

He glanced at the sky, hoping to find [a point of reference,³ to see] the shell which he had left there and which for him embodied the entire outcome, the result of the whole train of thought and his feelings of that night. There was nothing in the sky in the least resembling a shell. There, in the high inaccessible [loftiness] silence a mysterious transformation had already occurred.

Thus, Tolstoy himself initially had written “loftiness,” but clearly and distinctly, with a firm stroke of the pen, then made the correction, changing it to “silence.” It is possible to think, because of proximity to the adjective “high,” that the change was made so as to avoid having “the high inaccessible loftiness.”⁴ But in the next draft, “high” was crossed out and “silence” remained. Thus it was published in the journal with no further changes made by the author, who did not change it in his corrections to the whole novel for the 1878 edition, and thus it *must* be preserved in the novel. It is clear that “silence” was not a mistake perhaps corrected in agreement with another source, but was a definite and deliberate choice made by the author.

In the poetic and philosophical context of *Anna Karenina*, it would seem that this variant, “the inaccessible silence” of the sky, is more fitting. The situation is different in *War and Peace*. There, for example, over several pages of the final chapter of the third part of the first volume (while an injured

³Tolstoy uses the word *reper*, from the French surveying term *repère*. The manuscripts indicate that during the course of his work, even these rare interspersed foreign borrowings and gallicisms were painstakingly eliminated from the text. It is well known that, in the year that *Anna Karenina* was begun (1873), Tolstoy completely cleansed *War and Peace* of French and German phrases for the new edition—all were translated into Russian. Of course, as a work, *War and Peace* is inconceivable without the foreign language passages, but the 1873 text in its full form rightfully exists as a separate publication, reproduced in the second part of the new edition of Tolstoy’s full collected works.

⁴In Russian, “vysokoi nedosiagaemoi vyshine.”
Translator.

Andrei Bolkonskii lies on the hill of Pratzensk), “high” sky is repeated six times. According to Tolstoy’s original intentions, Prince Andrei was to have perished in the battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon, looking at Bolkonskii lying supine, utters the dramatic line: “Voilà une belle mort.” Yearning for the “high” sky is a sign of death, as was rightly noted by Donna Orwin in private conversation with the author of this article. The word “silence,” which comes up in the last paragraph of Chapter Sixteen of the same part of *War and Peace*, is associated with “calmness,” eternal rest. “Inaccessible silence” implies height but at the same time captures the majestic calmness of divine creation and the possibility of universal harmony. In *Anna Karenina*, Levin looks up at the sky in search not of death, but of a *life* full of meaning and happiness. The sky, while appealing, does not answer his questioning gaze, and Levin turns back toward Kitty, toward marriage.

Note

*An earlier version of this article was published in a festschrift for N. I. Balashov entitled *Svobodnyi vzgliad na literaturu: Problemy sovremennoi filologii* (Moscow: “Nauka”, 2002). It is translated from the Russian by Julie Novak and Erin Fox.

Saving Iasnaia Poliana

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Tolstoy was born and raised at Iasnaia Poliana, his mother’s estate, the residence most connected with his life and creative work.¹ He inherited the property on the death of his parents, and here he wrote *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. Although he owned other property, Iasnaia Poliana was his preferred residence. In the latter part of his life, as he

developed a world-wide reputation as a moral teacher, the estate became a place of pilgrimage for his followers who came to see and consult their guide. Tolstoy's daughter Alexandra described the throngs who came to see her father: "Rich and poor, famous and unknown, old and young, revolutionaries and monarchists, believers and atheists, peasants, workers, people of high social position, priests, sectarians, foreigners, reporters sought to see my father in an endless line" (1933, 8).

Conflict between Tolstoy and his followers on the one hand and his wife and other members of the family on the other led Tolstoy to flee Iasnaia Poliana in 1910. Shortly after leaving the estate Tolstoy contracted pneumonia and died, and his body was returned to Iasnaia Poliana for burial. His widow continued to live at the estate until her death in 1919. By this time, most estates had been expropriated, and many landlord houses destroyed, but Tolstoy's reputation and the vigilance of his followers managed to preserve Iasnaia Poliana intact. What was the fate of Iasnaia Poliana after Tolstoy's death and how did his followers manage to preserve the property during the years of revolution?

