastity, however, is not an attractive option for the soldier heroes of Tolstoy and Hemingway. They seek the privilege of masculine adventure and the pleasure of female company.

When we first meet Olenin he is nameless; Tolstoy refers to him simply as a young man about to depart [отъезжающий], thus underlining the hero's detachment from the banality and falsity of the aristocratic salon society in which he has been immersed. "In a moment of spiritual ecstasy" [в минуту душевного восторга], he is determined to enlist in the army as a *junker* and journey to the Caucasus in order to explore a new life and find, he hopes, a true love. Tolstoy, however, is determined to give him neither the one nor the other. Hemingway, to the contrary, grants his hero both authentic courage and an ecstatic love.

This is, to be sure, a devilish difference, yet the path of these heroes toward their different fates is similar. And not by accident.

Hemingway's novel tells the story of Robert Jordan, a Spanish instructor from a Montana college, who volunteers to assist the Spanish Republicans and finds himself behind the Fascist lines on a mission to blow up a bridge, thus enabling a military breakthrough into Segovia. Jordan falls in with a small group of partisan guerillas hidden in the mountains of Guadarrama. Three days pass in preparation for the climactic explosion, but from the very first day, indeed, on the first page of the novel, Jordan is accompanied by a trusty old peasant guide and hunter, Anselmo. Unfortunately, it soon becomes evident that the secret operation has been betrayed to the Falangist troops. The mortal danger surrounding Jordan, only intensifies the drama and passion of his sudden erotic affair with Maria, whose body has been brutally violated by Fascist rapists. Although Jordan's mission has been discovered and rendered largely ineffective, the plan is nonetheless set in motion, with the unfortunate consequence that Jordan, following orders, leads the faithful old scout Anselmo to his death. The bridge is blasted, the partisans and Maria escape into the mountains, but Jordan, at the novel's end, lies pressed against the pine needles of the forest floor with a broken thigh, cradling an automatic rifle and awaiting a final, fatal encounter with the Fascists. On the first and last pages of the novel, Jordan's body presses itself intimately into the Spanish earth. The foreign volunteer merges his blood with the martyr-soaked soil of suffering Spain and he exits from the novel a hero of his time.

Olenin's story is, of course, different, but with interesting parallels. A Russian army recruit flees from the trivial pursuits of Moscow high society and encamps himself in a Cossack village at the edge of the military and tribal conflict in the Caucasus. Once there, he soon fraternizes with the wily old huntsman, Eroshka, who offers his services as guide and tutor in the exotic environment of the Russian Cossacks. Olenin sets out determinedly to begin a new life and he undergoes what appear to be life-transforming experiences while hunting and scouting. And, of course, he

also scents and pursues the local beauty, Marianka, who is pledged to handsome Lukashka and flirts with all her suitors. The end result, however, is that Olenin cannot fully integrate himself into the company of the Cossacks nor wed himself to his beloved native maiden. Tolstoy's parting words that bring Olenin's Caucasus adventure to an end betray the harsh fact that the Russian traveller has left no trace behind in Cossack hearts: "Olenin glanced back. Uncle Eroshka was chatting with Marianka, evidently about his own concerns, and neither the old fellow nor the girl was looking at him" (1963: 141). Olenin departs from the Cossack settlement, as from Tolstoy's novella, the anti-hero of a Caucasus tale, still in quest of a "new life" that evades him.

Clearly, the analogue to Hemingway's Anselmo is Uncle Eroshka, who serves the resident stranger both as local guide and folk philosopher. Both of these peasants are hardy, agile hunters whose years and wisdom make them tutelary spirits of the region. They each also embody, in different ways, the half-Christian, half-pagan tribal peoples of their mountainous homeland. Like Eroshka, Anselmo is experienced enough in the ways of war to be a reluctant warrior who repents the killings on his conscience. Although he prays for the strength and courage to exterminate the enemies of the Republic, Anselmo pities his victims and firmly believes in the necessity for acts of collective penitence after the war. As for Eroshka, he respects the corpse of the Chechen brave Lukashka has slain and he gloomily tells Olenin of his encounter with a broken cradle floating on the river Terek, a sure sign of the outrages committed by the Russian troops against the heathen enemy. It must be admitted, however, that Uncle Eroshka's conscience does not speak as often or as loudly as Anselmo's. The figure of Eroshka, as shaped by Tolstoy, is the complex sum of many contradictory parts. He is a genuine ethnographic phenomenon of the mixed borderland culture of the Caucasus. The living prototype for Eroshka was a certain "Epishka," whom Tolstoy described in his diary of 1851 as "a Cossack, a rogue, and a joker" [казак, плут, и шут].⁸ Uncle Eroshka's portrait exceeds the standard literary stock-in-trade for depicting picturesque

