

between ten and eleven years old, just before the young boy would naturally separate from his mother upon entering puberty. In reality Tolstoy's mother died before he was two, and he had no conscious memory of her at all. It was his father who died when Lev Nikolaevich was between nine and ten years of age, but this fact does not square well with the young boy's psychological movement from dependence to autonomy. He puts his mother in his father's coffin, as it were, to achieve the deeper reality of his developing sense of self.

Similarly, the death of Tsvetaeva's mother during Anastasia's twelfth summer clearly put a full stop to the girls' childhood. However, unlike the ideal mother of Tolstoy's making, who dies murdering, "The children! the children!" (Ch. XXVI), Tsvetaeva's all too real and imperfect mother says coolly, "I shall miss only sunshine and music" (216), and later, "Children, live by the truth!" (217). From the village of Tarusa the family brings the dead Maria Aleksandrovna to Moscow for burial, and the girls' adolescence takes place in this urban setting, cut adrift by their mother's death, yet largely unable to connect with their vague and often distracted father's world of university and museum. Anastasia remains on the margins, finding her place by her ties to Marina.

This question of vocation, a central issue for each of the adults in these narratives, resolves itself smoothly, almost effortlessly, for the men. Nikolen'ka, like his father before him, pursues his own ends and finds satisfaction and self-fulfillment with relatively little conflict. Anastasia, like Marina, their mother, and Nikolen'ka's mother, pays dearly for whatever prominence she attains in her art: she is never free from ambivalence and from destructive rivalry with those closest to her.

Marina's turbulent career, on the other hand, may be read partly as her attempt to claim her patrimony, her poetic vocation. This struggle required of her a high degree of androgyny as she played out, in effect, the son's role in this quest, mustering power to wrest a symbolic writing desk from the jumbled detritus of her woman's life.

To examine such texts without reference to the writer's gender is to overlook a rich source of potential differences. The male sense of self which governs and structures Lev Nikolaevich's "Detstvo" is like a lighthouse. From a fixed center it projects a powerful beam which brilliantly illuminates whatever narrow slice of its surroundings it turns towards. Anastasia Ivanovna's text is also organized, but the parts connect in a very different way. The female sense of self exemplified here is like a web, in which all the strands are linked, center to periphery: what affects one sector of the web can be felt by all.

As we engage in examining and stretching the boundaries of the canon, we cannot afford to ignore potential differences between the

male and female sense of self, with its attendant consequences in literary texts. If we include gender-sensitive readings in our arsenal of approaches to literature we stand to both enrich the canon and to deepen our insight into the works like Tolstoy's trilogy which already form part of the body of world literature.

Postscript: This is the revised and expanded version of a talk given at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, April 28, 1989. I am continuing this study of Anastasia Tsvetaeva's narrative of childhood with a comparison of Marina's and Anastasia's accounts of their childhoods. My trip to Moscow in January 1989 also yielded the typescript of unpublished memoirs by Valeria Tsvetaeva, Marina and Anastasia's older half-sister; I will present a comparison of Valeria and Anastasia's descriptions of Maria Aleksandrovna at the AAASSS Convention in Chicago in November 1989.

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1885

In Translation

Teacher of Consciousness (Leo Tolstoy)

By Andrey Bely

Translated and with an Introduction by

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With "Teacher of Consciousness (Leo Tolstoy)," Andrey Bely endeavors to place Tolstoy side by side with thinkers like Socrates and Confucius.¹ Whereas in his earlier essays Bely sought an aesthetic response to Tolstoy's creativity, in the present study Bely's points of reference are more metaphysical.² The obvious sources are those from which Bely quotes freely, namely, The Bhagavad Gita, as well as Tolstoy's diaries and On Life.³ Another significant presence is Rudolf Steiner, whose lectures on The Bhagavad Gita played an immense role in Bely's thought.⁴ Focusing on Tolstoy's post-conversion period, Bely discusses Tolstoy's philosophy in terms of a system that bridged the East and the West. Lest one forget, Bely, of all the Symbolists, sought the reconciliation between these polarities. According to Bely, Tolstoy as a "teacher of consciousness" emerges as the summit of enlightenment, somewhat of a self-styled yogi, at once creating his own Christian Gospel, and at the same time embodying the ancient wisdom of the East. Tolstoy's knowledge of the East was by no means superficial.⁵ One encounters references to his favorite books of wisdom, those of "the Brahmins, of Buddha, Confucius, Lao-tse, [...] books by which all humanity has lived."⁶ Just as much has been written about Tolstoy's interest in China,⁷ and it is common knowledge that Tolstoy's model served as the cornerstone of Gandhi's own principles of non-resistance.⁸

While Tolstoy did not exert as powerful an influence as, say, Gogol' or Pushkin, in Bely's works, nevertheless, he is clearly important both in Bely's personal and creative life. Apart from numerous childhood episodes depicting Tolstoy's visits to the Bugaev household when Bely "sat on Tolstoy's knee,"⁹ there is the personal depiction of Tolstoy as Old Man Winter in his poem "To Leo Tolstoy" (1908).¹⁰ Magnus Ljunggren maintains that not only had Bely sought an "ego-ideal" in Tolstoy, but that he found uncanny similarities between Tolstoy and his father, Professor Nikolai Bugaev.¹¹ In 1918 Bely wrote a preliminary sketch of Professor Korobkin in the short-story, "The Yogi," whose spiritual make-up bears striking similarities to Tolstoy.¹² Moreover, Bely developed this image further in his final novel, Masks, and provided one of the most convincing portrayals of living according to Tolstoyan pacifism in Korobkin's practice of non-resistance to evil. Clearly what appeals to Bely about Tolstoy are his distillations of truth, made accessible to everyone.¹³ Tolstoy stands as Everyman, asking the perennial

questions about life and death, perceiving the omnipresent struggle between the forces of light and the forces of darkness.

As is the case in virtually all of Bely's essays, be they literary, philosophical, or aesthetic, an air of idiosyncrasy dominates "Teacher of Consciousness (Leo Tolstoy)," but not without perspicacious insights. Bely discerns the connective tissue between several concepts in Tolstoy's On Life and Sanskrit literature. As a student of anthroposophy, Bely often turned to the sacred Hindu epic, The Bhagavad Gita.¹⁴ Briefly summarized, The Bhagavad Gita, consists of eighteen chapters, in which the principal figures Krishna and Arjuna represent manifestations of the divine and the human in the universe. Unable to reconcile himself with the wanton destruction of his brothers and kinfolk, Arjuna undergoes a crisis on the battlefield and seeks counsel from Krishna. The latter instructs Arjuna in the ways of yoga, ultimately the sum of what one must do to realize the higher Self.¹⁵ Thus, Arjuna must discover that in order for the soul to evolve it must be free from the world of the senses. Bely seizes on the ethical principles of the epic, those entailing transcending the lower self.

Saturating it with citations from The Bhagavad Gita, Bely commences his study with an association between Tolstoy and Hindu philosophy. One of the chief lessons of The Bhagavad Gita, that the pursuit of selfless actions will lead to Self-realization, essentially dominates all of Tolstoy's thought.¹⁶ Because Tolstoy cultivated the moral discipline of self-renunciation in his everyday activities, Bely attributed the characteristics of the yogi to Tolstoy himself, whether he actually preached yoga or not. And the message of Bely's discussion of yoga, indeed, the force of the Gita, is only made clear when taken together with the Tolstoyan concept of "rational consciousness." Where Bely mentions "consciousness" one should read "rational consciousness." For example, the line "life begins only with the manifestation of consciousness" is a paraphrase of Tolstoy's "human life begins only with the manifestation of rational consciousness."¹⁷ According to Tolstoy, "rational consciousness" is that faculty which distinguishes man from animal. Throughout On Life "rational consciousness" is pitted against "animal personality," the latter standing for the pursuit of selfish goals, expressed in human desires and sensory pleasures. What takes place in time and space is not true life, but rather, "animal personality." "Rational consciousness," on the other hand, is synonymous with eternity. Life only begins when man renounces the self and begins to put others ahead of himself. Then death ceases to preoccupy man, for he passes into a new relation with the world.¹⁸

For Tolstoy, as for the teachings in The Bhagavad Gita, there is no conflict between reason and consciousness. Bely's application of Tolstoy's practical wisdom as a "spiritual science," is particularly apt, as this is exactly what Rudolf Steiner called his own brand of practical wisdom, namely, anthroposophy, for it, too, integrated the material and the spiritual. Interestingly, Bely's treatment of

"manas" reveals not only an understanding of Hindu terms, but also his dependence on other Steinerian interpretations of The Bhagavad Gita.¹⁹ Here the intellectual kinship between Tolstoy and Bely becomes more telling, for Bely's discussion of manas entails more than a Western understanding of the mind as the dwelling place of thought and intellect. Because human evolution requires the power of the mind over body, Bely concentrates on yoga as the most effective exercise in gaining higher levels of consciousness. Thus, one can never underestimate the active mental activity involved, the sheer power of consciousness to shed its attachment to selfish desires. According to Bely, our ego is the "glove" hiding our real Self, and in distinguishing between the ego and the Self, Arjuna learns that his essential nature is spiritual, and therefore eternal. Bely implies that Tolstoy's resemblance to the Hindu ancients is based on mental discipline, on a Socratic understanding of knowledge as virtue. Just as Krishna teaches Arjuna to train himself in abandoning the ego to evolve to a higher state, so does Tolstoy, the Teacher, make that demand of his followers.²⁰

NOTES

1. Andrei Belyi, "Uchitel' soznaniia (Lev Tolstoi)," Znamia (No.6, Dec. 1920), pp. 37-41.
2. See Bely's Tragediia tvorchestva. Dostoevskii i Tolstoi, Moscow 1911 (rept. Letchworth: Prideaux Press, 1971). See also Bely's "Lev Tolstoi i kul'tura" in O religii L'va Tolstogo, Moscow, 1912, pp. 142-171 (rept. Paris: YMCA Press, 1978).
3. Lev Tolstoi, "O zhizni," Sobranie sochinenii v dvadtsati dvukh tomakh, Vol. 17 (Moscow: Knud. lit-a), 1984, pp. 7-135.
4. See Rudolf Steiner, The Bhagavad Gita and the Epistles of Paul (New York: Anthroposophic Press, 1971). There is evidence that in 1912 Bely was present in Cologne when Steiner lectured on The Bhagavad Gita. Belyi-Blok, Perepiska, Moscow, 1940, p. 308 (rept. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1969).
5. In his Tolstoi und der Orient, Biryukov lists 54 books, pamphlets and periodicals, which related to various eastern civilizations, that he found in Tolstoy's library at Yasnaya Polyana. (Zurich and Leipzig: Rotapfel-Verlag, 1925).
6. On Life in The Complete Works of Count Tolstoy, trans. Leo Wiener, Vol. 16 (New York: AMS Press, 1968), p. 269. See also My Confession, where Tolstoy mentions the religions of Christianity, Buddhism and Islam.
7. Derk Bodde, Tolstoy and China (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1950), p. 7.
8. See Martin Green, Tolstoy and Gandhi, Men of Peace (New York: Basic Books, 1983).
9. Andrei Belyi, Na rubezhe dvukh stoletii, Moscow, 1930, p. 9 (rept. Chicago: Russian Language Specialties, 1966).

10. See his poem "L'vu Tolstomu" from the collection Urna in Stikhotvoreniia i poemy (M-L: Sov. pisatel', 1966), p. 329.
11. Magnus Ljunggren, The Dream of Rebirth: A Study of Andrej Belyj's Novel 'Peterburg' (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982) p. 16.
12. Andrei Belyi, "Yog," Rasskazy, ed. Ronald Peterson (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1979), pp. 63-79.
13. This theme can be traced back to Bely's early brochure, The Tragedy of Creativity in Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, where life transcends art in the very act of willing oneself to die. Bely insists that Tolstoy's greatest creative act was his exit from life. See Tragediia tvorchestva, op. cit., pp. 44-5.
14. See Belyi's Rudol'f Shteiner i Gete v mirovoznrenii sovremenosti (M: Dukhovnoe znanie, 1917), pp. 38-40, pp. 102-106; see also my "Gogol's 'Strashnaia mest'" and Bely's Prose Fiction: the Role of Karma," forthcoming in Russian Language Journal.
15. The word "yoga" had many meanings, four of which are advanced in The Bhagavad Gita and implied in Bely's essay under the all-encompassing capitalized "Yoga." Jnana yoga is the yoga of knowledge, bhakti yoga is the yoga of devotion, karma yoga is the yoga of selfless action and raja yoga is the yoga of meditation. See The Bhagavad Gita, trans. with an intro. by E. Easwaran (Berkeley: Nilgiri Press, 1985), p. 31. While all of these manifestations of yoga are intrinsic to this epic, the meaning which dominates is that of a disciplined detachment from one's lower nature and the realization of one's higher spiritual nature.
16. Although the word is not used per se, karma is the implication here. Karma (which in Sanskrit means "deed" or "action"), states simply that whatever you do will come back to you. An interesting sidelight to the subject of karma in Tolstoy entails the short story "Karma," which for a long time was attributed to Tolstoy himself, but which, in fact, was Tolstoy's translation of the story by Paul Carus. When Tolstoy learned that his translation had been circulated under his name, he wrote a letter of apology, dated July 1897, to Carus, concluding that "I should be very happy were I the author of this tale. It is one of the best products of national wisdom and ought to be bequeathed to all mankind, like the Odyssey, the History of Josephus, and Shakyamuni." In Paul Carus, Karma Nirvana (La Salle, IL: Open Court Publ., 1973), n.p.
17. On Life, op. cit., p. 266.
18. Few critics attribute any importance to Tolstoy's On Life with the exception of G.W. Spence, who calls On Life "Tolstoy's most systematic attempt to expound a metaphysics." In Tolstoy the Ascetic (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 82.
19. According to The Harper's Dictionary of Hinduism "Manas" is defined as: "Mind (in its widest sense as applied to all mental powers), intellect, intelligence, understanding, perception, will, etc. In philosophy, manas is the internal organ or perception and cognition." Margaret and James Stutley (New York: Harper and Row, 1977),

p. 176. Similarly, Steiner lectured about "manas" in The Bhagavad Gita, lectures, which, as mentioned earlier, Bely personally heard. See Steiner, op. cit., pp. 16-36.

20. While I have consulted several translations of The Bhagavad Gita, all translations of Bely's citations from The Gita are my own. Readers may find that the admixture of Bely's poetic philosophizing and citing references is often encumbered by subjective ratiocinations. This is typical of Bely's philosophically oriented texts.

Teacher of Consciousness (Leo Tolstoy)

By Andrey Bely

One encounters the truths of wisdom in Leo Tolstoy's Diary; much of what he tells us is told by a supra-individualistic consciousness, which according to Hindu philosophy is called Manas, the "I." However, the "I" is spirit.

The appearance in history of the problem of the "I" is depicted in the magnificent image of Krishna, who appears to Arjuna, the student of Yoga. On a battlefield Arjuna grieves: "It is better to live by giving...than killing... We do not know what is better...to be conquered or to conquer." (The Bhagavad Gita). And Krishna replies to him: "Man can neither kill nor be killed. He was never born, he will never die. Look at you actions, and not at the fruits of your actions... Give yourself to Yoga; Yoga is art in action." (idem). The path of these actions leads to the renunciation of senseless actions; Yoga is the study of inaction in action, of peace in battle.