By the time of his death, Tolstoy had already renounced his real estate holdings in favour of his wife and children. This was a result of Tolstoy's moral conversion, which began in 1879 and led him to renounce the concept of property holding as ultimately based on coercion. The division of Tolstoy's property holdings was effected in 1891, and in accordance with the Russian aristocratic tradition, Iasnaia Poliana was divided between his youngest son Ivan and his wife Sof'ia Andreevna. Tolstoy himself as youngest son had inherited Iasnaia Poliana. Ivan died in 1895, and his portion of Iasnaia Poliana was divided among his brothers and Sof'ia Andreevna (Meilakh 220 n.; Maude II, 45; [S. A. Tolstaia] 961-2, n. 2). Having renounced ownership of Iasnaia Poliana, Tolstoy continued to live there, technically the guest of his wife.

In early 1911, shortly after Tolstoy's death, his sons Il'ia, Andrei, and Mikhail promoted the sale of Iasnaia Poliana to American businessmen. Evidently the main house and buildings were to be maintained as a memorial to Tolstoy, but most of the land, including that held by Tolstoy's sons,

would be sold for \$1,500,000, much to the advantage of the Tolstoy sons, chronically in need of money. Nothing came of this scheme ([S. A. Tolstaia] 684, 961-2). Later in 1911, Sof'ia Andreevna proposed selling Iasnaia Poliana to the Russian government, subject to a number of conditions, for 500,000 rubles. This was about one-sixth of the amount asked from the Americans, but it evidently was still some 300,000 rubles more than the property was worth. The Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod opposed the purchase of Iasnaia Poliana with the comment, "The immortalization of Tolstoy's memory at public expense will be seen as a desire to strengthen his teachings in the public consciousness. The government must not glorify Tolstoy, in view of the Holy Synod's ruling on his defection from the Orthodox Church." Ultimately Nicholas II refused to purchase the property (*ibid.*, 712, 968, n. 95). Sof'ia Andreevna did sell the Tolstoys' town house, Khamovniki, to the city government of Moscow for 125,000 rubles, and the Russian government awarded her a pension of 10,000 rubles a year (*ibid.*, 969, n. 6).

Tolstoy left the rights to his literary property to his youngest daughter, Alexandra. His intention had been to leave the rights to his work to the Russian people, but this was illegal under Russian law. As her father's heir, Alexandra was supposed to ensure that Tolstoy's works be published without copyright or royalties, but as an exception Tolstoy did approve of publishing posthumously one edition of his unpublished writings, the income from which would be used to purchase land, which would be distributed to the peasants (Maude II, 476-81). After her father's death, Alexandra prepared such an edition and used the proceeds to purchase the land owned by her brothers at Iasnaia Poliana; this land she then distributed to the peasants ([S. A. Tolstaia] 971, n. 25). This transaction had the advantage of posthumously redeeming Tolstoy as landowner in the eyes of his followers, while at the same time providing his sons with much needed cash.

In all of these real estate transactions, proposed and completed, we see varying reflections of Tolstoy and the estate so closely identified with him. The appeal to the Americans to purchase Iasnaia

Poliana was presumably made on the basis of Tolstoy's position as a moral teacher and international celebrity. The Russian government saw him as a threat to the established order, and so refused to purchase Iasnaia Poliana as a memorial to him. At the same time, Sof'ia Andreevna was granted a pension, as the widow of a great writer who did not share her husband's radical social and political views. The Moscow city government bought his town house to honour him. His daughter Alexandra sought to carry out his wishes by distributing the land of his family estate to the peasants. His sons, on the other hand, saw their fortunes in the celebrity of their father.