Cossackdom. Huge in stature, able to swill whole pailfuls of native *chikhir*, Eroshka is a man with both robbery and murder on his conscience. Nonetheless, he is tender-hearted enough to bat away moths from flames with his fat fingers and he lives life as a jolly old reprobate.

If it could be said that Anselmo functions in Hemingway's war novel to propagate a peasant gospel of Christian compassion, Uncle Eroshka would seem to exist to praise a pagan love of creation. Olenin is convinced that Eroshka is lacking in morals and decency, but it would be more accurate to say that he is reconciled to all the pleasures God has given man. His theology is earthy: "God made everything for man's happiness. There is no sin in any of that" (54). Whereas Hemingway endowed Anselmo with the internal discipline of a partisan fighter and the conscience of a believing Christian, Tolstoy created Uncle Eroshka as the true son of his famous father, "The Broad One" [Широкий]. In Tolstoy's conception, Eroshka embodies the old Cossack ethos in all its epic breadth of spontaneous natural instinct.

The analogue to Jordan's lover, Maria, is Olenin's beloved, Marianka. It is significant that both of these women are attractive to their foreign admirers for their fleshly and spiritual qualities in equal measure. Sexuality in works by Tolstoy and Hemingway is undeniably present and always lusty. It is as impossible for readers as for the heroes to ignore the shapely legs and firm breasts under the thin shifts worn by Marianka and Maria. At the same time, it is impossible not to notice the symbolic value these women acquire in the perception of their lovers. In *The Cossacks*, Tolstoy does not allow Olenin to embrace his literary fantasy of an obedient Circassian slave. But he is attracted to Marianka, who is a very self-possessed young beauty, proud of being the daughter of the local commissioned officer [хорунжий] and self-confident in her virginal flirtations with suitors. In Olenin's imagination she becomes a romantic *inamorata* who is the female incarnation of the inaccessible mountains and unsullied wilderness of the Caucasus.

In Hemingway's novel, Maria is similarly the embodiment of an indigenous sensuality, but she has been sullied by rape and disfigurement. Yet

her victimization only intensifies Jordan's physical and spiritual attachment to her. It is, indeed, curious that Jordan's passion and inextinguishable love for Maria is so intimately connected with the external sign of her physical violation, her crudely cropped hair, which he loves to caress with his hand. It is also curious that he chooses to give Maria the endearing nickname of "little rabbit" or, in Spanish, "*conejo*." That term reminds us, of course, of the harmless, defenseless prey of hunters, but it also signifies, in a vulgar Spanish euphemism, the female sexual organ.⁹ These peculiar details are consistent with Jordan's urge to identify and merge with the wounded and war-torn Spanish land. Read in this way, the notoriously overheated scenes of spiritual ecstasy when Jordan and Maria have sex together may be understood to symbolize the union of Hemingway's American volunteer with the suffering soul of the Spanish people.¹⁰ In any event, the love intrigue at the center of Hemingway's novel is much more drenched in romantic melancholy than is Olenin's frustrated *amour* with an elusive beauty of the Caucasus.

It remains true, however, that Hemingway's hero, like Olenin, wants to divest himself of his foreign skin and blend into a more primitive landscape which is threatened by the military might of an invading modern army. Both choose to cross beyond geographical and social boundaries in order to live and fight side by side with mountain folk on the margins of civilization and both fall in love with a local beauty. But the American volunteer achieves heroism in his mission and success in love, then dies in stoic solitude. The Russian *junker*, by contrast, does not fulfill his aspiration to attain a new life and love, but he does survive his Caucasian adventure. What do these different fates tell us about Hemingway's dialogue with Tolstoy's *Cossacks*?