Krishna's lesson is that Yoga answers Arjuna's question as to how to depart from war. It does not recommend an external rejection, but rather specific actions for transforming the struggle. The purification of actions with action is yoga. "Let the Yogi...exercise yoga...he will not be disturbed by the greatest of sorrow." (idem).

What is Yoga all about? In the ability to subordinate oneself to the higher "I." And who is Krishna? He is the "I," who has blown up the personality of Arjuna, the mask; he is the "I" of Arjuna, his cosmic consciousness: "I am the wellspring of the universe." People are but the fingers of one organism, hiding from one another in a glove, which is pulled over them. This glove constitutes the scales of one's perceptible, individual life.

How does one remove it?

"He who controls all the gates of the body, and confines the mind to the heart, has set his breath in the head... He who abandons his body, uttering...[Om], meditating on me, will reach the highest goal." (idem Chapter Eight).

There are two sides to Yoga: 1) immersion into the mind's heart, 2) the animation of consciousness; the path of the mind's immersion is the path of mystics; the path of animation of consciousness is gnosis; two acts are combined by yoga: cerebral (or intellectual) activity with heartfelt activity. The history of man's self-consciousness is the tale of two paths: of mystical wandering and of man's gnostic wandering throughout the ages; but both paths are but the gloves which we must remove; only in Yoga do we stand before the "I," released from perceptible scabs, the "I" that has not become the reasonable "I," nor the abstract "subject of cognition" of modern philosophers. The "I" is the name of God: the "I" is greater; but this "I," appears to us as the "He" in us: "Our Father!" Later "He" reveals himself in us, as the authentic "I" in the unauthentic "I"; that is what Krishna proclaims: "Feelings are great; greater than feelings is the mind; greater than the mind is pure reason, greater than pure reason is He." (idem).

The "I" is the impulse of Love; the "I" is not that which observes objects of a static world, but that which combines objects with the subject and creates: "I am Thou."

Yoga reveals this concretely: here is the path of achieving peace in battle, the resolution of the problem posed by Arjuna on the battlefield.

2.

Tolstoy is the precursor of Love to come; The "He", or the Voice, which reads the signs of man's fate, already resounded in him very clearly; that voice is Manas; the "He" is Tolstoy's demon, resembling Socrates' demon; and the "He" is greater: the "He" is louder; more sonorous, more imperious the "He" has pronounced his word out of Tolstoy by Tolstoy; and through "Him" the writer Tolstoy became our new teacher. In The Diary Leo Tolstoy calls "Him" at times "Father," at times "Master."

Manas is an eagle, spread out over our personal consciousness, resembling Knowledge of world consciousness; His two wings are the two sides of Reason: 1) the side, clothed in the clarity of reason's waking consciousness and 2) the sur-rational side, the unclear side, not revealed in the word; we know that Vladimir Soloviev's philosophy speaks about the latter rationally; and the wordlessly great who are blessed with Manas are silent. One and the other display the Eagle as one-winged. The Eagle does not soar clearly for everyone. He clearly soars in Tolstoy.

Tolstoy knows of the unification of Manas and Life; his consciousness "On Life" is the high point of transparent clarity in revealing the Manas of ancient yoga; without any of the rational dazzle clear thought is announced here in the image of wisdom. In Soloviev there is still a lot of dazzle; and people do not understand him; Tolstoy is understandable; and as a result he can invest profound meaning

into his intelligible word; his thought is not the mirror's reflection of shores in the water of thought, but rather the very depth of transparent waters, the very revelation of water's life with all its "fish-thoughts"; one can throw out a net into Tolstoy, and pull out "fish," and get nourishment one's entire life; with the reflection of the shores on the water, with the reflections of even the heavens of Soloviev's philosophy you will not get enough nourishment in life; all of Tolstoy's "fish" are but new meanings of rational meanings; Soloviev did not tower before the touch of Manas in clear, peasant words: all that became of him was a "philosopher," Tolstoy became a teacher.

Within Tolstoy there is a Socrates; he also carries within him Silenus (the thundering chaos of mysterious, Dionysian life); but the Silenus, who inhabits in Tolstoy's world, engages in battle with the rebellious "Socrates"; he clashes with the self whom the world already honors as an artist, and clashes with the other one, who is "vulgar and vain"; "I started thinking about myself, about my hurts...and I came to my senses..and all was well...there is that one who is annoyed by the vulgar, silly, vain and sensitive Leo Nikolaevich..."¹

Descartes' "Cogito" genuinely as a powerful Socrates in Tolstoy: "Reason is the weapon for cognition, it is proof, it is a critique."²

We "know something...for what it is." "What then?—"That which we cognize is namely the very thing we know."³ But Tolstoy raises the goal of cognition to cognition; cognition without a goal is insanity, however logical it may be: "Rational activity is distinguished from insane activity only in that rational activity assigns its judgments in order of their importance."⁴ Reasoning which is not tied to a common goal..is insane, no matter how logical it is."⁵ The absence of a goal in the organization of concepts creates all the insanity of abstract conclusions as to what life is: "It is not that which we call science which defines life, but our concept of life which defines what should be acknowledged as science."⁶ "Before anything else we have to decide what science is." They say that science studies life from all its sides; but the trouble is that every object has as many sides as there are radii in a sphere, that is, an endless number, and it is not possible to study it from all sides, but we must know from which side it is more necessary." "True knowledge consists in knowing that we know what we know, and do not know what we do not know"—Tolstoy incessantly advances this thesis by Confucius.

In his book On Life Tolstoy marvellously reveals an entire series of confusions which we commit in defining life with the help of various official abstractions subordinate to life; he reveals that life begins only with the manifestation of consciousness; life and consciousness are one and the same; we are born into life only when we realize the center of consciousness within ourselves, and not when we appear on earth biologically; our appearance on earth is not life (life-consciousness); this is a "trifle." Understanding the voice of one's own life is understanding "Manas." "There were times when I felt that I was becoming a bearer of God's will... The truth would go right through me... I hope to God that their(truths) passage through me will not defile

these truths."⁸

Krishna teaches: "I am Manas; out of all beings I am consciousness." Within us consciousness itself is Manas. Tolstoy confirms that life is consciousness; thus he becomes the spokesman of Krishna's teachings in a new light. The aspiration for concrete practical wisdom shows up once again in him; he (Tolstoy) calls this science of practical wisdom a spiritual science; he searches for its traces in the truths of wisdom from all the ages and peoples: "There are thousands of superstitions, but not faiths...there are not even ten teachings about faiths and yet all of them come together in one and the same faith, only expressed differently."⁹ "Religion is the consciousness of those truths, which..are understood and which are indubitable like $2 \times 2 = 4$. The goal of religion...is to express these truths."¹⁰ The path of expression is action—this is yoga: "When a truth...is uttered, it..transforms life."¹¹ Manas emerges in us in the praxis of the world of consciousness; any philosophy is praxis... Hindu yoga exactly looks like this; our cognition is yogic. Tolstoy says: "Materialists...so not know what Hindus have done in the criticism of cognition."¹²

3.

Yoga is the teaching for the chosen and the few; Tolstoy opens up the portals of Yoga for all; from now on, because of Tolstoy, Yogism is a universal concern, a "peasant's" concern. It (Yogism) is the spirit of Manas, which was at one time merely the consciousness of a few; but now a different epoch is upon us: mankind has come of age, when Manas will open itself just as the laws of reason are now open to each and everyone, who studies science: science is accessible to everyone.

Tolstoy is the spokesman for accessible Wisdom for everyone: he is the revelation of culture to come. Having risen, Leo Tolstoy went before all of Russia into the enormous expanses of universal light; Leo Tolstoy's departure first from an already decaying culture, then from his very home, through death into the life of immortality, is the greatest and most accessible symbol.

Immortality has drawn near.

And Tolstoy's voice is the Voice of another world to come. We will properly encounter It through all our experiences.

NOTES

1. Diary (?)
2. Idem.

3. Idem.
 4. On Life
 5. Idem.
 6. Idem.
 7. Idem.
 8. Diary, I, p. 231.
 9. "On faiths," XV, p. 330.
 10. "On religion," XV.
 11. Idem.
 12. Diary, I, p. 53.
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Masaryk and Tolstoy

Translated by Charles E. Townsend, Princeton University

The following is a translation of a section of Karel Čapek's book Hovory s TGM (Conversations with Thomas Garrigue Masaryk) entitled "Masaryk a Tolstoj" ("Masaryk and Tolstoy") describing three visits the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic paid to the great Russian author, both at his palatial home in Moscow and his famous estate Yasnaya Polyana. The passage is rendered from Michael Heim, Zlata Meyerstein, and Dean Worth, Readings in Czech (Slavica Publishers, UCLA Slavic Studies, 13, Slavica, 1985), pp. 58-60.

Before I looked up Tolstoy I'd had no time to learn about him through his readings, as I had Dostoevsky, so I really wanted to get to know him well personally. First I visited him at his palatial home outside of Moscow. I remember as if it were yesterday how he showed me his study, unable to conceal a certain pride. It had a rustic wooden ceiling you could touch with your hands, but which had been put in later under the original, higher ceiling. In this peasant room there was a desk and a comfortable leather armchair and a couch - things which certainly didn't belong in this rustic chamber. He had a wooden cuckoo clock which, he boasted, had cost only thirty-five kopecks. He went around in a belted peasant "rubashka" shirt and in shoes he had sewn himself, so you can believe that they were sewn poorly. He invited me for tea into the main chamber - all black velvet, the way houses of the nobility were at the time. The countess offered him the usual jam, but he just sucked his tea through a piece of sugar like a peasant and didn't seem to notice her. After tea we went out into the park; we talked about Schopenhauer, whom Lev Nikolaevich understood only poorly. In the middle of saying something he suddenly stopped like a peasant who has reached the border of his estate and invited me to follow him - in a way which struck me as forced, phonily primitive and unnatural.

Lev Nikolaevich next invited me to Yasnaya Polyana. I rode out there from Tula in a "kibitka," a sort of covered wagon. The bridge in front of the village was so dilapidated that the horses would have broken their legs crossing it, so we had to detour around it. We got to the manor house just before noon. They told me that Lev Nikolaevich was still asleep, because he'd been up all night talking with Chertkov and his other guests. So to kill time I went over to the village. It was dirty and wretched. There was a young peasant working in front of one of the huts; I got into a discussion with him and saw some kind of a rash under his open shirt - syphilis. In another hovel I saw an old woman working herself to death all alone

on top of a filthy stove. I went back to Tolstoy's house. A young man named Gay had come to see him, the son of a painter, a disciple of Tolstoy who had gone so far in adopting the "simple life" that he'd come to visit the author from far away on foot because, apparently, the railroad wasn't peasantly enough for him. He was so infested with lice that he had to bathe and scrub himself down right away. Tolstoy himself told me that this man had drunk from a syphilitic's glass in order to hide the repugnance he felt and not to humiliate the man. He thought about this but not about keeping his own peasants from getting infected. And when he started to talk about how we ought to adopt the simple life, that we ought to live like peasants and so on, I asked him: "Well, what about your house and salon, those arm-chairs and couches? And what about the miserable life of your peasants? Is that part of the simple life? You don't drink, but you smoke cigarette after cigarette; if you're going to have asceticism, it should be consistent. The peasant lives poorly because he is poor, not to be an ascetic." And I told him what I had seen in his village, the dishevelment, the diseases, the filth and all that. "Good God, don't you see it? A great artist like you can't observe that? Sewing your own boots, walking instead of taking the train, it's all just a waste of time; think how many good things could be accomplished in that time!" I quoted him the English proverb "Cleanliness is next to godliness," and our Czech one "Cleanliness is half of health." In a word, we didn't understand each other. The Countess was a sensible woman; she didn't like to see Tolstoy foolishly giving everything away, she was thinking of her children. I can't help it; in this disagreement between her and Lev Nikolaevich I had to side with her.

My third visit to Tolstoy took place just before his death, in 1910; by then he and his wife had completely broken apart in their inner life. He was very nervous and had trouble controlling himself. At that time he had a Czech physician, Makovický, attending to him and the village. Makovický was utterly devoted to Tolstoy and his teachings; he kept a piece of graphite behind a fingernail and used it to write down in a notebook he had in his pocket what Lev Nikolaevich said. Simplicity, live the simple life. My God! You can't solve the problems of the city and the countryside with sentimental moralizing and proclaiming the peasant and country dweller as a model for everything; agriculture today is being industrialized, too, it can't get along without machines, and the peasant needs a better education than his father or grandfather - we still have a lot of incorrect views and inherited prejudices about all this at home, too.

The thing they argued about most was non-resistance to evil; Tolstoy didn't understand that it was not just a matter of violent resistance; it was a struggle against evil all along the line; he didn't see the difference between the defensive and the offensive. He thought, for instance, that the Tartar invaders, if the Russians hadn't resisted them, would have given up

violence after a little bit of killing. My own tenet was this: if someone attacks me and is going to kill me, I'll defend myself, and if I absolutely have to, I'll kill my attacker. If one of us has to be killed, let it be the one with the evil intention.

Reviews

A.N. Wilson. Tolstoy. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988.*

A.N. Wilson's Tolstoy is a welcome addition to the biographical literature on Tolstoy. Wilson writes beautifully in the elegant and witty style of the English essay. He can be a bit arch, and for that reason I still prefer Maude's tone, which conveys, without fawning and without fear of criticizing the master where he deserves it, the magical effect produced by genius. Maude had less information than Wilson, however, and Victorian prudery did not allow him to analyse or even reveal all the information available. Wilson is less thorough than Simmons, but he makes better use of the facts he imparts. He is less melodramatic than Troyat, but he tells his tale with gusto, relishing the twists and turns in the life of as complicated a man as ever lived. He is as clever a writer and psychologist as Shklovsky, but he is more concerned to truly understand what made Tolstoy tick than is the Soviet biographer, who, in the service of the state and his own philosophical concerns, can be arbitrary in his judgments. The "biographer" with whom I would compare Wilson is in fact Eikhenbaum, who, after The Young Tolstoy, wrote books which mix historical and literary-historical explanations with speculations about Tolstoy's psychology as a writer.

Other reviewers have praised Wilson's ability to provide historical and social background to Tolstoy's life and works. This side of the book is indeed particularly satisfying to the English-speaking reader, because Wilson views Russian life as an intelligent and informed outsider. Nor is Wilson a Marxist, and his explanations of the mixture in Tolstoy of conservatism and radicalism ring true. Here Wilson owes a great deal to Maude, who brought English moderation to his study of a society where, from the 1830s on, moderate became a dirty word.

