

TSJ VOL. I

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Tolstoy Society was founded at the annual meeting of AATSEEL (American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages) in December 1987 in San Francisco, taking the place of the Tolstoy Symposium, a part of the AATSEEL conference for many years. The aim of the new society is to stimulate the development of Tolstoy studies, and to facilitate communication between scholars and students of Tolstoy (both within the academic community and outside it). The Tolstoy Studies Journal is central to this effort.

The Tolstoy Studies Journal will include a variety of material: criticism, reviews, news of exchanges, and an annual bibliography to be compiled by Gary Jahn. Our periodic Round Table will present multiple, focused critiques of a major new work of Tolstoy scholarship with a reply by the author. Robert Jackson's appraisal of Richard Gustafson's book as having put Tolstoy studies "back on the scene" makes it fitting that we begin our Round Table with Leo Tolstoy. Resident and Stranger. In 1989 we will continue this feature with a Round Table on Saul Morson's Hidden in Plain View. Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace'.

We encourage the submission of full-length scholarly articles, shorter notes or squibs, abstracts of papers on Tolstoy presented at regional, national, or international conferences, and suggestions of books to review. Bibliographical entries should go directly to Gary Jahn [See BIBLIOGRAPHY in this issue]. We also invite responses to any articles or reviews that appear in TLJ.

The success of this journal depends on the scholarly contributions of our members. Our only source of funds is annual membership renewal. The next meeting will be at the December 28-30 AATSEEL Conference at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. We look forward to seeing you there.

Kathleen Parthé

Kathleen Parthé
Editor, Tolstoy Studies Journal

Criticism

PROSAICS AND ANNA KARENINA¹

Gary Saul Morson, Northwestern University

"Prosaics" is a term I used in my book Hidden in Plain View: Narrative and Creative Potentials in "War and Peace" and which Caryl Emerson and I are developing in our forthcoming study, Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics.² Coiners of a neologism have a special freedom in specifying a term's meaning, so let me state at the outset that "prosaics" has two overlapping senses. It is, first of all, a view of the world that is radically opposed to the dominant trends of modern Western thought — from "Hegel to Buckle," as Tolstoy put it, or, as we might add, from Marx to Freud. These thinkers might all be called "semiotic totalitarians" because they presume that to understand a cultural fact is to show its place in a system that can at least in principle explain everything. That is why these thinkers are totalitarian; they are semiotic in their assumption that all apparently accidental or random facts are really signs of some underlying order, to which their special hermeneutic or semiotic system provides the key.

Freud, for example, insists that there are no accidents in the psyche. All apparent accidents, slips of the tongue, or acts of forgetting derive from a disguised "intention to forget" or err; they are always "Freudian." Characteristically, Freud moves from the insight that some errors serve a purpose to the insistence that all do. "Since we overcame the error of supposing that the forgetting we are familiar with signified a destruction of the memory-trace -- that is, an annihilation," he writes in Civilization and Its Discontents, "we have been inclined to take the opposite view, that in mental life nothing which once has been formed can perish — that everything is somehow preserved and that in suitable circumstances . . . it can once more be brought to light."³

Prosaics takes the exact opposite view, and presumes that the fundamental state of the world is mess, and that order requires work. Whereas semiotic totalitarians presume that accidents and disorder are invitations to discover underlying laws, prosaics places the burden of proof the other way: although order may exist, it doesn't necessarily exist, and certainly cannot be presumed.

As Tolstoy rejects military strategy in War and Peace, he and

other prosaic thinkers reject all systems of history, which find order largely because they exclude evidence of disorder. To the Freudian, prosaics replies: why should we assume that the human mind is so efficient? Can it really be that each act of forgetting must be purposeful? If the natural state of the mind is mess, then most forgetting and errors may result from the simple inefficiency of all things human. Recent work in cognitive psychology supports this view. Memory requires a reason, and perhaps the forgetting of some things requires a reason. But the mere fact that I cannot remember every speck of dust on the way to work does not mean that I intend to forget it.

The anthropologist Gregory Bateson captured this prosaic insight in one of his splendid dialogues with his daughter. Bateson called these dialogues "metalogues," because their shapes illustrate their themes, and in "Why Do Things Get in a Muddle?," father and daughter muddle and meander their way to a series of prosaic insights. "People spend a lot of time tidying things," the daughter observes, "but they never seem to spend time muddling them. Things just seem to get in a muddle by themselves." If one pays no particular attention to what one is doing, tidy things get messy, but messy things never tidy themselves. Why?