When Hemingway was writing his novel, he already was aware of the defeat of the Spanish Republicans. As a result, *For Whom The Bell Tolls* resounds with notes of impending doom and inevitable death. Hemingway's novel begins and ends with its hero prone on the earth tensely awaiting a planned encounter with the enemy. With his heart beating against the pine-needled

floor of the forest, Jordan masters the art of self-control in a Spanish environment that breeds an inherently tragic knowledge of sudden passion and mortality. Between the first and last scenes of the novel, Hemingway depicts the hero's growth of awareness about the harsh truths of a cruel civil conflict. As in Tolstoy's Caucasus tale, the narrative voice carries the burden of accountability for all the consequences of fierce internecine warfare. Tolstoy's *Cossacks*, like Hemingway's Spanish partisans, commit blood crimes against the enemy they oppose. Unquestionably, the death of Anselmo lies heavily on the conscience of Robert Jordan. One rarely encounters in Hemingway's writing so extensive a representation of the hero's moral consciousness in all its verbalized doubts, vacillations, and inner argumentation. But they exist in this novel, as in Olenin's lengthy struggles with his conscience. There is far more cerebration in Robert Jordan than in Hemingway's other "inward" heroes; the famously understated Hemingway style seems to have given way to the pressure of Tolstoyan self-examination and ethical reasoning.

As in Tolstoy's tale, there are also moments of intuited epiphany. But Olenin's epiphanies in *The Cossacks* are unstable and revocable, whereas moments of revelation are indubitable in Hemingway's narrative, rather like Wordsworthian "spots of time." Jordan and Maria, shadowed by intimations of death, ascend into an eternal "now" of ecstatic sexual ravishment of their separate selves, and Jordan in company with the band of *guerillas* undergoes a profound sense of communion with the Spanish cult of blood sacrifice and stoicism in face of defeat and death.

For all his meticulous commitment to the stripped-down truth of momentary experience, Hemingway's novel romantically affirms a national Spanish essence, a *particularismo*, that informs the stark tragedy and cruel grace of its battles and bullfights.¹¹ Hemingway's Spanish novel also affirms the potential of an American sympathizer to adopt a more profoundly "natural" style of life that is native to a foreign culture. Ironically, the proud realist, Hemingway, succeeded in writing a latter-day version of the American cross-cultural romance. Even so, Hem-

ingway's bell tolls, as we have observed, with some Tolstoyan resonances.

By contrast, however, Tolstoy's *Cossacks* is a very sophisticated ethnographic fiction that anticipates contemporary developments in "borderland" theory. Although his hero, Olenin, separates the artificial civilization of aristocratic Russia from the natural existence of the Cossack villagers and dreams of assimilating into the *stanitsa* [village], Tolstoy's narrative refutes any such simplification of the complexity of cultural relations in a borderland region. It is not very difficult for the alert reader to notice that life among the Grebensk Cossacks is shaped by local customs, laws, and social stratifications. Class consciousness is alive and well in Marianka and her status-seeking father; Lukashka cannot accept Olenin's altruistic gift of a horse without feeling the customary obligation of a reciprocal gift or resenting the aristocrat's *noblesse oblige*, especially when the gift imposes on Lukashka an inferior specimen compared to one he can steal for himself. Beyond these examples of the sociological niceties of the Cossack settlement, Tolstoy, like a true anthropologist, offers a "thick description" of the interrelationships, the exchanges of commodities and costume, on the banks of the Terek, where Cossacks, Chechens, Tatars, and Russian officers continuously borrow and steal from one another and mix their bloodlines. Traces of gentrification are clearly evident in the dress and demeanor of Marianka's father, and "decadent" Moscow is incorporated into the courtship rituals and ring dances of the Cossack settlement when Olenin's friend, Beletsky, is received into the protocols of the harvest festival.¹² Likewise, there is plentiful evidence of "transcultural" exchanges between the Russian Cossacks and the tribal people among whom they live, as they adopt Circassian garb and embrace the *kunak* system of honorary kinship and the *abrek* code of masculine status. In Tolstoy's text, the Cossacks have appropriated cultural traits from the Russian army of occupation and their Chechen enemies. At the same time, each tribal group lives in its own fashion and preserves a sense of its own ethnic particularity. The complex deployment of populations and cultures in Tolstoy's ethnographic map-