I agree with much of Wilson's presentation of nineteenth century Russian life, and here as in every other facet of his book I admire his ability to present material clearly and vividly. There is, however, much more to his book than this. In the first place, Wilson has given the most balanced account I know of Tolstoy's sexuality. (On this subject, Wilson's book should be read together with another Tolstoy, by Pietro Citati [New York, 1986], who cogitates, sometimes murkily and sometimes brilliantly, over the role of Eros in Tolstoy's art.) Wilson depicts both Tolstoy's almost Balzacian lust and his equal capacity for shame and hatred of the flesh. While he does not explain this combination, he puts it in a Russian Orthodox and Victorian context and, especially in his analysis of the biographical

* Editor's note: Fawcett has just brought out the paperback version of this book.

element in *The Kreutzer Sonata*, he shows it at work in Tolstoy. He also fully documents Tolstoy's homoerotic side, beginning with Konstantin Islavin and ending with Chertkov. But Wilson respects Tolstoy's insistence, in an early diary passage, about another youth whom he loved, that, while his love is erotic, he does not desire intercourse with his beloved. Wilson, who compares Tolstoy's homoerotic love to that celebrated in Shakespeare's sonnets, goes on to point out that Tolstoy treasured his feelings for young men because of their purity. I think that this is exactly right. Whatever our materialist age makes of such attractions, the idealist Tolstoy, like N.K. Stankevich, for instance, believed in a distinction between spiritual and physical love, and lived this distinction as well as writing of it. Wilson's description of the Tolstoy marriage reflects the subtlety of his judgments about love and satisfies both in the (Tolstoyan) sympathy that he accords both partners and the (Tolstoyan) judgments that he metes out where they are deserved.

Another major theme of the book is Tolstoy's psychology as a writer. Here Wilson draws upon his own experience as both novelist and critic. He understands Tolstoy's imagination and displays its workings with great perspicuity. Like other biographers, he mines the works for biographical information, and he also advances novel and fascinating speculations about how Tolstoy came to write them. This second theme culminates in a theory, reminiscent of Eikhenbaum but psychological rather than historical or linguistic, of why the famous crisis in the late seventies occurred. I do not entirely agree either with this theory or with the interpretations of individual works that arise from the biographer's approach, but I think that Wilson, taking this approach, has pinpointed certain autobiographical elements in the genesis of Tolstoy's works that no one else has seen.

Where Wilson falls down is in his treatment of Tolstoy's thought. The Tolstoy who entered into communion with other great minds and whose fiction expresses, among other things, the pattern of his thoughts is largely absent from the book. One partial exception to this is Wilson's account of Tolstoy's indirect communication with Dostoevsky, in which the two writers, while never meeting, speak to each other through their works. Even here, though, the book emphasizes the rivalry of the two individuals rather than their philosophical agreements and disagreements. Where is the man who sits silently at his desk, reading and thinking? Because Wilson neglects this Tolstoy, his readings of the fiction cannot do it full justice.

But perhaps this as it should be in a biography. In any case, it would be wrong to condemn a book as good as this one for not saying everything, or even every very important thing about its subject. Wilson tells the story of how a fascinating individual became a great writer. The result is must reading for anyone interested in Tolstoy.

Martine de Courcel. Tolstoy: The Ultimate Reconciliation. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1988. 458 pp.

Critical works on Tolstoy appear to classify themselves according to their varying attitudes toward "wholeness." Was there a crisis and break in 1881, or is the life a continuity? Are we dealing with a hedgehog, a fox, or with the arena where those two beasts stalk each other? Or--in terms of more recent Tolstoy scholarship--do we favor the Gustafson or the Morson pole: Tolstoy's life and work as a spiritual unity, or Tolstoy as champion of life's fragment and the unintegrated prosaic detail?

In her new biography, Martine de Courcel takes a strong stand for wholeness. Tolstoy left Yasnaya Polyana in 1910, she claims, because he had at last reconciled himself to the moral correctness and necessity of being a writer. This thesis is stated authoritatively in the Introduction: "What Tolstoy owed humanity was a book: the book. He could not write it at Yasnaya Polyana and so he left" (5). As documentation she offers the following hypothesis: "...in the last months and even the last hours of his life one can see a pattern analogous to that which had presided over the working out of each of his novels and every one of his essays and stories" (5). In the conclusion of the biography, de Courcel restates the thesis in more detail. But this time she divides up the "foreshadowings" of literary activity into four periods: a) an irresistible desire to write; b) a deep preoccupation with a problem of general concern; c) a craving for reading; and d) a chance encounter with an incident or true story (398).

Now, in a man whose written traces fill ninety volumes, and who never stopped writing, being preoccupied with general problems, reading, and taking in others' stories as grist for his own mill, such extremely general sequences of "foreshadowing" cannot be assumed to prove much one way or the other. Thus the reader--and especially the reader familiar with the basic contours of Tolstoy's life--is set up to expect a strong argument for this "ultimate and unwritten book" in the body of the biography. Is there anything in these 400 pages to win us over to a thesis like this, so provocative and yet so ostensibly thin?

Unfortunately, very little. The familiar biography is all in place, with the letters and diaries stitched into it as well as the familiar methodological naivete. De Courcel, who has a degree in psychology from the Sorbonne, is mercifully restrained in her occasional invocation of "id," "ego" and "superego" structures (see her comments on the "organized" versus the "idealized" ego in Tolstoy, 114, and later on guilt and love, 395). But her four-stage "foreshadowing" thesis is implicitly informed by psychoanalytic modeling, enabling a sort of "causality by contiguity" that Tolstoy himself would have deplored. This ahistorical approach leads the biographer into all the famous pitfalls of the Tolstoy industry. Art and life are mixed indiscriminately when analyzing the "essentially autobiographical works" of

Tolstoy's early period (44). Unfortunate metaphors are selected for Tolstoy's most calculatedly messy works: in the aftermath of Saul Morson's Hidden in Plain View, for example, it makes one wince when Mme de Courcel refers to War and Peace as an "enormously complex machine" (98) in which "every character had to be set precisely in its orbit, and its course controlled in relation to the courses of all the others" (103).

The Tolstoy marriage, too, is treated with conventional sensationalism. In contrast to the recent chronicle by Louise Smoluchowski (Lev and Sonya: The Story of the Tolstoy Marriage), de Courcel does not take Sofya Andreevna at her word--that she most often wrote in her diary when she was unhappy and therefore her written record was bound to be grim and untrue. So we get the usual spooky picture of the Tolstoy's sexual life: Sonya as frigid (he's insatiable, she's repelled), ever resentful of her pregnancies, alternately fearful about another conception and about abandonment. Over fifty years all those fears and feelings did occur, of course, but de Courcel conflates and generalizes on the written record in such a way that the normal and vigorous times are much diminished. A case in point: Tolstoy's passing desire to re-enlist in the army during the 1863 Polish Uprising understandably caused his wife, still recovering from her first confinement, some anxiety. The event is glossed by Mme de Courcel in the following way: "From that time forward, Sofia never ceased keeping watch on her husband; it irritated Tolstoy so much during the last year of his life that it was one of the 'immediate causes' of his leaving home" (87). On some level this might well be true, and the final year was indeed a disaster. But people in love watch over one another: de Courcel does both Tolstoys a disservice by presenting the husband as always the trapped animal, the wife as the pathology.

Perhaps the strengthen her "departure thesis," de Courcel portrays Sofia Andreevna in the final chapter very much as Chertkov and Alexandra Lvovna saw fit to present her to the world: authentically mad. All those painfully sane and self-aware passages in Sonya's diaries that Louise Smoluchowski cites--making the case that Sonya's hysteria was more a desperate attention-getting strategy than an illness--are here passed over. Mme de Courcel stresses rather Tolstoy's renewed interest in lunatic asylums, linking it with concern for his wife's condition (346-47). But psychopathology is not confined entirely to the wife. At several points, the biographer suggests (perhaps again in preparation for the "departure thesis") that Tolstoy himself was somehow pathological in his desire to write. For example, the famous sentence from "A Few Words Apropos of War and Peace," where Tolstoy defends his novel as being "what the author wished and managed to express in the form in which it now exists," elicits the following comment: "This phrase suggests that Tolstoy was in some way compelled to do this work, which is not a novel, not by a simple desire to write, but by a kind of pressure, a sense of obligation" (98). Everywhere Mme de Courcel courts the idea of being out of control, driven

by hidden inner scenarios. The act of writing, we learn at the end of the biography, had the therapeutic power of transference for Tolstoy--although it brought no cure (393). He had to do it, and his "reconciliation" with himself was his final realization that having to do it was good: "I keep on writing," so Tolstoy muttered in his famous, final deathbed delirium, "and it comes together like music." Is this an "ultimate reconciliation"? Mme de Courcel is certainly correct that the many compulsions and minor pathologies that interweave with genius are never irrelevant. But her thesis, tacked on to the top and bottom of her text, does not seem potent enough to have merited a new biography.

Still, there are some valuable insights. Mme de Courcel occasionally resists the very conflating moves that her methodology so encourages, as in her refusal to equate Tolstoy's pagan and pantheistic 1859 Speech to the Society of Friends of Russian Literature with the later, more ascetic and "negating" position in What is Art? (99). She adroitly connects Tolstoy's apparent awkwardness in everyday tasks (Sonya's comment that her husband was "always crude and clumsy" in small jobs around the house) with his own idealization of physical dexterity: "his feeling of inferiority about it led him to overvalue manual labor, which he invested with a restorative and redeeming virtue" (161-62). She is right that The Kreutzer Sonata is not necessarily an anti-feminist tract. And on occasion her summing up of Tolstoy (in the writer's own words) is so excellent an antidote to the Bakhtinian image of Tolstoy as "monologic" that one can only applaud: "If [an artist] has found everything and knows everything and teaches or deliberately amuses, he produces no effect. Only if he is seeking does the spectator, the listener, or the reader join with him in his search" (diary entry for 19 December 1900; de Courcel, 278).

The overarching problem of the "departure thesis" does not, however go away, and it is hard to justify its central role in motivating the book. "I began this inquiry without prejudice and without any prepared hypothesis," de Courcel assures us. "I set out therefore like an explorer on his track...I turned over the stones along his path and the words of his books to see if a hidden answer was not to be found there....It was only at the end of this painstaking work that a flight over the excavation revealed its structure, rather as the plan of a buried city shows up more clearly in photographs taken from the air" (5).

But a "photograph from the air" would never be Tolstoy's vantage point, and--diaries kept in the toe of one's boot notwithstanding--there is almost nothing "hidden" in the Tolstoy life. No special reconciliation (or, for that matter, no catastrophic alienation) is necessary to legitimize Tolstoy's departure from Yasnaya Polyana in 1910. Rather than presume a great unwritten book, is not a more prosaic explanation likely? Something, perhaps, more in keeping with the secret admiration for Russia's

holy fools that Tolstoy once expressed to Strakhov: "If I were alone I would not be a monk, I would be a yurodivy, that is, I would not value anything and would not do anybody any harm" (137). By 1910, too much of Tolstoy was caught up in a war over who owned and valued what, and to those he loved he was doing too much harm. In fact, there was simply too much of everything in the Tolstoy household: too much fame, too much money, too much talent, too many children, too many guests, too many words. It is certainly true that a surfeit of prosaic things does not make for the spectacular and well-focused biography. But surfeit is exactly what Tolstoy generated, and what he came in his final years to fear. It is hard to assume, as Mme de Courcel does, that Tolstoy escaped only to take on more words. If anything, it was probably a flight empowered by a fantasy along the lines of Father Sergius: after trying everything else, lose your passport and go on living, but no one knows where. As Gary Saul Morson has pointed out in connection with Anna Karenina, a certain side of Tolstoy always understood plot "as an index of error" (TSJ, vol. 1, 1988, 5). Tolstoy escaping his family of forty-eight years to write his great book is a very big plot.

Caryl Emerson, Princeton University

Leo Tolstoy's 'War and Peace'. Modern Critical Interpretations.
Ed. and with an Introduction by Harold Bloom. New York:
Chelsea House, 1988. 144 pp.

Leo Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' is one of over a hundred collections of critical essays on major works of Western literature that Chelsea House is preparing under the editorial supervision of Harold Bloom. The laudable intention behind this massive undertaking is to help the modern student of literature who is overwhelmed these days by the sheer 'critical mass'. The seven essays — all published previously between 1966 and 1983 — selected for this volume are by: John Bayley, Robert L. Jackson, W. Gareth Jones, Edward Wasiolek, Patricia Carden, and Martin Price. All of them are well-written and explore such important questions as: Tolstoy's powers of representation, the dialectic of freedom and necessity, multiple narratives, memory, moral vision, and the place of theory in Tolstoy's novel. Along with the essays the editor has provided a brief introduction, a chronology of Tolstoy's life and literary career, a bibliography, and an index.

Despite the praiseworthy intentions, there are serious flaws in this anthology. The muddled introduction by Professor Bloom is a clear signal that this project was put together carelessly and in great haste. While the essays themselves are interesting and well worth the reading — or re-reading — they have been shorn of their original footnotes and even of page or section references to War and Peace. This can hardly have been done over concern about space, since at most, the references would have added ten pages to this slim volume. Scholarly essays, one thought, are meant to lead the reader back into

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the text as well as on to other criticism, all of which is rendered impossible when the references are removed. Or, are we meant to take these 'modern critical interpretations' at face value, uncritically?

Some additional examples of the exciting recent work on War and Peace — by Gary Saul Morson, Richard Gustafson, and Donna Orwin, to name but a few — would have also been welcome. The minimalist bibliography pales in comparison to Munir Sendich's sixty-page-long list of work on War and Peace that was published in The Russian Language Journal in 1987 (the existence of which is not even mentioned in the volume under review).

The editor and publisher of this series need to decide what audience they have in mind; whatever the audience, whether undergraduate or senior scholar, the essays must be published intact. An attempt should be made to include recent criticism, and, finally, there should be an introduction that represents more than a brief session at the word-processor. Even the Sterling Professor of the Humanities at Yale owes Tolstoy and his literary colleagues more than that.

Kathleen Parthé, University of Rochester

A.K. Zholkovsky: Two Articles

"Lev Tolstoi i Mikhail Zoshchenko kak zerkalo i zazerkal'e russkoi revolutsii." Sintaksis, 16 (1986): 103-128.

"Three on Courtship, Corpses, and Culture: Tolstoj, 'Posle bala' — Zoshchenko, 'Dama s cvetami' — E. Ginzburg, 'Rai pod mikroskopom'." Wiener Slawistischer Almanakh, 22 (1988): 7-24.

These two articles cover a lot of ground, from textual analysis of particular works to a capsule history of Russian literature and culture. What unifies the articles, individually and taken together is their author's structuralist approach. Professor Zholkovsky takes the trouble to explain his methodology, and even those who do not share the philosophy that underlies it can learn from his application of it both to texts and to culture.

The basic division that Zholkovsky explores in both articles is that between nature and culture, or convention. Applying the insights of V.B. Shklovskii, to whose memory he dedicates the earlier of these pieces, he explores Tolstoy's attack on convention as it manifests itself in ostranenie and in the deliberately awkward speech of certain Tolstoy characters. He places this attack in an historical-philosophical context that goes back to Rousseau, and he also

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notes its contribution to the Russian Revolution. To the extent that Tolstoy dedicated himself to the destruction of the conventions which supported prerevolutionary Russian society, he is indeed, says Zholkovsky, the revolutionary moujik that Lenin saw in him. A scene like Natasha's perception of the opera, for instance, which seems to make a moral point only, ultimately has enormous political consequences.