Bateson at last arrives at an answer, which is disarmingly simple: there are an infinitely large number of ways in which things can be messy, but very few that one would call tidy. His daughter expresses dissatisfaction with this explanation, because she feels that there must be a reason, some sort of active force for disorder. Bateson answers that it is order, not disorder, that requires a reason in that sense:

D[daughter]: Daddy, you didn't finish. Why do things get the way I say isn't tidy?

F[ather]: But I have finished -- it's just because there are more ways which you call "untidy" than there are ways which you call "tidy."

D: But that isn't a reason why --

F: But, yes, it is. And it is the real and only very important reason.

D: Oh, Daddy! Stop it.

F: No, I'm not fooling. That is the reason, and all of science is hooked up with that reason.⁴

Whether or not all of science is hooked up with that reason, all of prosaics is. The natural state of the world is mess.

Prosaics also suggests that the most important events in history, culture, and the psyche may be the most ordinary and prosaic ones, which we do not notice just because they are so ordinary. History tends to focus on great events and grand figures; novels on dramatic incidents; and psychology on critical moments. But

assuming events are important because they are noticeable is like concluding from a view of a distant hill where only treetops are visible that the hill has nothing but trees. Tolstoy argues precisely the opposite, that it is the sum total of small events, of "swarm life," that makes history, and that great men and exceptional incidents are, by virtue of their very exceptionality, unimportant. To paraphrase Abe Lincoln: God must have loved the ordinary events, because he made so many of them.

This view had profound implications for Tolstoy's thinking about psychology and ethics. Let me just briefly remind you of Tolstoy's essay "Why Do Men Stupefy Themselves?", which might be taken as a canonical text of prosaics. Chapter four of the essay begins with an apparently minor point: that even an occasional cigarette or a glass of wine is harmful. People usually say that although drunkenness is harmful, surely "the trifling alterations of consciousness" produced by a cigarette or a glass of wine at dinner, are not. Arguing this way, Tolstoy replies, is like supposing "that it may harm a watch to be struck against a stone, but that a little dirt introduced into it cannot be harmful."

Tolstoy then retells the story of the painter Bryullov, who corrected a student's sketch. "Why, you only touched it a tiny bit," the student exclaimed, "but it is quite a different thing." Bryullov replied: "Art begins where the tiny bit begins." Tolstoy then draws his prosaic moral: "That saying is strikingly true not only of art, but of all of life. One may say that true life begins where the tiny bit begins -- where what seem to us minute and infinitely small alterations take place. True life is not lived where great external changes take place -- where people move about, clash, fight, and slay one another -- it is lived only where these tiny, tiny, infinitesimally small changes occur."

Tolstoy then turns to Crime and Punishment, and transforms it into a Tolstoyan novel. "Raskolnikov did not live his true life when he murdered the old woman or her sister," nor did he decide to commit murder at any single, "decisive" moment. That choice was made, and he lived his true life, neither when he entered the old woman's lodgings with a concealed axe, nor when he made plans for the perfect crime, nor when he worried about whether murder is morally permitted. No, it was made when he was just lying on his couch, thinking about the most everyday questions -- whether he should take money from his mother or not, whether he should live in his present apartment, and other questions not at all related to the old woman. "The question was decided . . . when he was doing nothing and only his consciousness was active; and in that consciousness, tiny, tiny alterations were taking place. . . . Tiny, tiny alterations -- but on them depend the most important and terrible consequences."

The novel itself is a genre of tiny alterations, of course.

The genre's concern for the particulars of daily life; its concern to date clothes, ideas, actions, and forms of speech with precision; its rich description of the unrepeatable contexts in which moral decisions are made and daily lives unfold — all these defining features make the genre the one most adapted to exhibiting a prosaic world view. These are indeed, among the most important reasons that Tolstoy wrote novels, and that Bakhtin produced his novel-centered theory of art.

Which leads me to the second meaning of the term prosaics -- namely, a theory of literature that is radically opposed to traditional "poetics." Poetics tends to define literature in terms of poetry -- hence its name -- and to see in prose only those features that it shares with poetry -- such as "style" conceived monologically, or "plot" conceived narratologically, or structure understood formalistically. According to traditional poetics, prose is poetry without some poetic features, and with the addition of some unpoetic features; which is something like defining mammals as reptiles who don't lay eggs and have warm blood.