ping of the Caucasus anticipates with remarkable precision Mary Louise Pratt's concept of "contact zones."¹³ Thus we can assert, without exaggeration, that Tolstoy's *Cossacks* represents a hitherto unprecedented variation on the genre of borderland fiction.

Because Tolstoy envisaged a new type of Caucasus tale, what Judith Kornblatt (1992:92) rightly labels a "counterromance," Olenin cannot reinvent himself as a Cossack. That is why he, unlike Robert Jordan, cannot achieve a sense of solidarity and identity amidst an indigenous, pre-modern people. That is why Olenin, despite his totemic name, cannot experience a true epiphany of selflessness in the stag's lair [в логове оленя] and live in harmony with the natural and cultural ecology of the Caucasus. That is why his altruistic offering of a gift horse has no uncontested meaning in a different cultural system of gestures and exchanges. At the time of composing his Caucasus tale, Tolstoy was actively pursuing literary ways and means to deglamorize the seductive heroes of Lermontov and Bestuzhev-Marlinsky who were engaged in full quest of discovering their "inner Asia." Tolstoy's aggressive attack on the sublime poetics of the Russian encounter with the Caucasus went beyond parody and opened, in Layton's words, "an entirely new perspective on the question of the Russian relation to the oriental" (1994: 236).

At the same time, however, Tolstoy's *Cossacks* builds upon the Russian literary tradition of Karamzin's "Poor Liza" and Pushkin's *Gypsies*. Neither Erast nor Aleko is able to cross beyond class and cultural boundaries to achieve a new life or a native wife. Even though Olenin can cross over into new territory and appropriate a repertory of foreign cultural signs, he, too, cannot cross beyond his culturally determined categories of perception. This Russian tradition of ethnological conservatism is profoundly contrary to the culturally constructed American faith in the possibility of overcoming class, racial (and, more recently, gender) barriers.

It is undeniably true that *For Whom The Bell Tolls* consciously emulates and rivals *War and Peace* in the honesty and fidelity of its representation of the actual experience of war in all its sensual and moral complexity. It is also evident that the narrative and thematic parallels between

Cossacks and Hemingway's Spanish novel testify to the American writer's recent reading and adaptation of Tolstoy's nineteenth-century novella. But despite Hemingway's attention to the precedents set in the borderland fictions of Scott and Tolstoy in which a middling hero nervously negotiates cultural conflicts behind the front lines of a civil strife, Hemingway's novel, in its erotic and military plot, reenacts the American penchant for male protagonists who successfully appropriate and identify with the more authentic, nobly primitive "otherness" of a traditional subaltern culture. Compared to Tolstoy's *Cossacks*, Hemingway's Spanish novel reads like a belated iteration of the classic American romance-novel. Borges-like, it would be plausible to speculate that Tolstoy's Caucasus tale postdated Hemingway, given its far more sophisticated presentation of trans-cultural borrowings and impermeable cultural limits. But it is more charitable and certainly less fanciful simply to agree with Fet, whose comparison was with previous Russian writings, when he wrote Tolstoy on April 4, 1863: "All those other books are killed by you. After *Cossacks* it's impossible to read all those narratives of life among the folk without laughing."¹⁴

Notes

1. Three of the first four books Hemingway borrowed from Shakespeare and Company on 28 December 1921 were by the Russian masters: Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* (2 volumes); Tolstoy's *War and Peace*; Dostoevsky's *The Gambler and Other Stories* (Fitch, 158). The contents of that heavily laden book bag are cited by Baker (1969: 208).