The Revolution came to Iasnaia Poliana in the summer of 1917, when the peasants of Tula province began to dispossess landlords. At Iasnaia Poliana they were encouraged by returned soldiers and sailors. Sof'ia Andreevna telegraphed Kerensky and he sent a troop of dragoons to protect the estate, but as the Provisional Government disappeared, so did the guards at Iasnaia Poliana (Vysokomirnyi 7-8). Even before the fall of the Provisional Government, Petr Alekseevich Sergeenko, who had appealed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for protection of Iasnaia Poliana, was delegated to organize a defence of the estate from among sympathetic peasants. He arrived at Iasnaia Poliana on 27 September 1917 ([S. A. Tolstaia] 793, 988, n. 25).

Sergeenko (1854-1930) was an important figure in the life of Iasnaia Poliana for the next two years. He had been a frequent visitor at the estate in Tolstoy's lifetime, first appearing in 1892. He wrote biographical studies of Tolstoy and collected photographs of him. He gave Tolstoy a number of presents, including his first gramophone. He arranged for Tolstoy's first ride in an automobile. His son, Aleksei Petrovich, became the secretary of Chertkov, Tolstoy's closest friend and collaborator in the last part of the writer's life. The Sergeenkos were Tolstoyans, followers of Tolstoy who attempted to live according to his teachings. The Tolstoy family and Tolstoy himself were skeptical of the Tolstoyans as a group, in spite of their devotion to Lev Nikolaevich. Tat'iana L'vovna, Tolstoy's oldest daughter, notes an episode in which

Tolstoy remarks of a young visitor in peasant dress that he "belongs to a sect that is most incomprehensible and foreign to me, the sect of Tolstoyans" (Sukhotina-Tolstaia 1976, 433). Of the Tolstoyans, particularly Sergeenko did not endear himself to the Tolstoy family.²

The peasants who wanted to expropriate Iasnaia Poliana in the summer of 1917 were inspired by drink and service in the military during the war. The majority of the older peasants opposed expropriation. The expropriators pointed out that "Tolstoy himself rejected his estate and fled it," an interesting example of peasant interpretation of Tolstoy (Vysokomirnyi 9). Local authorities in Tula provided soldiers who arrived on 17 October 1917, and from this time on the estate had a guard to protect it from expropriation (*ibid.*, 10; [S. A. Tolstaia] 794).

During the revolutionary period, Sergeenko was concerned with the preservation of Iasnaia Poliana. An article in *Russkoe slovo* of September 1917 which reported the threat to the estate announced the formation of the Iasnaia Poliana Society to honour the memory of Tolstoy and preserve his estate. In April 1918, the Society was legally registered and Sergeenko became president ([S. A. Tolstaia] 99, n. 27).³ It became increasingly difficult for Sof'ia Andreevna and Tat'iana L'vovna Tolstaia-Sukhotina, the Tolstoy daughter then resident at Iasnaia Poliana, to run the estate, and they turned over control of it to the Iasnaia Poliana Society in February 1919. Both women were members of the Society (IaP op. 1, pp. 2-3). The manager of the estate was Nikolai Leonidovich Obolenskii, the husband of Tolstoy's second daughter, Mar'ia, who had died in 1906 ([S. A. Tolstaia] 993, n. 8).⁴ Obolenskii, a Tolstoyan, was one of many Tolstoy friends and relations who had taken refuge at the estate after the revolution (Sukhotina-Tolstaia 1979, 490). Alexandra, Tolstoy's youngest daughter, did not think that Obolenskii was capable of managing the estate, but her view did not prevail (A. Tolstoy 1934, 39).

Sergeenko, as President of the Iasnaia Poliana Society, does seem to have been effective in dealing with threats to the estate and its residents, even by the accounts of the Tolstoys. However, the Tol-

stoy's were unhappy about his methods and the way he invoked Tolstoy's reputation. As Tat'iana L'vovna wrote in August 1918:

He [Sergeenko] sits at Iasnaia and uses the name of Lev Tolstoy to preserve the rule of the landlords; the bourgeois, idle life; the excesses; the existence of landed property.

'In the name of Lev Tolstoy, you must give Sof'ia Andreevna her money,' he tells the Kommissar of the Merchant Bank in Moscow. And the Kommissar hurries to pay out the money, in order not to be considered an enemy of Tolstoy, whom the Bolsheviks consider to be one of their own.