But what if the most important features of prose -- most important especially for a prosaic world view -- are those that it does not share with poetry? In that case, we need to replace poetics with prosaics, which is just what Bakhtin did in his novel-centered literary theory. Tolstoy took the prosaic view of art to its extreme as well, both in his fiction and in the embedded essays of War and Peace. I cannot repeat my description of all the techniques I discuss in my book on War and Peace, but let me just mention that to someone who believes that a long succession of tiny alterations is what shapes lives, length is far from an accidental feature of novels. The expansiveness of both War and Peace and Anna Karenina is central to their prosaic purposes.⁵

Let me now turn to Anna. Because time is so short, I hope you will put up with a somewhat disconnected presentation of some of the key conclusions about this book suggested by a prosaic approach. I offer eleven numbered points, each of which, I am afraid, will necessarily remain largely unsupported except by its coherence with the others. Together, they may suggest why I think that Anna is the most important work of prosaics ever written, and, in my view, also the finest novel I know.

1. If by the hero of a book, we mean the character who best exemplifies its governing values, then the hero of Anna Karenina is Dolly.⁶ Above all, she lives by constant attention to the prosaic details of daily life, especially those concerned with the most prosaic of institutions, the family. That is also why she appears so much less interesting than the other characters, and why, after the opening scene, nothing of any great dramatic interest happens to her. She worries about her children's "bad qualities" and

little quarrels, takes them to church even though her own religious beliefs are unarticulated heresy; and while her children are bathing, she discusses childrearing with peasant women. Tolstoy's point here is that these are the most important events of the book and of life generally, even though -- in fact precisely because -- they are too prosaic and ordinary to have any dramatic interest. Where plot is, "true life" isn't.

The opposite of plot in this sense is not idyllic contemplation but constant work on a small scale. The idyll, like the drama, is a falsity. Levin discovers that marriage is indeed very happy, but not at all in the way he expected. "At every step he experienced what a man would experience who, after admiring the smooth happy course of a little boat on a lake, should get himself into that boat. He saw that it was not all sitting still, floating smoothly; that one had to think too, not for an instant forget where one was floating, and that there was water under one, and that one must row; and that his unaccustomed hands would get sore; and that it was only to look at it that was easy; but that doing it, though very delightful, was very difficult" (part 5, chapter 14).

"Difficult delight" is also what work is to Levin, and work is also a central theme in Anna -- not work as Dickensian hell, or a mythic feat, but work in all its moment-to-moment effort, which involves both drudgery and creativity, habit and thought. There aren't many great novels in which people really work in this way, and I suspect that in this case Tolstoy is following and enriching the example set by George Eliot in Adam Bede.

2. The reason that all happy families resemble each other, and each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way is that unhappy families, like unhappy lives, are dramatic; they have a story, and each story is different. But happy families, filled with undramatic incidents, are not fit subjects for a story; and it is in this sense that they all resemble each other. In his notebooks and letters of the period, Tolstoy at least twice quotes a French saying, "happy people have no history." Again, plot is an index of error.

3. Popular renditions of Anna Karenina, like the Garbo film or the BBC production, usually dramatize only the Anna plot, and we properly fault them for including only one story out of two. But I think that most critical readings which tell us that there are two foci are also leaving one out. I refer to the "third family", Stiva and Dolly, with whom, after all, the novel begins. I have already indicated that Dolly is the novel's moral compass; when characters disagree with her, they are wrong. In a sense, Stiva, too is a sort of moral compass, but a negative one.

4. Perhaps Dostoevsky alone would agree with me on this point: Stiva is the villain of the book, its representation of what evil is. And the first thing to note about evil is that it is quite congenial -- as is the devil in *Karamazov*. Both Dostoevsky and Tolstoy had it in mind to dispute the notion that evil is grand, satanic, ugly, and alien; on the contrary, it is the most familiar thing in the world. We have met the enemy, and he is us.

Dostoevsky understood Stiva in just this way. "Yes, the Stivas would grow very angry were the Kingdom of Heaven to come," he identifies the real enemies of Christianity in *The Diary of a Writer*. Mediating on Stiva and his type, Dostoevsky recognizes that Stiva's very attractiveness, the fact that he can be accommodating to everyone because he has no morals at all, is what makes him so evil. The Stivas are "regarded as innocent and amiable fast livers, pleasing egoists, standing in no one's way, witty, and living for their own pleasure." They "love elegant things, arts, and they like to converse about everything"; they may have children, but "they give little thought to them." All these phrases recall Ivan's devil, with his "companionable and accommodating disposition . . . ready to assume any amiable expression as the occasion might arise"; both Stiva and the devil are chameleons. The devil, too, may have children, but the members of this type "gradually lose sight of them." It seems likely, indeed, that Stiva as Dostoevsky understood him was an important source for the petty devil.⁷