The revolution replaced tsarist "culture" with "nature," which in turn gave rise to the conventions of Soviet society. Without denying Tolstoy's contribution to this new reality (and especially to Socialist Realism), Zholkovsky reminds dissident Soviet intellectuals who reject Tolstoy that the great man had many sides. Lenin's aristocratic moujik was also a Christian preacher of non-resistance. Having sounded this rarely heard note of moderation in the debate among Soviets over Tolstoy's legacy, Zholkovsky goes on to draw "structural" and "historical" parallels between him and Soviet writers, chiefly but not exclusively Zoshchenko. He makes and illustrates a neat point. Soviet writers use ostranenie to criticize the vulgarity and even brutality (Ginzburg) of primitive or "natural" elements of Soviet society which may owe something to Tolstoy. Zoshchenko, directly influenced by Nietzsche, seems to reject prerevolutionary values without embracing the new reality. For Bulgakov and E. Ginzburg, culture replaces nature as an ideal.

What makes these articles so fascinating, and what a review cannot, of course, reproduce, is the rich context in which Zholkovsky places them. Around every point cluster reflections from Russian history or philosophy or even Structuralism. The reader may not swallow all of what Zholkovsky says, but he will certainly find food for thought in these two articles.

Both articles, but especially the second one, contain analyses of Soviet works by which Zholkovsky illustrates their differences and similarities to one another and to Tolstoy on the issue of nature vs. culture. Zholkovsky's later article starts out with a detailed and original analysis of "Posle bala" which will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. Here too, in Zholkovsky's opinion, the dichotomy of nature and culture is at work, with nature in the second half of the story (as revealed in the suffering Tartar's body) undermining the "cultural" love of the narrator for the general's daughter at the ball. The society which provides the congenial setting for the narrator's love at the ball reveals its dark side at the flogging, where its laws forbid any freedom — the Tartar is being punished for desertion — or compassion for the prisoner. The conventionality of the narrator's love for Varenka is signified by his deliberate denial of her (and his) corporeality, while the flogging corrects this idealism by forcing the narrator to contemplate a suffering body. But, according to Zholkovsky, the story is a "soft-sell": "the narrator suspends general judgement about good and evil, making only a personal choice and somewhat naively concluding that the colonel might know something that would justify the cruelty" (10). Zholkovsky shows how

"the Tartar functions as Varenka's counterpart [and] the scene emblemizes the replacement of societal love with love for a suffering Christ" (11). So the closure "reintegrates," that is, redeems, the narrator's ideal love. Zholkovsky remarks in a footnote (19) that neither Tolstoy nor his narrator seem to have returned to "nature" at all: "although [the Tartar's body is] physically bared, semiotically it is clothed in cultural garb — that of the Christian myth. Like Pierre, Tolstoj (and certainly his hero in the story) seems doomed forever to rend the 'bronze garments' of convention after convention only to accept each subsequent painted matreshka-doll as the absolutely natural one" (19).

Zholkovsky has prospected in the rough and little known territory of Tolstoy's late fiction and he has struck it rich. In "Posle bala" he has uncovered a dark little gem which sparkles in the setting his reading provides for it. I would dispute this reading only at two points. I agree that the narrator of the story seems indecisive in judgement if not in action. Tolstoy, however, carefully distances himself from this narrator. He signs and dates his work in historical time and place (Yasnaya Polyana, 20 August 1903); and he or his first person surrogate hears the anecdote rather than relating it himself. (The structure of the story suggests a Turgenev novella, and it may be that Tolstoy intends it as, among other things, a somewhat sympathetic parody of Turgenev.) The narrator seems to have spent his life as a private philanthropist, and the writer (not the narrator) condemns the society whose cruelty repelled such a fine youth. I also think that the distinction between nature and culture as it unfolds in Zholkovsky's reading does not do justice to Tolstoy's intention. The love which the youth feels for Varenka is not merely conventional. It "freed up all the capacity for love hidden in my soul. At that moment I embraced the whole world with my love." At the ball, in deference to young love, the general is willing to break rules at crucial moments (as when he delivers his daughter to the narrator for a dance out of turn). Not the nakedness of the Tartar's body, but the general's unveiled cruelty destroys the narrator's love for Varenka. Zholkovsky is right to compare the flogging to a rape: Tolstoy believed that sexual lust and the lust for power which stands revealed at the flogging as the true force behind society's rules have a common source in our animal natures. After what he has seen, the narrator interprets the joyful smiles and vitality of both the general and his daughter as carnal and, almost in spite of himself, he turns against them and the society they represent. The audience to whom the narrator tells his story equates love and sex (simple nature), and against this attitude the narrator describes "real," that is, ideal love. It returns at the story's end because, as Zholkovsky observes, it finds its true object in a "suffering Christ." So Tolstoy defended the fundamental mysteriousness of the world against the materialism which dominated in his day as it does now. Perhaps the structural approach to literature, which, as Zholkovsky informs us, owes so much to relativism championed by Nietzsche, cannot take seriously the idealism which the later Tolstoy opposes alike to mere

nature and convention.

Whether that idealism deserves serious consideration is a question which a reader might ponder after he has fully understood Tolstoy's argument in "Posle bala" and other stories. Zholkovsky has pointed the way toward such an understanding. Both the reading of "Posle bala" and Zholkovsky's reflections on Tolstoy's place in Russian literature and culture are valuable contributions to Tolstoy scholarship.

Donna Orwin, CREES, University of Toronto

Peter Ulf Møller, Postlude to the Kreutzer Sonata. Tolstoj and the debate on sexual morality in Russian literature of the 1890s. Trans. from Danish by John Kendal. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988.

Because of its semi-pornographic nature, the Kreutzer Sonata had a unique reception in Russia, becoming simultaneously the first example of both samizdat and tamizdat literature. The "sex question" of the late 19th century manifested itself in eroticism and decadence in the arts, and in evolving socio-political attitudes on women's liberation, including a radical rejection of marriage by thinkers and authors as different as Hardy, Rossetti and Tolstoy. The particular value of this study, which takes as its starting point the social and literary response to the Kreutzer Sonata, is its comprehensive, thoroughly documented and generously illustrated narrative of the shift in public attitudes provoked by Tolstoy's attack on romantic love and marriage.

Essentially a reception study, this book traces the impact of the Kreutzer Sonata on the Russian intelligentsia from the private arena of Sofja Tolstja's repressed hostility and ambivalence while transcribing the manuscript and wrestling with the censorship to the general shock and perturbation of the public. The audience response is made audible in this book through substantial quotations from Tolstoy's voluminous correspondence on the topic, and through detailed descriptions of the gatherings where the manuscript was privately read, discussed, transcribed and circulated.

On one notable occasion, Tolstoy himself read the Kreutzer Sonata aloud to a select group of friends, but only after the women had been asked to leave the room! While gender considerations do not motivate this study (Møller states in the Introduction that "my book is not about sexual morality"), these issues are unavoidable when exploring readers' responses. Møller acknowledges, for example, the difference in male and female responses to the "sexual question" in general and to the Kreutzer Sonata in particular. His survey of the letters Tolstoy received suggests that, on the whole, women readers responded to the work more favorably than men, and expressed greater concern over the problem of sexual morality, a gender-based sensitivity Tolstoy himself acknowledged in his diaries and letters.

Møller identifies three trends in the turn of the century debate on sexual morality: the "morality of the 1860s," the "glove" morality (so named after Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's play A Glove, which attacked the sexual double standard), and Christian sexual morality, the latter problematized by a dispute over clerical readings of Scripture. The continuing debate in Russian letters is addressed both as an echo of the Tolstoyan controversy and as an aspect of Symbolist thought on marriage, sexuality, and the body in the writings of Soloviev, Gippius, Merezhkovsky, and Rozanov. A unique feature of the study is the author's familiarity with Scandinavian debates on sexual morality which influenced and were influenced by Russian sources.

In the opening chapters, Møller establishes the thematics of the Kreutzer Sonata as treated in a literary style consistent with Tolstoy's emergent aesthetic theory. Møller thus establishes a unity in pre- and post-conversion Tolstoyan aesthetics, but has then to account for the radical shift in Tolstoy's attitudes on the "women question" from the conservative views he expressed in his essays of the 80s ("an ideal woman would not say it was enough after two, or after 20 births," What, The, Must We Do?) to the apparent affinities with radical feminism projected in the Kreutzer Sonata. Møller convincingly argues that the Kreutzer Sonata served as a vehicle for the personal clarification of these issues in Tolstoyan thought, although he is careful to sustain the reader's awareness of the ironic distance between Pozdnyshev's narrative and Tolstoy's authorship. Drawing on various statements from Tolstoy's letters and diaries, Møller solicits greater recognition of Tolstoy's belief in sexual continence, an aspect of Tolstoyanism that has frequently been downplayed in the criticism as an eccentricity.

The second and third chapters outline the history of censorship and the illegal dissemination of the tale, a narrative that allows Møller to introduce Sofja Andreevna in her role as editor of the collected works (the Kreutzer Sonata was to have appeared in volume 13) and as a player in the drama of marital friction which unquestionably contributed to Tolstoy's attitudes on marriage. One of the most intriguing aspects of this study is the chapter on the "counter literature," where Møller describes Sofja Andreevna's own version of the Kreutzer Sonata, "Who is to Blame?" which, together with her son Lev's version, "Chopin's Prelude," number the first two works of the "counter-literature." Other examples include a variety of polemical re-writings of the Kreutzer Sonata from various points of view, for example: "The Violinist's Kreutzer Sonata. Trukachevsky's Notes" and "Her Kreutzer Sonata. From Mrs. Pozdnyshev's Diary" both supply the missing voices of Pozdnyshev's narrative. More serious responses came from the pens of Leskov and, of course, Chekhov, whose writings on the problem of the relations between the sexes receive an entire chapter in Møller's study.

The central chapters on the debate over sexual morality in the context of the Kreutzer Sonata are the heart of the book. Møller proposes that Tolstoy's role in the debate was that of liberator-

provocateur: subjects which were previously taboo now became legitimate topics of discussion which could be debated in mixed company. Despite the fact of the official suppression of the tale because of its pornographic nature, most members of the intelligentsia became acquainted with the contents of the tale through the attacks levelled against it; one such unintentionally revealing critique came from the clergyman, Nikanor, who voiced the Church's concern that Tolstoy had misunderstood Christian doctrine, and quoted "the wrong Biblical passages." Because of the questions raised in the debate about Russian Orthodox interpretations of Christ's teaching on love and marriage, the debate continued to be meaningful in Symbolist thought of the following decade. Furthermore, the decadent celebration of the body can be read as a direct reaction against Tolstoyan asceticism.

The three concluding chapters form a separate section of the book on the place of love, the body, and sexuality in Symbolist thought. This topic could occupy an entire book in its own right, and if there is a weakness in Møller's study, it is the confinement of what could be said about Symbolist views on the body and sexuality to observations resonant to the Kreutzer Sonata. The weakest of the three chapters is the discussion of Gippius, which never rises beyond plot summaries and the citation of her famous line, "I want that which is not in this world." Despite the complexity of Gippius' oeuvre and the wealth of biographical and documentary materials on the problem of beauty and the body for Gippius, Møller unaccountably argues, "it was more Merezhkovsky's province to ponder where beauty and the love of life had disappeared during the course of history." The section on Merezhkovsky which follows pays ample tribute to the critic's distinction between "flesh" and "spirit" and is, in every way, an exemplary discussion of aesthetics in theory and practice. While it is true that Merezhkovsky penned more works directed at the "sexual question" ("our new question above all others") and Tolstoyan asceticism, Møller's skill at utilizing documentary genres and belles-lettres failed him in the case of Gippius. Briusov is similarly condensed into a three-page discussion.

The chapter on Soloviev rightly introduces philosophical sources from Plato to Gnosticism to explicate Soloviev's views of love. Yet, surely these sources were important for Tolstoy as well? The philosophical contextualization of Soloviev's principles of the Eternal Feminine alert the reader to an absence of an enriched discussion of these problems throughout the book. Ultimately, the pairing of Soloviev with Tolstoy in this chapter reduces the complexity of Tolstoy's views to the ideas in the Kreutzer Sonata as a solitary response to the New Testament; thus Tolstoy's thought is deprived of the philosophical context which Møller reserves exclusively for Soloviev.

The concluding chapter on Rozanov summarizes his belief in "immortality in genitalibus" in a surprisingly uncritical fashion. While it is fascinating to observe the late nineteenth century turn toward asceticism and the decadent return to a celebration of the body, the implications of an evolving morality in a secularized, pre-

Revolutionary culture are only hinted at by Møller: "[this] theme arises as a protest against the Kreutzer Sonata and its doctrine of chastity [and] continues into a period in which the raising of sexual morality was not nearly as topical as the question of sexual liberation without any kind of religious justification."

With the exception of the final chapters, Møller's study is an exemplary account of a unique case in literary reception. This is truly an illustrated history of the Kreutzer Sonata: the book is generously illustrated with reproductions of rare photographs and paintings, for example, one of Masiutin's unpublished woodblock illustrations for the Kreutzer Sonata; cartoons referring to the debate, such as the dialogue at the piano: "Play the Kreutzer Sonata for me." "No, wait! We're not even married yet!" The translation is graceful for the most part, but the translator apparently does not know Russian and did not bother to familiarize himself with standard English translations of Russian works. The double indemnity of a twice-translated title resulted in such infelicitous renderings as "Why do People Drug Their Senses?" or "What Should We Then Do?" rather than the more usual "Why Do People Stupify Themselves" or "What, the, Must We Do?" The translation worsens progressively with the greatest proportion of howlers and non-grammatical expressions in the final chapters.

Despite its deceptively narrow focus, Møller's study deftly avoids most of the traps of literary historical accounts. It achieves an exemplary balance of evocative detail, literary criticism and intellectual history.

Amy Mandelker, City University of New York Graduate Center

Forthcoming

Michael Katz (University of Texas, Austin) has sent word that he is editing a Norton Critical Edition of Tolstoy's Short Fiction, and he has supplied the following Table of Contents:

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BACKGROUNDS AND SOURCES: A History of Yesterday (1851)
 The Memoirs of a Madman (1884)
 Diary for 1855
 Selected Letters 1858-1895

The CRITICISM section includes essays by: Henry Gifford, Gary Saul Morson, Caryl Emerson, N.G. Chernyshevsky, Boris Eikhenbaum, Mikhail Bakhtin, Renato Poggioli, Kathleen Parthé, John Bayley, Y.T. Dayanada, Vladimir Nabokov, Dorothy Green, Stephen Baehr, N.K. Mikhailovsky, Richard Gustafson, Elizabeth Trahan, Gary R. Jahn, and Donald Barthelme. There will also be a Chronology of Tolstoy's Life and Work and a Selected Bibliography.

From the University of California Press we received an anthology of articles on Tolstoy edited by Hugh McLean called In The Shade of the Giant. We received this volume too late to include a review in this issue but, because it looks so interesting, we will give the readers of this journal a preview of the book's contents by quoting from the publisher: "John Weeks analyzes the sound symbolism in Andrei Bolkonsky's death in War and Peace. Concentrating on Anna Karenina, Andrew Wachtel discerns a death-and-resurrection subtext; Irina Gutkin explores Tolstoy's use of Platonism; Joan Grossman traces the echoes of the nineteenth-century 'society tale'; and Hugh McLean focuses on ambiguities in the relationship between real-life models and fictional episodes in the novel. Rounding out the collection, John Kopper focuses on a series of sexual linkages in Tolstoy's late fiction, and Ruth Rischin examines the reverberations of music in Tolstoy's works."