'In the name of Lev Tolstoy, you must leave the estate to Sof'ia Andreevna,' and the Tula Bolsheviks bow and obey.

'In the name of Lev Tolstoy you must give the residents of Iasnaia Poliana rice, sugar, macaroni, soap and so on,' and everyone contributes.

I make use of all this only in a small way, but it is difficult for me. I am making every effort to get away from Iasnaia Poliana, where at every step I feel falsehood and deception. (Sukhotina-Tolstaia 1979, 491)

In April 1919, Tat'iana L'vovna agonized over accepting money from the government, a proposal that all others in the Iasnaia Poliana Society had come to accept. Eventually she agreed that money could be accepted, if given in the form of a loan which would be repaid, but secretly she hoped that the loan would arrive so late that the financial affairs of the estate already would have improved and the money would not be necessary (Shentalinskii 168).

The advance of the White General Denikin toward Moscow in the fall of 1919 produced another threat and quandary. Iasnaia Poliana was in the line of battle and Red Army troops were quartered on the estate. As an extreme measure, a regimental commander was housed in Tolstoy's study. This was deeply troubling to the residents of Iasnaia Poliana, as Tat'iana L'vovna recorded in her diary. To what extent was it permissible for military men to be present in Tolstoy's house? Tat'iana L'vovna then learned that the red flag had been raised over the house. This prompted her to seek an interview with the regimental commander,

to whom she explained the significance of the estate, which had been recognized by the Soviet Government. It was impossible for military men to be quartered in Tolstoy's house. She further insisted that the red flag be removed immediately from the building's roof. This was done. Her attitude softened somewhat as she realized that the officers of the regimental headquarters were "more than polite, even attentive." They in fact caused very little trouble, and as long as hundreds of soldiers were quartered in the village, she felt it would be dangerous for the estate to be left without any defence (Sukhotina-Tolstaia 1979, 501-2). The following day a meeting of the Iasnaia Poliana Society was held and an appeal was made to the Sovnarkom (Council of Ministers of the Soviet Government) to withdraw the military from the estate, so that it would not become a battlefield. "Furthermore," the Society's appeal continued, "perhaps you have the possibility of making the enemy aware of this, and under these circumstances they will not raise arms to destroy Iasnaia Poliana which belongs to all of humanity" (Vyssokomirnyi 25). The Soviet government complied with the Society's requests, and Denikin's headquarters were informed that Iasnaia Poliana was excluded from the war zone (*ibid.* 27).

So the authority of Tolstoy was invoked to avoid battle on the estate, and protect it from expropriation by the peasants. Sergeenko successfully used Tolstoy's reputation in his search for food and clothing for those living on the estate (A. Tolstoy 1934, 39-43; [S. A. Tolstaia], 797, 800, 802, 989, n. 34). Tolstoy had become a sort of secular icon of protection and salvation.

If preservation of Iasnaia Poliana was important as a memorial to Tolstoy, the argument could be made that at least as important was care for the Tolstoy family. As the Tula Provincial Land Board noted in May of 1919:

At Iasnaia Poliana live the relatives of the great writer, the families of Sof'ia Andreevna Tolstoy and Tat'iana L'vovna Sukhotina who should receive no less attention and care on the part of the Russian people than all else connected with the name of Lev Nikolaevich.

It is entirely obvious that preservation of the treasures of the house and estate can be carried out most effectively by the family of the great writer with the assistance of the friends and admirers of Lev Nikolaevich in the educational society Iasnaia Poliana formed in memory of Lev Nikolaevich exclusively for that purpose. (Vysokomirnyi 21-1)

Sergeenko's quarrel with the Tolstoy family prompted Alexandra L'vovna to seek an audience with Lunacharskii, the Soviet Kommissar (Minister) of Education, under whose auspices Iasnaia Poliana operated as a cultural institution (A. Tolstoy 1934, 42-43; [S. A. Tolstaia] 800, 818, 995, n. 27). As a result of this meeting, Alexandra L'vovna was appointed Kommissar of Iasnaia Poliana in late November 1919 (A. Tolstoy 1934 43-4; GARF, *f.* 2306, *op.* 1, *d.* 318, *l.* 73 *ob.*; IaP *op.* 1, p. 4). "Kommissar" was a widely used Soviet term designating the head of an institution or operation. In December 1919, Sergeenko was replaced as chairman of the Iasnaia Poliana Society, but he still seems to have been present at Iasnaia Poliana two years later, perhaps in another capacity (A. Tolstaia 95). According to her account, Alexandra L'vovna dismissed Sergeenko at that time and had the watchmen remove his possessions from the estate. This was a very unpopular action with the other residents of the estate. Sergeenko seems to have left after 25 March 1921 according to a letter of that date from Alexandra to her sister Tat'iana (GMT).