2. See McLean (1999) for the most complete and by far most entertaining "ringside" account of the career-long pugilistic encounter between Hemingway and Tolstoy.

3. Naumann (1978) provides the best discussion of those features Hemingway most admired in *War and Peace* and adapted in composing *For Whom The Bell Tolls*. In his 1942 anthology of war stories, *Men at War*, Hemingway included three selections from Tolstoy's epic novel along with Chapter 27, "The Fight on the Hilltop," from his own novel. Naumann points out a shared representation of war as a populist, empirical

phenomenon in which "generals like Kutuzov and Golz are unimportant" because the conflict is determined by men who are "first facing that thing which no one else knows about who has not done it."

4. Hemingway's disparagement of Tolstoy's obtrusive thinking is a favourite complaint, but it did not detract from his admiration for Tolstoy's unmatched talent for "inventing truly," even in this passage from *Men At War* (1942:xviii).

5. Tolstoi (1899: v). Turgenev's remark dates from 1874 (*Pis'ma X*: 207) and it would have made a strong impression on Hemingway, who discovered the Russians through his enthusiasm for Turgenev.

6. Georg Lukacs (1963: 33-37) attributes to Scott the "classic" features of this central protagonist who, by virtue of character and fortune, serves as a convenient intermediary through whom the historical novelist can represent the contending hostile forces at a moment of national crisis. Cooper and Tolstoy are specifically mentioned as the legatees of this useful device of the hero as cultural mediator, though Grinev in Pushkin's *The Captain's Daughter* might well also be invoked in this regard.

7. Lewis (1955) offers the classic exposition of this nineteenth-century American prototype, whose "innocence" extends far beyond an avoidance of domesticity and sexual entanglements. These male heroes also display "the American habit of resistance to maturity" (129) and, in common with many Tolstoyan heroes, are convinced of the possibility of finding a new beginning, of starting a new life.

8. Opuł'skaia (1963: 353, 366-367) documents the diary references and the notebook drafts of "Epishka's tales" which became the ethnographic core of the later novella. For a thorough English account of the complex genesis, from 1852 to final publication in 1863, of *The Cossacks*, see Turner (1978).

9. This rather embarrassing *double entendre* has been the source of much critical speculation, a history of which is given by Josephs (1994: 156-158) in a special appendix on Hemingway's problematic use of Spanish in the novel.

10. In a provocative reading, Eby (1998) relates Jordan's merger with Maria (whom Pilar, the Gypsy woman, refers to as his sister) to Hemingway's fetishis-

tic memory of his twinned identification with his sister, Marcelline, the sign of which was their similarly cropped hair. It can hardly be denied that the ecstatic sexual communion with Maria figures paradoxically as a blissful primary identification with a woman who remains virginal, having never kissed a man before, while also embodying the Fascist rape of earthy Spain itself.

11. Broer (1973: 14-15) maintains that Hemingway's heroes after 1932 internalize this *particularismo* – the “Spanish virtues of stoical courage and perseverance” with a “tendency to anarchistic rebellion and arrogant individualism.” This is, as Baker (1952: 255) and Josephs (1996: 241) both appreciate, a secular version of the *torero's* ritualized, defiant battle with the bull in a graceful, orderly, passionate disregard for death.

12. Anemone (1993) recognizes the many ways in which Tolstoy's narrative deliberately subverts the conventional Rousseauian binary opposition between the civilized and the natural and also confuses the expected dichotomy between Russian and Cossack cultural signifiers. Also see Layton (1994) for a detailed account of how Tolstoy's text parodies the romantic poetics of the Caucasus and creates a new perspective on cross-cultural communication with Russia's “oriental” neighbours.

13. Pratt (1992: 6-7) defines contact zones as “the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict...but whose trajectories now intersect.” By emphasizing the interactive and improvisational nature of these encounters, Pratt's “contact perspective” demonstrates how borderland peoples are constituted in and by their relations to each other.

14. Opuł'skaia (349) gives the original quote, which is too good not to repeat in Russian: “Все эти книги убиты вами. Все повести из простонародного быта нельзя читать без смеха после *Казак*.”

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