The State of the Art

RE-READING TOLSTOY: NEW DIRECTIONS IN TOLSTOY SCHOLARSHIP

Amy Mandelker, CUNY Graduate Center

The act of re-reading may follow an earlier mis-reading or missed reading; it may be motivated by the need to re-evaluate, re-appraise, or re-habilitate what was read, or perhaps not read. The compulsion to repeat a textual experience could be interpreted by psychoanalytically oriented critics as the desire to complete a transferential mastery over meaning. Feminist and deconstructionist criticism demands re-reading in order to expose the indeterminacy of meaning, to recognize the unconsciously dominant ideology which informed and deformed previous readings, no matter how cogently objective and analytical critical procedures may have seemed within a prior context. The impulse to re-read may, finally, reflect a change in perceptions, in experience, and in the practice of the art of reading itself.

We re-read certain works every semester within the contexts of various curricular configurations; we experience the sensation of re-reading when our students express their own, unique, often naive reading experiences. The value of re-reading may, in this sense, be the generation of new insights, similar to those produced by the literary technique of estrangement (*ostranenie*). The sensation of renewed perception created by distancing readings over time thus resembles the novelty of experiencing readings from an "other" position or perspective.

There is no need to elaborate on the continuous process of the re-evaluation of literary works over time as different modes or movements are valorized by the academy, and the canon of a literary tradition is challenged or reconstituted. As a result of socio-cultural trends or curricular needs, previously over-looked or marginalized authors are promoted to new positions of prominence, while the "greats" may suddenly be dethroned, their reputation downplayed as over-rated. Trends in literary canonization are apt to reflect shifts in critical theory; or, as Hartmann has observed, the opposite is also the case: "every literary theory is based on the experience of a limited canon or generalized strongly from a particular text/milieu."¹ An example of this principle is the interconnection between the historical avant-gardes of Europe and Russia and their academic *confreres*, the Formalists and New Critics who privileged avant-garde artistic praxis in their critical formulations.

To recognize the historicity of evaluation in the humanities, we must also take note of the influence of successive generations of scholars within institutions and schools: the adoption of innovative theoretical and critical imperatives often signals the arrival of a new generation of scholars within the academy. Such a change in generations is indeed perceptible among recent Ph.D.s in Slavic Languages and Literatures who received their education in the 1980s. Formal training in modern languages, linguistics and comparative literature during this decade was dominated by Structuralist procedure, yet, simultaneously, the United States was bombarded by a series of European, especially French, post-Structuralist critical movements. The experience of this generation had not been vocalized; but to have been trained in the empiricist methodologies of linguistic poetics, close readings and Structuralist, grammarian or narratological approaches "indoors" (inside the classroom) was insufficient insulation against the theoretical turmoil one could hear raging "outdoors": the post-Structuralist deconstruction of any empiricist procedure and the skepticism of any communicative endeavor.

Since Slavic studies are comparatively recent areas of specialization in the West, dating from the early 1950s, it is not surprising that the field as a whole should experience dynamic shifts in focus and concerns, a turbulence which is augmented by the unique socio-political and ideological complexities of Russian and Soviet culture. Without adhering to a strict Kuhnsian interpretation, one may note a definite transition between the path-breaking and foundation-laying of the first generations of Western Slavists, and the theoretical explorations of more recent generations.

These new generations have already had an impact on Slavic scholarship: in the choice of the Silver Age as the leading area of specialization; in an increased appreciation for literary works which invite complex literary analysis, and, finally, in the area which will concern us here, the re-reading, or re-evaluating of those major authors and texts which form the core canon of Russian literary history. Of these major figures, Tolstoy has been the most securely canonized in the West, and, paradoxically, was, until recently, the least studied major figure in Russian literature. Re-reading Tolstoy from a variety of new critical and theoretical perspectives promises to liberate the literary giant from his pedestal.

This article will review some of the works in press or in progress on Tolstoy by Slavists who received their Ph.D.s in the 1980s and whose work is inspired by recent developments in critical theory and practise. Several different methodological and theoretical approaches to Tolstoy are represented in the work of the scholars discussed here: New Critical close reading and mythological criticism; narratological investigations; comparative approaches with theoretical implications for the poetics of transmission, translation, influence and intertextuality; semiotic investigations; and post-Structuralism in its various avatars: Derridean deconstruction; feminist, or gender criticism; and socio-criticism. None of the scholars whose work is discussed here can be said to

mechanistically institute critical practises, rather, in the best spirit of contemporary criticisms, each pursues a selectively eclectic, or pluralist approach, with the creative freedom of bricolage. As a result, their work avoids the automatic recitation of jargon and is not imbedded or imprisoned within theoretical doctrine.

Even from the now traditional perspective of the New Criticism, a critical strategy which privileges texts exemplifying self-reflexivity and unity of purpose, Tolstoy's art has been perceived as "Life, not Art"², a dismissive categorization of his masterstvo which places it beyond the realm of critical analysis. "There are times," wrote Lionel Trilling, "when the literary critic can do nothing more than point, and Anna Karenina presents him with an occasion when his critical function is reduced to this primitive activity."³

It would seem that the picture drawn by Philip Rahv in his 1946 essay, "The Green Twig and the Black Trunk," has conditioned many critics' readings of Tolstoy: "Tolstoy is the exact opposite of those writers, typical of the modern age, whose works are to be understood only in terms of their creative strategies and design.. .. Tolstoy was the least self-conscious in his use of the literary medium."⁴ In part this view must be attributed to the Western bias that barbarizes Tolstoy and Dostoevsky as crude Russians and "natural" untutored talents. Dostoevskian iconography offers a portrait of the frenetic writer and tortured epileptic gripped by poetic madness, racing against publishing deadlines and gambling debts; conversely, the legend of Tolstoy poses him barefoot and clad in a peasant shirt, a writer whose works were cleaved from life with one mighty blow by the Creator. As Nabokov mythologized Tolstoy in his poem:

Yet there remains
one thing we simply cannot reconstruct,
no matter how we poke, armed with our notepads,
just like reporters at a fire, around
his soul. It's to a certain secret throbbing--
the essence--that our access is denied.
The mystery is almost superhuman!
I mean the nights on which Tolstoy composed;
I mean the miracle, the hurricane
of images flying across the inky
expanse of sky in that hour of creation,
that hour of incarnation....For, the people
born on those nights were real.... /5/

This mythic view of an Olympian Tolstoy, the conflation of Tolstoy and God, pictured by Gorky as "two bears in a den," simultaneously inspires awe, and arouses the reader's resentment at textual manipulations which entrap him/her in moral structures which seem to demand a virtuous or virtuoso criticism.

Three recent publication events have been largely responsible for revising this critical view and for revitalizing scholarly interest in Tolstoy. First, the reappraisal of Bakhtin's schematic classification of Tolstoy as the monologic author and textual authority, cast always as Dostoevsky's "other" or foil, was successfully challenged in a series of articles by Morson (1981), Shukman (1984), and Emerson (1985).⁶ Morson's seminal investigation and proposals for elaborating a "poetics of didacticism"⁷ revised our resentment against Tolstoy's authorial voice by re-adjusting our reading of that voice as textual strategy rather than doctrinaire lecturing.

Second, Gustafson's synoptic and synthesizing study, Leo Tolstoy. Resident and Stranger (1986) queried the traditional perception of Tolstoy's oeuvre as cataclysmically divided between his pre- and post-conversion phases. Methodologically, Gustafson's incisive and probing close readings of key passages in the major prose fiction renewed possibilities for reading metaphor and imagery in Tolstoy as expressions of his "emblematic realism". Gustafson's subtle exegesis and recognition of Tolstoy's formal craftsmanship is a type of analysis found all too infrequently in the work of other scholars. Among those who have contributed close linguistic and structural readings of Tolstoy's prose works, studies by Parthé, Jahn, and Jackson have been influential.⁹

Finally, Morson's Hidden in Plain View. Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace' (1987)¹⁰ reworked the Formalist conception of Tolstoy as re-writing Western narrative models. Morson's book creates a new vision of Tolstoy as deconstructionist, a shatterer of systems, a skeptic of "semiotic totalitarianism", who saw in the human predisposition to metalepsis, the impossibility of an accurate or ultimate inscription or narration.

The monuments of recent Tolstoy scholarship briefly surveyed above have relocated our reading of Tolstoy within contemporary critical and theoretical concerns. In the past decade, these concerns in literary scholarship have become more intimately engaged with problems of epistemology and philosophy and the awareness of narrativity as one particular instance of a problematized, logocentric discourse.

John Kopper addresses precisely the issue of Tolstoy's concerns with the construction of narrative in his forthcoming study of "Tolstoy and the Narrative of Sex: A Reading of 'Father Sergius', 'The Devil' and 'The Kreutzer Sonata'."¹¹ Beginning with Lotman's definition of what constitutes an "event" in narrative,¹² Kopper suggests that Tolstoy continually challenged himself by posing increasingly difficult problems in composition, setting himself the task of creating a satisfactory narrative from unpromising narrative propositions. Kopper summarizes his work as follows:

the "sex" stories of the late 80s and 90s [are] a working through the problem of making stories out of sexual conflict. [Tolstoy] set himself high hurdles in the "sex

stories": in Tolstoy's society male sexuality had few restrictions placed upon it and hence was not easily subject to narration: it rarely made "the good story". I conclude that Tolstoy takes a rather infertile semi-ological field and produces narrative....The stories themselves come to include and reduplicate many aspects of the sexual act....[thus] the "sex stories" are Tolstoy's metaliterature, a case where he reflects on his own earlier writings, and produces narrative out of his own struggle.

The questions of sexuality in Tolstoy and the "subject" of narration are also addressed in Stephanie Sandler's study of gender in War and Peace. Any feminist reading of Tolstoy which attempts to revise his image as misogynist is destined to run aground against damning biographical evidence recorded in his diaries, journals and his wife's account of their marriage. Yet, to read artistic work through the prism of biography as Ruth Benson has done in her book Women in Tolstoy¹³ may deprive us of an appreciation of other modes and ideological commitments which may also be inscribed in the text. Recent feminist readings of Tolstoy, notably Barbara Heldt's revisionary essay, "Tolstoy's Path to Feminism,"¹⁴ recovers Tolstoy's empathy towards women from his artistic oeuvre and places his concern with women at the center of his creative intentions. Sandler's work in progress, "Reading Gender in War and Peace", adopts this stance and pursues a reading of the novel's imagery, metaphors and presentations of sex roles to reveal Tolstoy's artistic design, which she defines as "the correlation of values with gender.... People are successful in the novel only when they manifest a generous presence of the so-called 'feminine' traits that history has taught us to despise." Sandler notes Tolstoy's exaltation of those attributes which are traditionally viewed as feminine—empathetic relating to others, reliance on intuition, the capacity for nurturing—and observes that these features characterize both Platon Karataev and Kutuzov. Similarly, Sandler explores women characters' acquisition of masculine traits, such as Natasha at the hunt, or the cross-dressing at the Rostov's Christmas celebration. She concludes that "Tolstoy is unusually willing to experiment with the stereotypes of gender and to imagine characters who transcend themselves and are thus most themselves by crossing gender boundaries."¹⁵

Reading Tolstoyan characters as the focal point of intersecting role models or culturally imposed paradigms also forms the central concern of Anthony Anemone's Derridean construal of Tolstoy's "The Cossacks," titled, "Tolstoy and différance: The Case of Kazaki". In Anemone's assessment,

Tolstoy's Cossacks is traditionally considered a problem text, whose crux revolves around the author's complex and unresolved relationship to Rousseau's notion of the natural as superior to the civilized. While Tolstoy tests this hypothesis in Cossacks, the results have seemed, to

most readers, ambiguous and unsatisfying....A deconstructive reading of Rousseau's influence on Tolstoy will highlight the problem in a different way.

Tolstoy's desire to control the ever elusive and receding dichotomy between Nature and Culture is typical of the Western philosophical and literary tradition, which Derrida has called "the metaphysics of presence." It is another attempt to control the infinite play of différance and meaning in literary texts. The subverting of the major dichotomies established in the Cossacks (nature and culture, country and city, Cossack and Russian, innocent and corrupt, spontaneous and self-conscious, etc.) is then seen not as a sign of the artistic or philosophical immaturity of the author, but as the inevitable effect of the philosophical and linguistic culture in which Tolstoy is completely embedded.

Recognizing the effect of cultural contexts which subtly politicize the activities of reading and writing is at the basis of current trends in socio-criticism. Natasha Sankovich's preliminary exploration of Tolstoy's theories of cognition, as deduced from his fiction and other writings, are predicated on dialogic theories of the critic's responsibilities and the political implications of any communicative act.¹⁶ Sankovich's dissertation employs a "reader-response method that examines the conventions, expectations and limitations of authorial reading....The authorial audience is the audience about whom the author has made certain assumptions concerning its values and beliefs." Sankovich determines four categories of consciousness in Tolstoyan epistemology: awareness, imagination, understanding and memory. Sankovich intends to explore the interaction of these four modes of consciousness within Tolstoy's oeuvre as they govern the production and reception of texts.

"Reception", or the perception or appropriation of an author or text(s) by another culture constitutes the major thrust of comparative literary studies represented here in the works in progress by Anna Tavis and Isabelle Naginski.

Tavis's book in progress, Rilke's Dialogues with Russia examines Rilke's fascination with Russian culture, which was embodied for him in the "overpowering image" of Tolstoy. Tavis finds that Tolstoy's crisis and "quarrel with art became paradigmatic for Rilke's image of Russia," ending in his rejection of Tolstoy. Thus, Rilke's writings on Tolstoy reflect his attempt to resolve his own artistic crisis, and to determine "the poet's individual quest to define his artistic mission." Tavis's chapter on Rilke and Tolstoy, "Rilke's Controversy with Leo Tolstoy" explores the intertextual relationship between Rilke's Über Kunst as response to What is Art?; the Tolstoy themes in the early variant concluding chapters of Malte Laurids Brigge; and the interpersonal relationship between the two artists as enacted in Rilke's two visits to Tolstoy. Examining these examples of "influence by negation" and intercultural dialogue enables Tavis to discuss the

"Tolstoy question" of the late 19th/early 20th centuries to explore the bi-valent characteristics of the politics of appropriation. Thus, Tavis concludes:

An examination of Tolstoy's role in Rilke's life may clarify and, at the same time, further complicate the general question of artistic "influences." The rightly chosen "negative" counterpart, the artist's unavoidable "other", may prove more potent for the artist's creation of his/her own personality than would a long succession of "positive" models. And the dialogic drama of influences, after all, is played out in the polyphony of texts. /17/

The dialogic model and the cross-cultural fertilization of literary texts is also the focus of Isabelle Naginski's forthcoming book Literary Traffic. French Writers and the Nineteenth-Century Russian Novel. Naginski focuses on French influences in the rise of the Russian novel, elucidating "how the originality of the Russian novel was made possible...through the appropriation of a certain number of influential French genesis-texts." Part Three of her book deals with Tolstoy and his relationship to Rousseau ("Two Savages at the Opera") and Stendhal ("On the Battlefield", "The Mythology of Childhood," and "The Narrative Eye"). Naginski employs a Bakhtinian framework to explore the process of textual transmission and the "mosaic of quotations"¹⁸ which constitutes "haunted discourse" (discours hanté). Naginski's examination of the haunting of Tolstoy's discourse by Stendhal relies on cases of direct and verifiable influence (for example, Stendhal's Waterloo scene in La Chartreuse de Parme and Tolstoy's military descriptions in War and Peace), as well as noting the curious and intriguing cases of parallel thematic development which she describes in both authors' proclivity for "autobiographical reduplication, that is, the constant and repeated projection of self into their literary works."