Generally, officials of the new Soviet Government were well disposed towards Tolstoy. Tat'iana L'vovna describes a visit to Iasnaia Poliana by Kalinin, the head of the Soviet Government, in late September 1919. She had not met him before, and tried to avoid him, but he was interested in seeing Tolstoy's house and asked that she, rather than Sergeenko, show it to him. She was pleased by his evident interest in the house and took the opportunity to explain to him Tolstoy's views on war and capital punishment. Kalinin explained that he had responsibilities as head of government to sign sentences of execution; her response to this was that no one forced him to be head of government (Sukhotina-Tolstaia 1979, 497-8).

Lunacharskii, the Kommissar of Education, the government minister in charge of the cultural activities at Iasnaia Poliana, was supportive of projects related to Tolstoy (A. Tolstoy 1934, 206-7). Bonch-Bruевич, a close associate of Lenin in the early days of the Revolution, had a long involvement with projects supported by Tolstoy, including accompanying a group of Dukhobors to Canada. For a time, Bonch-Bruевич edited the publication of the Tolstoy Society (*Russkie pisateli t. I*, 310-11). Tolstoy's widow, some months before her death, expressed gratitude to the Bolsheviks for their "constant help and attention" ([S. A. Tolstaia] 816).

The dismissal of Sergeenko as Chairman of the Iasnaia Poliana Society did not end the turmoil at the estate: he was not the only Tolstoyan at Iasnaia Poliana. The estate had become a place of settlement for Tolstoyans, who wished to realize the ideas of Tolstoy, as they understood them. They felt that Iasnaia Poliana should be a centre for love and universal brotherhood, a kind of Tolstoyan monastery. It estate should be a shelter for people who follow Tolstoy. Farming should be carried on in a communal way. There should be no division between master and slave. Iasnaia Poliana should be the possession of all humanity, and it must be kept as it was in the lifetime of Tolstoy (IaP *f.* 1, *op.* 1, *ed. kh.* 2).

Alexandra L'vovna, the Kommissar of Iasnaia Poliana, like the rest of the Tolstoy family, had never been sympathetic to the Tolstoyans, and in this case she believed that their method of farming the estate was harmful (A. Tolstoy 1953, 458-59; A. Tolstaia 19-20). She was determined that the Tolstoyans not be allowed to control Iasnaia Poliana. She strengthened her position by obtaining from the Collegium of the Kommissariat of Education (not just from Lunacharskii, as had been the case the previous November) the appointment as Kommissar of Iasnaia Poliana. This came on 19 February 1920. Then on 8 March, she was placed in charge of the agricultural operations at Iasnaia Poliana by the Kommissariat of Agriculture (GARF *f.* 2306, *op.* 1, *d.* 318, *ed. kh.* 173, *ob.*; RGALI *f.* 508, *op.* 6, *ed. kh.* 7).

Armed with these appointments, she asserted her authority in regard to Iasnaia Poliana and the Iasnaia Poliana Society at a meeting of 21 March

1920, but shortly thereafter she was imprisoned over the Tactical Centre affair and was unable to devote her attention to Iasnaia Poliana until her release in 1921 (IaP *f.* 1, *op.* 1, *ed. kh.* 2).⁵

Alexandra L'vovna gave many reasons for her unhappiness with the Tolstoyans. Writing to her sister Tat'iana from prison, she complained of the "idleness, parasitism, greed, ... the despotism" which prevailed under Sergeenko (Khechinov 248).⁶ According to a report of February 1920, the cattle were in such pitiful condition that they were unable to stand (IaP *f.* 1, *op.* 1, *ed. kh.* 2). This of course was a very difficult time for the entire country. Aleksandra L'vovna hated to see Iasnaia Poliana in the hands of outsiders. Government handouts, gotten in the name of Tolstoy, were unfairly distributed, she said. Relatives and friends gathered around, and in the meantime the estate was more and more neglected, trees died or were cut down, in the main house only the two rooms used by Tolstoy were preserved in the state they had been in Tolstoy's lifetime. On the estate 115 people were supported by the government although only 30 desiatins were cultivated, worked by the peasants for half of the harvest.⁷

In May 1921, when Alexandra L'vovna was beginning her serious reform at Iasnaia Poliana, she said she wanted to create a pure and cultured atmosphere, implying that such had not previously existed. Somewhat later she referred to Iasnaia Poliana before her arrival as a "nest of parasites."⁸ At this time she believed that in the conduct of agriculture at Iasnaia Poliana, the ideas of Lev Nikolaevich and the principles of communism "completely coincide (IaP *f.* 1, *op.* 1, *ed. kh.* 15)," and in her view, Iasnaia Poliana should be maintained as a museum, as Goethe's house was maintained in Weimar (A. Tolstaia 94).

On her return to Iasnaia Poliana in 1921, Alexandra L'vovna felt that her position and in fact the status of the estate needed further clarification. She appealed to Kalinin, and he in turn presented a proposal, prepared by herself and Sergei Sukhotin, the stepson of her sister, to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee which, when approved on 10 June 1921, became the legal basis for the operation of Iasnaia Poliana.⁹

The estate was declared to be state property, under the control of the Kommissariat of Education. The primary function of the estate was to house a museum honouring Tolstoy, and the agricultural and educational activities of the estate were to be subordinated to this primary aim. The head of the estate was to be called a curator [*khranitel'*] and was appointed by the Kommissariat of Education with the approval of the local government in Tula. The agricultural work of the estate was to be carried on by a commune of Tolstoyans who were to develop a model farm. This activity was to be under the auspices of the Kommissariat of Agriculture, but the charter of the commune and its personnel required the approval of the curator of Iasnaia Poliana. Any projects of the commune which impinged on the educational or historical work of the estate could be vetoed by the curator. Educational activities were to be an important part of the life of Iasnaia Poliana: a library, reading rooms, and schools were to be established, readings and lectures, particularly on Tolstoy, were to be presented. Every citizen of the Soviet Union had a right of free access to Iasnaia Poliana. Close relatives of Tolstoy, with the approval of the curator and the commune, could live at the estate. According to the same provisions, close friends of Tolstoy could visit the estate and receive free lodging. Special train transportation for visitors was to be provided from Moscow.

The general effect of this decree was to strengthen and clarify the role of the curator at Iasnaia Poliana. The role of the various Kommissariats was also more carefully defined. The place of the Tolstoyans and the Tolstoy family on the estate was established. The decree ended any role for the Iasnaia Poliana Society in the life of the estate, and made the curator the primary governor of the estate, under the supervision of the two ministries, with some slight power for the local government. This decree was not much publicized in the Soviet period, perhaps because of the special position given the Tolstoyans, who became subject to persecution in later years, and whose influence at Iasnaia Poliana Alexandra L'vovna tried to minimize. No doubt the provision for a Tolstoyan commune at Iasnaia Poliana was included because just

at this time there was considerable enthusiasm for sectarian communal agriculture among the Soviet political elite, including particularly Kalinin (Et-kind 300-305). The sectarians, among whose ranks the Soviet Government included the Tolstoyans, were to provide a model of organization for the rest of the Russian peasantry.

In the course of the 1920s, under the guidance of Alexandra L'vovna Tolstaia, the museum, schools, a clinic, and a consumers' coop were set up at Iasnaia Poliana. As noted above, Sof'ia Andreevna had proposed establishing a museum at Iasnaia Poliana before the Revolution. A clinic and schools had also been attempted under the Old Regime, but the schools in particular were closed by the government. The new Soviet Government supported all these institutions (Anisimov and Il'inskiĭ 106-21).