The problematic of self-construction via narrative, the autobiographical impulse which inspires the recherche de temps perdu, is the subject of Andrew Wachtel's forthcoming book, The Battle for Childhood. Like Naginski, Wachtel explores Tolstoy's Childhood in mythological terms as the attempt to recapture a "golden age." Wachtel sees Tolstoy's autobiographical work as paradigmatic for the 19th century Russian autobiography, represented in the novels of Aksakov; Gorkij, Belyj, and Bunin. Wachtel also offers a mythological reading of Anna Karenina in his article "Death and Resurrection in Anna Karenina."¹⁹ Wachtel notes the occurrence of a single myth of death and resurrection transposed into two modes in the novel: the theme is treated in Christian terms in the story of Levin and Kitty, while pagan and Roman imagery appear in Anna and Vronsky's myth.

While the studies surveyed here adopt a variety of methodologies and theoretical orientations, one common thread among them is the

value and importance placed on Bakhtin's literary theories of dialogism, polyphony and absolute language. The shared appreciation for Bakhtin in part reflects a contemporary vogue which counterpoises Bakhtin's dialogism to Derridean relativism. Yet, the citation of Bakhtin throughout the scholarly works reviewed here represents more than the desire to flaunt the Slavic possession of a literary theorist who has gained celebrity in the West. Bakhtin's importance as a reader of Tolstoy, and the implications of this type of reading for Tolstoy scholarship in general was discussed above (see note 6). Bakhtin's ultimate value for the future of literary criticism is still an unfinalizable potential. As Bakhtin himself observed of scholarship in the humanities,

It is hardly possible to speak about necessity in the humanities. It is scientifically possible only to disclose the possibilities.... /20/

Some of the possibilities created here by re-reading from alternative perspectives within a diversity of contexts set the stage for new critical encounters with Tolstoy. The plurality of scholarly approaches, the re-voicing and revising of earlier critical views, results in a multiplicity of interpretations which is commensurate with the vastness of Tolstoy's own creation. As Bakhtin remarked concerning the interplay of the familiar and the new in scholarship:

Both of these aspects (recognition of the repeated and discovery of the new) should merge inseparably in the living act of understanding.... Thus, understanding supplements the text: it is active and also creative by nature. Creative understanding continues creativity, and multiplies the artistic wealth of humanity. /21/

Amy Mandelker's article, "A Painted Lady: The Poetics of ekphrasis in Anna Karenina" is in press at Comparative Literature. She has a book in progress, The Framing of Anna Karenina: Tolstoy, the Woman Question, and the Novel of Adultery, which explores the semiotics of imagery in Anna Karenina and other European novels of adultery from a socio-critical and feminist perspective.

NOTES

1. Geoffrey Hartmann, "A Short History of Practical Criticism," New Literary History 10 (1978-9): 501.
2. Matthew Arnold, "Count Leo Tolstoy," (1887) in Henry Gifford, ed. Leo Tolstoy. (Hammondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1971): 63.
3. Lionel Trilling, The Opposing Self (1955) in Edward Wasiolek, ed. Critical Essays on Tolstoy. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986): 148.

4. Philip Rahv, "Tolstoy: The Green Twig and the Black Trunk" (1946) in Henry Gifford, ed., 22.
5. Vladimir Nabokov, "Tolstoy." Translated by Dmitri Nabokov.
6. Morson's article first appeared as "Tolstoy's Absolute Language," in Gary Saul Morson, ed. Bakhtin, Essays and Dialogues on his Work. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981): 123-44. The issues raised concerning Bakhtin's reading of Tolstoy were addressed by Ann Shukman, "Bakhtin and Tolstoy," Studies in Twentieth Century Literature, Fall 1984: 57-74 and Caryl Emerson, "The Tolstoy Connection in Bakhtin," PMLA Winter 1985.
7. Gary Saul Morson, "The Reader as Voyeur," in Harold Bloom, ed. Tolstoy. (NY: Chelsea House, 1983).
8. Richard Gustafson, Leo Tolstoy. Resident and Stranger. (Princeton: PUP, 1986). As I compiled this review and spoke with young scholars I knew who were working on Tolstoy, an interesting common experience emerged: that of having studied with Professor Richard Gustafson, either as an undergraduate or graduate student at Columbia University and Barnard College; or of having been inspired by his recent book. While Professor Gustafson might prefer to disclaim having founded a "school" of Tolstoy scholarship, the colleagues with whom I spoke all wished to acknowledge the debt of enlightenment and inspiration we owe to his teaching and writing.
9. Robert L. Jackson's "Chance and Design in Anna Karenina" in Peter Demetz, et al., eds. The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation and History (New Haven: Yale UP, 1968) is one of the few studies which brilliantly integrates Tolstoy's imagery with his structural design. Parthé's close readings of linguistic and grammatical patterns in Tolstoy are unique examples of this approach: see, for example, Kathleen Parthé, "Death Masks in Tolstoi," Slavic Review 41 (1982): 297-305, and by the same author, "Tolstoy and the Geometry of Fear," Modern Language Studies XV:4 (1985): 80-94. Gary Jahn's exploration of railroad imagery in "The Image of the Railroad in Anna Karenina," Slavic and East European Journal 25 (1981), is an example of a thorough and probing investigation of one productive image in Tolstoy. This list is not intended to be comprehensive, simply to indicate some outstanding examples of unusual methodological approaches to Tolstoy.
10. Gary Saul Morson, Hidden in Plain View. Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace'. (Stanford: SUP, 1987).
11. John Kopper, "Tolstoy and the Narrative of Sex: A Reading of 'Father Sergius,' 'The Devil' and 'The Kreutzer Sonata'" in Hugh McLean, ed. In the Shade of the Giant (Berkeley: UCP, 1989).
12. Iurii Lotman, Struktura khudozhestvennogo teksta. (Providence: Brown UP, 1971).
13. Ruth Crego Benson, Women in Tolstoy. The Ideal and the Erotic. (Urbana: Univ. Illinois P, 1973).

14. Barbara Heldt, Terrible Perfection. Women in Russian Literature. (Bloomington:, Indiana UP, 1987).
 15. Stephanie Sandler, "Reading Gender in War and Peace." Unpublished manuscript presented at AATSEEL, Chicago, 1985.
 16. Natasha Sankovich, "Understanding the Critic's Role." Unpublished manuscript, 1988.
 17. Anna Tavis, "Rainer Maria Rilke and Tolstoy. Writing the Story of the Prodigal Son." Unpublished paper presented at the Seminar on "Representation and Identity," Williams College, 1988.
 18. Julia Kristeva, Critique, April 1967: 440-1.
 19. Andrew Wachtel, "Death and Resurrection in Anna Karenina," in Hugh McLean, ed.
 20. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Extracts from 'Notes' (1970-1971)," in Morson, ed., 180.
 21. Mikhail Bakhtin, "From Notes Made in 1970-71," in Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, Translated by Vern McGee. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, eds. (Austin: Univ. of Texas P, 1986): 142.
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Bibliography

The Tolstoy Studies Journal will publish an annual, annotated list of articles dealing with Lev Tolstoy and his works. Professor Gary Jahn of the University of Minnesota has agreed to compile this list. Members of the Society are requested to send Professor Jahn citations of and/or comments on articles on Tolstoy which they think suitable for inclusion in the annual list. Authors of articles are requested to send Professor Jahn an offprint, together with a brief abstract for inclusion in the listing. The annual list will contain two parts: the list for the immediately preceding year and an update of the list published the year before. The success of this annual compilation depends in large part on the conscientious initiative of those for whom it is primarily intended.

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1988

Dudek, G. "Die Kunst des Bewusstseinsstroms -- L.N. Tolstoj und J. Joyce." Zeitschrift fur Slavistik, 33 (1988), 27-34.

Edgerton, William B. "The Social Influence of Lev Tolstoj in Bulgaria" in American Contributions to the Tenth International Congress of Slavists, J.G. Harris, ed., Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1988: 123-38.

This paper addresses itself to the substance and influence of four of Tolstoy's later works: Confession, On Life, What I Believe, and The Kingdom of God is within You. The author's intention is focussed on the Tolstoyan experience in Bulgaria, where as "nowhere else on earth, with the possible exception of Russia itself, was the influence of Lev Tolstoj's religious writings [so] profound and pervasive..."

Folejewski, Zbigniew. "L.N.Tolstoj and Edward Abramowski on Art: Two Opposite Views?" In Studies in Slavic Literature and Culture in Honor of Zoya Yurieff, M. Sendich, ed. (East Lansing, MI: RLJ, 1988).

Fullenwider, Henry. "Leo Tolstoi and Paul Carus' 'The Open Court'." Russian Literature Triquarterly, no, 22 (1988), 221-238.

Presentation and anlysis of the relationship between Tolstoj and the American Paul Carus (1852-1919), whose publications

"The Open Court" and "The Monist" had the stated purpose of conciliating religion and science. The correspondence between Tolstoj and Carus is traced in detail. Special attention is given to the matter of Tolstoj's story "Karma," a modified version of Carus' story of the same name.

Gomon, M.L. "L.N. Tolstoj i G.R. Lindenberg (k istorii ličnyx vzaimootnošenij)." Voprosy russkoj literatury, vyp. 1(51), (1988), 17-19.

This brief paper is an account of the relationship between Tolstoj and G.R. Lindenberg (1862-1933). Lindenberg collaborated with Tolstoj most closely in famine relief (the early 1890s) and in the transportation to Canada of the sect of the Duxobory (late 1890s).

Holman, M.J. de K. "Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press: Vladimir Chertkov and his English Manager Arthur Fifield." Slavonic and East European Review, (1988), 181-197.

An account of the publishing activities of V.G. Chertkov during his exile in England (1897-1908) with special attention to the "Free Age Press," the organ through which English translations of Tolstoj's works were made available to the reading public. The foundation of the press is described, and much detail relating to the leading role played in its operations by Arthur Fifield is provided. The paper includes some interesting observations also on the not always Tolstoyan relationship between Chertkov and Tolstoj's leading English translator, Aylmer Maude.

Ivask, Jurij. "Akakij Gogolja i Akim Tolstogo." In Studies in Slavic in Slavic Literature and Culture in Honor of Zoya Yurieff, M. Sendich, ed. (East Lansing, MI: RLJ Press, 1988).

Laksin, V. "Vozvraščenie Tolstogo-myslitelja." Voprosy literatury, no. 5 (1988), 104-117.

In connection with his preparation of a volume of extracts from the foreign press recounting interviews and conversations with Tolstoj (a companion to the volume Interv'ju i besedy s L'vom Tolstym, which appeared in 1986 and presented a compilation of items from the Russian press) the author offers a discussion of the need for a re-evaluation of the writings of the late Tolstoj in the Soviet Union in order to rescue those works from the neglect and disrepute into which they have gradually fallen since the onset of the Soviet period.

Three aspects of Tolstoj's thought are singled out for discussion: (1) Tolstoj's teachings on simplicity of life and his opposition to ungoverned industrialization are presented as wholly consistent with the modern concern for the integrity of the planet's physical environment; (2) his teachings on moral self-perfection as dependent on the volition and free choice of the individual rather than as a product of the reform of the social structure in which the individual lives; and (3) the teaching of not resorting to

violence to oppose evil. Most striking is the way in which the author shows that these teachings are in conflict with long-standing presumptions of Soviet state policy and Marxist doctrine and affirms that the modern situation of the Soviet people illustrates that Tolstoj was well ahead of his time.

Especially in connection with point three does the author refer directly to Lenin's pronouncements on literature in the famous series of articles which he wrote about Tolstoj. He calls for an end to the absolute and literal veneration of these articles in favor of a re-interpretation conditioned by an awareness of the differences between the historical situation in which Lenin wrote them and the present.

Mondry, H. "One or Two 'Resurrections' in L. Tolstoj's Writing? (Fedorov and 'The Kreutzer Sonata')." Die Welt der Slaven, 33(1988), 169-82.

The author states her purpose as: "If we look at the tradition of criticism of "The Kreutzer Sonata" we find that it is the 'meaning' of Tolstoj's views on marriage and the physical relationships between the sexes which has always been at the centre of any debate. There is only one answer known to the question -- 'Why did the hero kill his wife?' -- and that answer is -- 'Jealousy.' While remaining within the framework of the exploration of the meaning of "The Kreutzer Sonata," the aim of this paper is to give a new answer to the above-stated question and to demonstrate the presence of 'imaginative form' in the story at the same time." The author connects the story to the trend in Russian 19th century thought which Rozanov identified as "skopičeskoe sžimanie planety," the renunciation of the flesh as discussed variously by Gogol', Solov'ev, and Leont'ev. The main attention of the author is on the main character of the story, Pozdnysev, as a reflection of and on the "common cause" philosophy of N. Fedorov. This relationship is used by the author to counter "the all-prevailing accusation of 'lack of imaginative' which has haunted the perception of the story in the works of its commentators."

Pahomov, George. "Tolstoj and the Epic Sense of Life: Homer and Tolstoj." In Studies in Slavic Literature and Culture in Honor of Zoya Yurieff, M. Sendich, ed. (East Lansing, MI: RLJ Press, 1988).

Redston, David. "Tolstoj and the Greek Gospel." Journal of Russian Studies, no. 54 (1988), 21-33.

Discussion of Tolstoj's acquaintance with the Greek language and Greek texts, especially with respect to his exegetical work with the New Testament and his "Soedinenie i perevod 4-x evangelij." A point is made of tracing the development of Tolstoj's theological ideas between their first formulation in the "Union and Translation of the Four Gospels" and their exposition in "V čem moja vera" ("What I Believe").

Ryan-Hayes, Karen. "Iskander and Tolstoj: The Parodical Implications of the Beast Narrator." SEEJ, 32 (1988), 225-236.

"In the 'Story of Old Habug's Mule', Iskander has applied the well-established literary device of the beast narrator to create a modern and society-specific satire. His story is...linked to Tolstoj's 'Kostomer' in a complex parodical relationship...The intertextual dialogue he carries on with Tolstoj enriches and strengthens his own satirical attacks on agricultural inefficiency, entrenches racial and social prejudice, and normative standards of prestige."

Schefski, Harold K. "Contrastive Parallelism in 'War and Peace': Sonja versus Natasha." Russian Literature, 23 (1988), 281-194.

Author's abstract: Eminent Tolstoj scholars, such as Eixenbaum and Shklovskij, often allude to the writer's predilection for contrastive parallelism as a structural device in his works. The technique achieves its greatest proliferation in War and Peace, where character juxtapositions abound. However, the one pitting Natasha against Sonja has often been overlooked because Sonja has been unfairly viewed as a minor figure in the novel. The aim of this paper is to upgrade Sonja's image by showing how she complements Natasha at every stage and how both girls achieve full character development only through their opposition to one another....It is proposed that after the ultimate pairings of Nikolaj with Princess Mar'ja and Natasha with P'er are made, Sonja should belong to Prince Andrej with whom she shares more traits than does Natasha. However, Tolstoj decided in favor of the Prince's death which channeled Sonja into tragic isolation.

Sendich, Munir. "English Translations of Tolstoy's 'War and Peace': An Analysis of Difficult Renderings." In Studies in Slavic Literature and Culture in Honor of Zoya Yurieff, M. Sendich, ed. (East Lansing, MI: RLJ Press, 1988).

Walsh, Harry H. "Elements of Classical German Idealism in Tolstoj's 'Philosophical Fragments.'" Germano-Slavica, 6 (1988), 3-16.

Author's abstract: In the critical literature devoted to Tolstoj's education and earliest writings it is customary to attribute great influence to thinkers of the Enlightenment. The eighteenth-century quality of Tolstoj's mind is often noted, not always with persuasive justification. Yet the youthful Tolstoj's "Philosophical Fragments" reveal thematic and textual traces not of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought, but rather of Classical German Idealism...It is argued that the young Tolstoj's predisposition to make use of Idealist metaphysics in the "Philosophical Fragments" persists into his mature writings and intensifies in his last years.

Recent Dissertations

CONCEPTS OF WAR IN L.N. TOLSTOY AND V.S. GROSSMAN

Frank Ellis, University of Bristol (UK)

Author's Note: In my doctoral thesis — "Vasily Grossman: The Genesis and Evolution of Heresy" (Univ. of Bristol, UK) — I demonstrate that the ideological, moral, and intellectual crisis which culminated in Life and Fate and Everything Flows began for Grossman in the thirties, and was intensified by his experiences at the front (1941-45) and by the public vilification he was subjected to in the post-war period. This excerpt on Grossman and Tolstoy is from the chapter "Concepts of War and Progress."***

Throughout the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) Grossman served as a correspondent for the Army newspaper Krasnaia zvezda (Red Star). His wartime sketches (ocherki) achieved great success, and at the height of the Stalingrad battle his frontline dispatches were avidly read by both soldiers and civilians. In addition, Grossman wrote a number of stories which continue to enjoy critical approval. To this period belong: "Narod bessmertn" (The People are Immortal, 1942), "Staryi uchitel'" (The Old Teacher, 1942), and "Zhizn'" (Life, 1943). In 1943 Grossman began work on Za pravoe delo (For a Just Cause, 1943-52), which together with his masterpiece, Zhizn' i sud'ba (Life and Fate, 1960), provides the most complete and powerful account of the Battle of Stalingrad available in Soviet war literature.

Circumstances surrounding Grossman's attempts to publish Life and Fate in the Soviet Union can only be described as bizarre. They have been well documented by Voinovich, so a brief account will be sufficient.¹ In October 1960, Grossman submitted a copy of the novel to the editorial board of Znamia, who in turn passed the manuscripts to the KGB; they responded by 'arresting' all remaining copies of the book and seizing rough drafts, typing equipment and carbon paper. Grossman was told that publication would be postponed for 250 years. While the author died in 1964, one copy escaped the attention of the KGB and was smuggled to the West, where extracts were serialised in Kontinent in the seventies.² In 1980 the full Russian version was published in Switzerland, and Soviet publication came eight years later.³

Since the end of World War Two, Soviet critics have actively sought a successor to Tolstoy in the field of war literature. I. Kuz'michev bemoaned the absence of any definitive chronicle of the nation's trauma:

***Editor's Note: This excerpt, edited for reasons of space, represents just one section of Frank Ellis' very interesting comparison of Tolstoy and Grossman. Readers who wish to see the complete chapter should contact the author directly.

We still do not have our War and Peace, that main book, which would tell us the whole truth about war.⁴

The demand among Soviet writers and critics for the 'main book' has not diminished with the passage of time. When writers were surveyed on the fortieth anniversary of the victory of Nazi Germany, large numbers still expressed the hope of seeing the new War and Peace.⁵ Grigory Baklanov, whose contribution to war literature is itself considerable, unreservedly affirms the significance of Tolstoy:

Anything of worth which has been created in Soviet war literature, be it on the First World War, the Civil War or the Great Patriotic War, is based on the Tolstoyan tradition.⁶

Tolstoy's writing (and it is worth emphasising that Baklanov does not confine himself to War and Peace) creates a set of criteria according to which all Soviet writers of war literature should be judged. Elements of this tradition are obvious in Grossman's prose. In both For a Just Cause and Life and Fate Grossman offers us a broad panorama of a nation at war and shows how Russian nationalism was as decisive in Hitler's demise as it was in the frustration of Napoleon's dreams. Grossman, although nominally a non-combatant, actively sought out and shared the dangers and privations of those about whom he wrote. This knowledge of war at the 'sharp end' is an essential feature of Grossman's realism. Grossman's highly successful Stalingrad sketches, of which there are thirteen altogether, have been compared to Tolstoy's Sevastopol Stories:

Both describe the heroic pages of the nation's life and both seek out those profound features of the national character which have shown themselves during these critical moments of history.⁷

Certain parallels do exist. Grossman's duties as a war correspondent at Stalingrad exposed him to the same dangers as the troops; Tolstoy, before being transferred to Sevastopol had attempted to produce a journal, a fact that is significant for the Sevastopol Stories:

The element of reportage, the eye-witness account, the diary, the notes of a war correspondent which we find in The Raid and The Wood-Felling, play an important role in the three Sevastopol Stories.⁸

There are also some major differences. Although the internal repercussions of the Crimean campaign were considerable, it cannot be said that Tsarist Russia was in any grave danger of being overrun by the British or French armies. In 1942, Russia was in a much worse situation. An entry in Grossman's notebook for 1942 reflects the sense of impending disaster: "We're done for. The thief has reached the heartland of our country."⁹

The Stalingrad sketches fall naturally into two parts. This is

consistent with the tenacious and bitterly contested defensive phase and the subsequent Soviet counter-attack launched on November 19, 1942. In this first phase, in keeping with its defensive character, Grossman seeks to demonstrate the commitment and resilience of the Russian soldier. Typical of this aim are the sketches: "Through Chekhov's Eyes", "Vlasov", "A Red Army Man's Soul", the various portraits in "The Stalingrad Battle" and "The Direction of the Main Blow". It is here that echoes of Tolstoy are most pronounced. Soldiers in Grossman's sketches emerge as archetypes, yet they are identifiable with living types and bear the stamp of 'veracity' (pravdivost').¹⁰

Concluding "Sevastopol in May", Tolstoy wrote that the hero of his tale was the truth.¹¹ The manner in which writers have dealt with the sordid and unglamorous aspects of war, not concentrating exclusively on acts of bravery, has become established as the most important criterion of the Tolstoyan tradition. Grossman's reportage does not entirely measure up to the severe standard set by Tolstoy; overt criticisms of the military leadership are absent. Nor do we find the grim detail of the casualty clearing-station. In addition, a recent study of war correspondents has been less than flattering about Grossman's journalism:

Grossman's literary style tended to be flowery and his dispatches of little use for the Western correspondents hungry for the facts.¹²

How strong then is the kinship between the Sevastopol Stories and the Stalingrad sketches? Like all war correspondents, Allied or Axis, Grossman's reports were subject to rigorous military censorship (Tolstoy had his problems with the censors as well).¹³ Also, it needs to be appreciated that Grossman covered the greater part of the battle. The majority of Western correspondents were not allowed anywhere near the frontline until after the German capitulation, and then only under strict escort. Grossman's diaries and essays comprise, therefore, a valuable, if somewhat incomplete historical source. As a literary source, they clearly mark the incunabula of characters, scenes and themes which are developed in greater detail in For a Just Cause and Life and Fate; themes first discussed in the Sevastopol Stories had undergone a similar evolution in the creation of War and Peace.

War reportage is more than just the presentation of factual evidence; it inevitably includes the reporter's impressions and represents a combination of fact, analysis and description. Some critics even see it as a distinct genre.¹⁴ Operating within the stringent parameters of military censorship, Grossman concentrates the thrust of his reporting on personalities, their hopes and fears, morale and the peculiarities of street fighting, what the contemporary journalist would refer to as 'colour pieces'.¹⁵ Grossman's main achievement in the Stalingrad cycle is the evocation of the defenders' spirit. He wholeheartedly vindicates Tolstoy's belief in the vital and decisive role of morale, what Tolstoy calls the 'latent heat' (skrytaia teplota) of the nation.¹⁶

The initial reception given For a Just Cause implied a comparison with War and Peace. Two reviews referred to the work as an 'epic' (epopeia).¹⁷ Grossman was praised for his comprehensive depiction of the war and the 'strength of great realistic art'.¹⁸ But positive comparisons with Tolstoy soon gave way to virulent, ideologically centered criticism. The infamous campaign against Jewish doctors was under way, and this, combined with Grossman's tendency to speculate in sensitive areas, provided the part-inspired hacks with plenty of ammunition. An article in Pravda by Mikhail Bubenov was especially venomous; he attacked anyone in the Union of Writers who regarded For a Just Cause as the 'Soviet War and Peace' or an 'encyclopedia of Soviet life'.¹⁹

Aspects of the Tolstoyan tradition can of course be found in the work of other Soviet writers. Mikhail Sholokhov, Bulat Okudzhava, Yurii Bondarev, Viktor Nekrasov, Grigorii Baklanov and Vasil' Bykov -- to name but a few -- were as much the heirs and exponents of the Tolstoyan legacy as Grossman. Sholokhov would seem to enjoy the strongest claim, and yet the philosophical speculation and the restless spirit of enquiry which inform War and Peace are absent.... Only in Grossman do we find a writer who combines the 'truth of the trenches' (okopnaia pravda)^{23*} with Tolstoy's unremitting quest for meaning in the historical process. As Simeon Lipkin puts it:

Grossman unfolded a panorama of one of the greatest battles, and did it not only from above, as if from a helicopter, from where all the fronts, armies, corps and divisions are visible. He saw it from below, through the eyes of the soldier in the trench. Before him, only Tolstoy had seen war in such a two fold manner.²⁴

One facet of the critical response to the publication of Life and Fate in the Soviet Union suggests that the search for the 'main book' is over. Many critics have explicitly compared Grossman's achievement to that of Tolstoy in War and Peace. Anatolii Bocharov argued that Grossman's novel is 'closest to the Russian epic tradition which was established by L. Tolstoy in War and Peace'.²⁵ Others, like Lev Anninskii, recognised the parallels but sounded a note of caution and even scepticism.

They say there is much of Tolstoy here. But Grossman's similarity to Tolstoy is too obvious to be as simple as it seems. The key Tolstoyan move, 'at the time when', is absent from Grossman. Tolstoy interweaves and ties, Grossman places together and sets up collisions.²⁶

V. Kulish (an historian) and V. Oskotsky (a literary critic) provided the longest and most detailed Soviet analysis of Life and Fate. They dismiss the prize-winning novels of the seventies with pretensions to Tolstoyan grandeur and profundity, such as Ivan Stadniuk's War

* Editor's note: The original numbering of the footnotes has been preserved, even though sections have been omitted.

(*Voina*, 1974-80) and Aleksandr Chakovskii's *Blockade* (*Blokada*, 1968-75), arrogating that place to *Life and Fate*. But they, too, qualify this observation:

To correlate does not mean to identify or pair exactly, to make direct, literal analogies, seeking out among Vasilii Grossman's heroes an Andrei Bolkonskii or a Pierre Bezukhov...²⁸

Konstantin Simonov contends that demands to create the new *War and Peace* are impossible to implement because 'books like *War and Peace* are not created twice'.²⁹ Comparison with Tolstoy would have been impossible when these remarks were made in 1969, twenty years before the publication of *Life and Fate*, at a time when the novel was under the strictest ban. Personal rivalries and ideological considerations to one side, Simonov's remarks deserve attention. Naturally, the exact conditions which pertained to 1812, and to the inception of *War and Peace* itself, cannot be duplicated, but similarities certainly exist. Simonov himself lends support for this idea when he says that during the Russo-German war '*War and Peace* lived as it were a second life in our consciousness'.³¹ That *War and Peace* should strike such a deep chord in the Russian psyche is not surprising. In the winter of 1941 with the Germans at the gates of Moscow, *War and Peace* seemed profoundly relevant, as Simonov confirms:

Reading *War and Peace* at such a time in our life was a deep shock, both in an aesthetic and in a moral sense, and one which remained forever in our memory.³²

Tolstoy was of immense importance for Grossman. In his wartime notebooks, extracts of which were published in 1966, Grossman recalls his visit to Yasnaya Polyana after the Germans had been evicted. Earlier visits had left him largely unmoved, but now in the midst of the war, Tolstoy, as for many others, acquires a deeper and more emotional appeal, and he felt "with striking force" that "everything was one; that which happened more than a hundred years ago, and that which is happening now."³³ Tolstoy's significance for Grossman does not recede after the war. In *Life and Fate* Tolstoy is never far away. Grossman's purpose is not difficult to discern. The references to the *Sevastopol Stories*, *War and Peace*, *The Cossacks* and *Khadzhi Murat* are one way of acknowledging not only the force of the Tolstoyan tradition, but also his personal and artistic debt to the great master.

Among contemporary Soviet Russian writers, Grossman provides the most complete analysis of war. While paying tribute to Tolstoy, he is no slavish imitator of the Tolstoyan epic tradition, but an independent, incisive and catholic mind of formidable proportions; this is one reason, among many, why the association with Tolstoy persists throughout a study of Grossman, especially in *Life and Fate*. Perhaps the most important reason resides in Grossman's devotion to the truth. In his portrayal of war in the twentieth century, with its indissoluble links to totalitarianism, Grossman has few equals.

NOTES

1. Vladimir Voinovich, Antisovetskii sovetskii soiuz, Ardis, 1985, pp. 201-04.
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3. Vasilii Grossman, Zhizn' i sud'ba, Switzerland, L'Age d'homme, 1980. Soviet publication in Oktiabr', Nos. 1-4 (1988).
4. I. Kuz'michev, "Zametki o sovremennom voennom romane," in Oktiabr', no. 3 (1965): 186.
5. See: Voprosy literatury, no. 5 (1985).
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7. M. Kuznetsov, "Shkola muzhestva," in Literatura i iskusstvo, 14.08.1943, British Library Microfilm, London.
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9. Literaturnoe nasledstvo. Sovetskie pisateli na frontakh Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny, tom 78, M., 1966, p. 168
10. Kuznetsov, op. cit.
11. L.N. Tolstoi, Sobranie sochinenii (v 20-i tom.), tom 2, M. 1960, p. 156.
12. P. Knightly, The First Casualty, N.Y. and London, 1975, p. 258.
13. Christian, p. 58.
14. See for example the introduction to The Faber Book of Reportage, ed. J. Carey, London, 1987.
15. D. Mercer, et al, The Fog of War, London, 1987, p. 109.
16. Tolstoi, Sob. soch., tom 4, p. 239.
17. B. Galanov, "Epopeia narodnoi bor'by," in Molodoi kommunist, no. 1 (1953). See also: S. L'vov, "Rozhdenie epoepiea," in Ogonek, no. 47 (1952).
18. S. L'vov, op. cit., p. 24.
19. Mikhail Bubennov, "O romane Vasiliia Grossmana "Za pravoe delo," in Pravda, 13.02.1953: 4. N. Anatol'eva provides a more detailed account of these early assessments which were not confined to Galanov and L'vov. See: "V neravnom boiu," Grani, no. 18 (1953): 112.