In the fifteen years following Tolstoy's death, we see considerable contention for his moral legacy in the controversy over the fate of Iasnaia Poliana. The peasants cited his example in pressing for the distribution of the land of the estate to themselves. Tolstoy's followers, the Tolstoyans, wanted to honour their teacher and use the property to realize Tolstoy's ideals as they understood them. The Tolstoy family was concerned to honour their patriarch and his ideals according to their own various understandings.¹⁰ Their material welfare, so scorned by Tolstoy for himself, was particularly tied to the estate, not least in the period after the Revolution. The various governments were willing to recognize Tolstoy as a great writer, but appreciated Tolstoy the reformer quite differently. Probably the Soviet Government saw itself as closest to Tolstoy, as did other observers, and it certainly did more than any other to support the preservation and development of Iasnaia Poliana. The Soviet Government, rejecting the Tolstoyans, placed Tolstoy's daughter in control of the nationalized memorial complex which formed at Iasnaia Poliana. Eventually Alexandra L'vovna and the Soviet regime came to a parting of the ways over her propagation of Tolstoy's teachings at Iasnaia Poliana, and she joined the emigration in 1929. What remained at Iasnaia Poliana were institutions honouring the great writer, but Tolstoy the moral

teacher was no longer commemorated, and his ethical works were suppressed. Tolstoy, whose reputation had served as an icon of salvation for Iasnaia Poliana during the revolutionary period, was now institutionalized as a literary genius, something he as a strong critic of celebrity would surely have rejected, but the preserved estate remains today as evidence of Tolstoy's inspiration, a vivid link to his lifetime.

Notes

1. A version of this paper was presented at the conference "The Over-examined Life: New Perspectives on Tolstoy," Harvard University, April 19-20, 2002. Research incorporated into the paper was done on an NEH seminar in Moscow led by Gregory Freeze and on a short-term research grant from IREX.
2. On Sergeenko see A. Tolstoy 1934, 39, 1953, 429; [S. A. Tolstaia] 305, 343, 347, 570; P. A. Sergeenko 554; Sergeenko 1; A. P. Sergeenko, 3-4; Sukhotina-Tolstaia 1976, 433. Berberova recounts an unusual episode she experienced at a meeting of Tolstoyans during the Revolution, "Towards the end something unexpected happened: a handsome, excited young man entered and said that he was—the resurrected Leo Tolstoy. This was Sergeenko's son, who had that day run away from asylum" (94).
3. According to Nikitina 206-7 other founding members of the Society were A. Arsen'ev, B. O. Gol'denblat, Tolstoy's lawyer, and E. D. Vysokomirnyi.
4. Sof'ia Andreevna turned over control of the estate to Tat'iana L'vovna in January 1918 ([S. A. Tolstaia] 797).
5. The Tactical Centre was an opposition group of intellectuals formed in 1919 and tried in 1920. Alexandra L'vovna did not play an active role in the group, which never moved beyond discussion in its activities, but she did allow them to meet in her apartment. My study of Alexandra L'vovna's work in the Soviet Union during the 1920s will appear in the *Treadgold Papers*.
6. Khechinov, 239-253, quotes from a number of letters Alexandra Tolstoy wrote from prison. The originals are held by the GMT.
7. A. Tolstaia 93, has 1150 people, surely a mistake.

8. RGALI, *f.* 122, *op.* 1, *ed. kh.* 1343. Letter of Alexandra L'vovna to I. I. Gorbunov-Posadov of 27 Jan. 1922.

9. A. Tolstoy 1934, 156-8. The text of the decree is given here.

10. Tat'iana Sukhotina-Tolstaia (1979 494), writing in 1918 of her sister Alexandra, usually considered to be the child closest to Tolstoy, remarked, "She never understood Father, and while loving him with her whole heart, she has always been and continues to be influenced in ways entirely foreign to his spirit."

Archives

Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Russkoi Federatsii (GARF)

Gosudarstvennyi muzei Tolstogo (GMT)

Iasnaia Poliana Archives (IaP)

Russkii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Literatury (RGALI)

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