23.** A term used to describe the more pleasant, less jingoistic side of war. Writers who went too far in this direction were often accused of 'Remarquism'. For a discussion of 'Remarquism' see: F. Ellis, "The Problem of Remarquism in Soviet Russian War Prose," in Scottish Slavonic Review, no. 11 (1988).

24. Simeon Lipkin, Stalingrad Vasiliia Grossmana, Ardis, 1986, p. 50.

25. A. Bocharov, "Pravoe delo Vasiliia Grossmana, in Oktiabr', no. 1 (1988): 128. See also Voinovich.

26. L. Anninskii, "Mirozdan'e Vasiliia Grossmana," in Druzhba narodov, no. 10 (1988): 256.

28. V. Kulish and V. Oskotskii, "Epos voiny narodnoi," in Voprosy literatury, no. 10 (1988): 29.

29. Konstantin Simonov, "Chitaia Tolstogo," in Novyi mir, no. 12 (1969): 163.

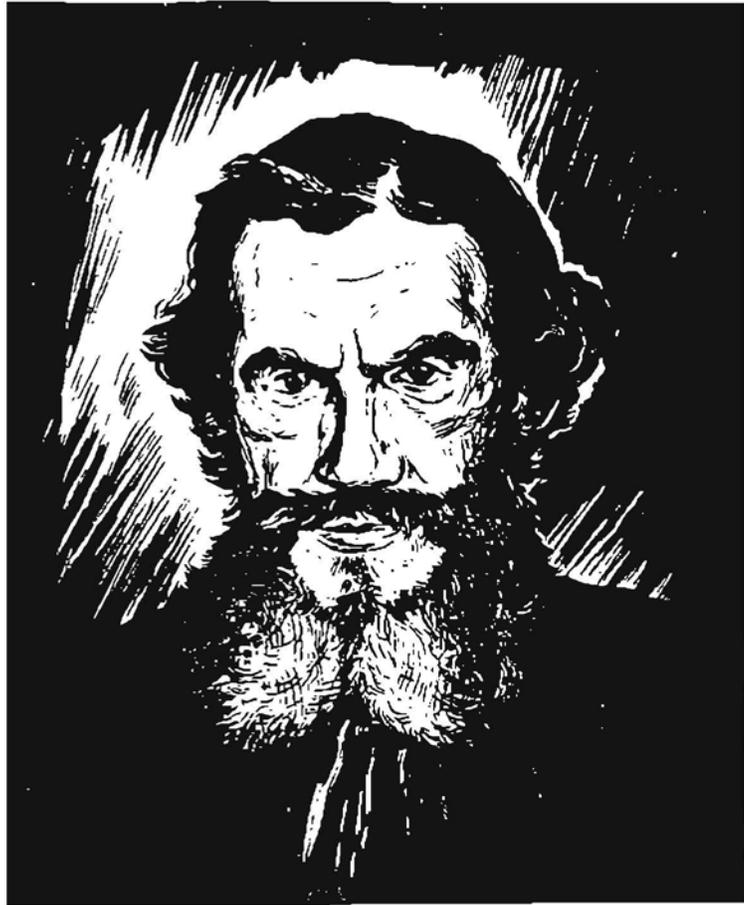
31. Simonov, op. cit., p. 162.

32. Ibid., p. 163.

33. Literaturnoe nasledstvo, p. 162. In one of Grossman's war-time stories, "Aniuta," a Russian officer says of War and Peace: 'That's not a book, but a huge ocean'. Povesti i rasskazy, M., 1950, p. 463.

** See note in text.

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In Exchange

A REPORT ON THE THIRD SEMINAR ON TOLSTOY AND AMERICA

Robert H. Davis, Jr., Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library

On Wednesday, 6 September, the Third Seminar on L.N. Tolstoy and America convened at Iasnaia Poliana, with representatives from both the American and Soviet sides of the project in attendance. Organized by Edward Kasinec, Chief of the Slavic and Baltic Division and Astor Fellow (1989-90) of The New York Public Library and Lidia Gromova-Opulskaia, Senior Researcher of the Institute of World Literatures (IMLI), the Seminar was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences, and by IREX. The Seminar represents an important opportunity for the direct discussion of discoveries in American and Russian archives, the provision of prosopographical data on Tolstoy's lesser-known American correspondents, and the development of agendas for work on the next stage of research into the numerous trans-Atlantic relationships carried on between Tolstoy and his American correspondents.

Although unable to attend, co-chair Edward Kasinec's opening remarks were distributed to the conferees. Mr. Kasinec reported that since the last meeting of the Seminar in New York in January, 1988, the individuals on the American side of the Tolstoy project had been concerned with three basic problems: first, the identification and localization of Tolstoy manuscripts and correspondence in repositories beyond the New York Metropolitan area; second, the compilation of a machine-readable listing of Tolstoy's American correspondents and visitors, based on the inventory created by Soviet participant Natalia Petrovna Velikanova of IMLI; the assemblage of biographical information on these individuals; and the compilation of bibliographical information on American publications of Tolstoy's works and writings about him.

Mr. Kasinec pointed out recent positive developments in several areas that should enhance, and broaden the work of joint scholarly projects along the lines of the Tolstoy and America group. The appearance of several new archival guides to American and United Kingdom literary manuscripts, and the further development of the Archives and Manuscripts database (AMC) of RLIN, making the retrieval of information on Russian manuscripts in American repositories increasingly easy, while a major generational change in the circles of the Russian emigration has led to the deposit of the archival collections of a number of literary figures and bibliophiles in major institutions, or in responsible private collections. Given the present climate, the activities of this group might serve as a paradigm for other Soviet-American literary projects, namely, the publication of Russian, and Russian emigre literary manuscripts held

in American repositories, and the compilation by American scholars of bibliographies of the translations of Russian literature into English, and of critical literature written by Western scholars and dealing with Russian and Soviet literature. Several initiatives along these lines are already being implemented by a number of American bibliographers.

Four members of the delegation from the United States presented papers. Robert T. Whittaker of Lehman College, CUNY (who also served as co-chair of the Seminar), reported that thus far the search of archives outside New York had produced strikingly little material, as there are few listings in other American archival repositories under the name of Tolstoy. Dr. Whittaker suggested that the search for additional Tolstoy materials must of necessity turn to the individual names of Tolstoy's correspondents.

In a second report, Dr. Whittaker spoke on his examination of correspondence between Tolstoy and Judge Ernest Howard Crosby (1856-1907), who, with some 65 items located to date, was one of Tolstoy's most active American correspondents. Following his first encounter with Tolstoy's philosophy in 1891, Crosby became one of the most energetic and devoted disciples of Tolstoyanism in America, attacking manifestations of militarism, imperialism (especially the Spanish-American and Russo-Japanese Wars), and social injustice, all in the name of Christian ideals. Crosby followed Tolstoy's publications and defended his literary interests, providing him with material from the American press, urged him to write in support of various causes and individuals, and shared his own writings with his teacher, including his satiric anti-militaristic novel, "Captain Junks, Hero" (currently on exhibit at Iasnaia Poliana). Inspired by the turn of events in Russia at the turn of the century, Crosby expressed his wish to return to Russia to visit with Tolstoy after the expected revolution (his first and only visit took place in 1894), to which Tolstoy responded skeptically that he should not wait. An untimely death prevented Crosby from returning to visit his teacher.

William B. Edgerton, professor emeritus at Indiana University, reported that the starting point for his research was the references to Leo Tolstoy in American guides to archival collections, and the spravka prepared by L.D. Opul'skaia, and V.A. Aleksandrov. In Canada, Dr. Edgerton located Tolstoy material that prompted him to suggest broadening the name of the research project from "Tolstoy and the USA" to "Tolstoy and North America." Noting as one example the autobiography by Professor James Mavor (1854-1925), of the University of Toronto, My Windows on the Street of The World (NY: E.P. Dutton, 1923), Dr. Edgerton reported that an entire chapter concerning Mavor's two visits to Tolstoy in 1899 and 1910, is apparently unknown in Tolstoy scholarship, as is a letter to Mavor from Sofia Andreevna, located in Mavor's archives. In addition, Dr. Edgerton stated that his work on the project had also focused on exploring Tolstoy's influence upon social reformists, most of whom called themselves Christian socialists. Among them were the leaders of the Christian Commonwealth, an agricultural colony

of interest to Tolstoy that lasted from 1896 to 1900. In The Social Gospel, a periodical published by this group from 1898 to 1900, Dr. Edgerton has located one letter each from Chertkov and Tolstoy to the co-editor, George Howard Gibson, and one letter from Tolstoy to E.H. Crosby, all three of which appear to be unknown to Tolstoy scholars. Dr. Edgerton is also working on information concerning the letters of such Tolstoy correspondents as Jane Addams, Havelock Ellis, George Davis Herron, Samuel M. ("Golden Rule") Jones, John Harvey Kellogg, and Mne. John Telfer, among others.

Dr. Antonia B. Glasse, of Ithaca, New York, discussed the methodology of identification employed in her efforts to root out information on Tolstoy's 1,290-odd American correspondents. Using the list provided by Natalia Velikanova and the Tolstoy Museum, an attempt was made to arrange the great body of correspondence into a systematic pattern that would help identify individual writers. Once in machine-readable form, the alphabetical master lists organized by years and dates, and by states and cities (with separate lists for Boston, New York, and Chicago). The master list was also divided into individual correspondents and organizations, with appropriate subdivisions — societies, press, publishing houses, educational institutions, etc. Dr. Glasse reported that the letter abstracts have suggested further useful divisions, according to specific issues and problems discussed in the letters. Dr. Glasse stated that this preliminary organization of available material laid the groundwork for the identification process. More narrowly defined lists were created, such as famous American correspondents, and well-known organizations, journals and newspapers. The search for individuals with a known connection to Tolstoy was made in library card catalogues, biographical dictionaries, and directories, while prosopographical information on correspondents, selected at random, was solicited from local and regional archives and historical societies.

The final paper presented by an American representative was by Robert H. Davis, Jr., Librarian at the Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library. The topic of Mr. Davis's research was a bibliographic survey of the translations of Tolstoy's works, reviews, and the critical literature which appeared about him in America, from the late 1870s (the appearance of the first American translation of his work) to the time of his death in 1910. In addition to making some generalizations about the "bibliographical topography" of the critical translations and the literature, the presentation contained brief comments on some of the lesser-known translators and commentators, and what may possibly be some new research materials in the archives of American publishing houses. Mr. Davis concluded by stating that before any concrete conclusions on such questions as to how the life and works of Tolstoy were perceived, and received by the American people in his own lifetime, via the American press and publishing, much work remains to be done, including a de visu review of the works cited in the bibliography, extensive prosopographical research on the American personalities

active in the translation and criticism of Tolstoy's work, and extensive readership studies. Mr. Davis expressed the hope that his bibliography would provide a practical tool for such future research.

Also in attendance from the United States were Tatiana I. Whittaker, Professor of Russian, Manhattanville College, Purchase, New York, who assisted the work of the delegation in innumerable ways; and A. Joseph Hollander, of the Modern Language Association.

Seminar participants from the Soviet Union were led by Lydia Gromova-Opulskaia, who served as chair, and chief commentator for the conference. Like their American counterparts, in the past year the three paper givers from the Russian side of the Tolstoy and America project have focused their research attention on the question of who was writing to Tolstoy, what the letters contained, and further outlining an agenda for future work on both sides of the project.

Valery Aleksandrovic Aleksandrov of IMLI has had a longstanding interest in the question of Tolstoy and America, having authored articles on such noted American correspondents as Andrew Dickson White of Cornell University. Dr. Aleksandrov presented the prosopographical background of one of Tolstoy's most remarkable correspondents, the translator Isabel Hapgood. Employing in his research xeroxes of original letters supplied by the Slavic and Baltic Division of The New York Public Library, Dr. Aleksandrov provided a fascinating glimpse of the highly productive relationship that existed between Tolstoy and Hapgood; a relationship that Dr. Aleksandrov plans to research further in the coming months.

Elena Nikolaevna Shchelkova discussed a stage production of Anna Karenina in New York City which was based on a French translation and production of the novel. Examining both reviews and contemporary correspondence relating to, or discussing this stage adaptation, Ms. Shchelkova pieced together both the details of the production, and how it was received by both American audiences and critics. In addition to employing a variety of materials to explore the American reception of this particular theatrical performance, Ms. Shchelkova has suggested yet another area for joint research as part of the Tolstoy and America project, namely the question of Tolstoy and the American stage.

Natalia Petrovna Velikanova's ongoing work has centered on providing synoptic precis of the letters from American correspondents held by the Tolstoy Museum, and listed in her inventory. In her presentation to the Seminar, Ms. Velikanova reviewed some of her abstracts from these letters, and from these postulated several preliminary subject categories into which most of the American letters may be placed, echoing a point raised by Dr. Glasse. A large amount of correspondence concerns relief efforts for victims of the Russian famine. (See: Richard G. Robbins, Famine in Russia, 1891-1892 [NY: Columbia UP, 1975]). Among the examples offered, Ms. Velikanova cited three letters

to Tolstoy by one Abraham Gideon, of Ithaca, New York, who stated that he had read an article by Sofia Andreevna on the great hunger, and offered a financial contribution. The topic of religion in general, and Tolstoy's beliefs and excommunication in particular, was also raised by Ms. Velikanova as a frequent topic for American letters, as was the subject matter of the Kreutzer Sonata. Ms. Velikanova also noted that in a number of cases, correspondence from Americans requesting such things as the great novelist's autograph often went unanswered, thus eliminating the need to search for the papers of certain names on her list.

In addition to their work on Tolstoy's American correspondents, members of the Russian side of the project are presently assembling an enhanced edition of the collected works of Tolstoy.

Conference participants received a 201-page program and abstracts prepared for the use of the seminar by Robert Davis and Edward Kasiniec of The New York Public Library. In a ceremony before the formal opening of the new exhibit "Tolstoy and America," a copy was presented to the Tolstoy Library at Iasnaia Poliana by Robert Whittaker. The booklet also contained the actual text of several of the presentation made by the American side, and a description of the 1989 issue of the Tolstoy Studies Journal by Dr. Kathleen Parthé with an invitation to Soviet colleagues to participate in future issues.

The balance of the booklet contained extensive appendices relevant to the work of the commission, prepared by Robert Whittaker and Robert Davis. Dr. Whittaker supplied lists providing the names, date, and place of origin of letter sent by Americans to Tolstoy, as well as a separate listing chronicling the correspondence between Crosby and Tolstoy. The three draft bibliographies upon which Mr. Davis based his presentation were also included, divided into three subsections: (1) Articles, critical reviews, and writings appearing in the American periodical press, circa 1872-Dec. 1910; (2) translations of Tolstoy's works published in the United States during his lifetime; and (3) secondary works published about Tolstoy up to 1910.

In addition to the direct conference participants, more than thirty persons from among the staff of Iasnaia Poliana, as well Tula learned institutes were among the audience for the two-day meeting. There was a unanimity of opinion that the conference was a productive experience, and an important signpost along the road to a better understanding of Russo-American literary and cultural relations in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