But it is important, also to recognize the difference between ordinary evil as it was understood by the two novelists. For Dostoevsky evil is ordinary because we all actively if subconsciously wish it; we all want to "kill our fathers". For Tolstoy, evil is closer to "criminal negligence". In spite of his desire to be a good husband and father, Tolstoy observes, Stiva never could remember that he had a wife and children. At the beginning of the book, Stiva, who has been caught in infidelity, is repeatedly described with great irony as a "truthful" man; by which he and his friends mean that he hates to lie. He would much prefer to have his pleasure without lying about it, and has assumed that his wife has long known about his infidelity, and had taken "an indulgent view. It had turned out quite the other way" (part 1, chapter 2). One might think that someone who could sympathize with both Vronsky's and Levin's pursuit of Kitty, and quote the same verses to each of them, would have to be lying, but in a sense Stiva isn't because he conveniently forgets at each moment what he has done before. If being truthful is nothing more than not telling a conscious lie, than Stiva would have to be called truthful; he doesn't consciously lie, because his bad memory -- or rather, his excellent "forgettory" -- protects him.

Tolstoy's point here is that truthfulness and honesty involve a lot more than not telling conscious falsehoods; it involves the

moment to moment work of training oneself to remember what might contradict what one wants to say, think, or do. Honesty is active, demanding, and involves the acquisition of habits of self-questioning.

Levin has those habits, which is why one frequently sees him stopping in mid-sentence, as he recalls something that might make him look hypocritical. In arguing with Stiva about women, he suddenly breaks off because he has remembered his own impurity, and asks himself who he is to speak of Platonic love. When his brother Nikolai condemns institutions of local government, Levin becomes uncomfortable because he immediately reflects on the fact that these views are his own, and maybe he has been wrong to hold them. These are the reflexes of an honest man with honest mental habits.

Both the popularity and the evil of Stiva derive from his utter responsiveness to the moment. When the trainman is run over Stiva is deeply moved, but by the time Vronsky returns from giving money for the widow, Stiva is once again in a pleasant conversation. Still more horribly, in part 8, the sight of Vronsky reminds him of his sister and he grows deeply and sincerely sad for a few seconds, but then he gladly greets Vronsky as an old friend in whom to take his usual companionable pleasure. His neglect of his wife and children, his wasting of the resources they need -- and Tolstoy is unsentimental about the importance of money -- is Stiva's worst and most habitual crime, enacted in the small, and by omission, at every moment of his life.

5. The key to understanding Anna is that she is Stiva's sister, Anna Oblonskaya. It is a truism that Tolstoy had the special ability to create families that were not mere collections of individuals but a sort of small cultural unit of their own; so that when Vera behaves very properly but not like a Rostov, she becomes the exception proving the rule. We are given several Oblonskys in the book -- two aunts, and that professional procurer of unrepayable loans, Piotr Oblonsky -- and all share the characteristics of dishonest geniality and chameleon-like responsiveness to present company. In Anna's case, we see these traits from the very beginning, when she is persuading Dolly to forgive Stiva, telling her the utter falsehood that the act of infidelity cannot be repeated, which is technically true if one is thinking only of that particular mistress. Anna tells Dolly: "He's good-hearted, but proud and now he's humiliated. What touched me most" -- and here Tolstoy interrupts Anna to comment: "and here Anna guessed what would touch Dolly most" (part 1, chapter 19). Dolly doesn't notice this falsehood, but she does comment later in part 1 that Anna speaks very much like Stiva.

6. Anna is unlike Stiva in one key respect, though. She is capable of feeling guilty. The combination of Stiva's responsiveness and dishonesty with a conscience leads her into habits of protective lying to herself. She wants to be unfaithful to Karenin,

and knows there is no justification for it. Therefore, step by step, alteration by tiny alteration, she "schooled herself to despise and reproach him" (part 3, chapter 23), to magnify each of his faults and to give the worst interpretation to all of his actions and habits, to the point where the mere sight of him causes her loathing; and then she tells herself that it is not a matter of choice, that she simply cannot live with someone she loathes in that way. At the end of part 1, she is still able to look at her husband's weaknesses indulgently and -- I emphasize -- with love: "Anna smiled as people smile at the weaknesses of those they love" (part 1, chapter 33).

In Trollope's novel Can You Forgive Her?, one heroine tells another not to say bad things about her husband even in private lest she teach herself to think that way by habit; and this is precisely what Anna does with Karenin. The famous remark about Karenin's ears is not only a sign of changes in Anna, but also the first cause of her later view, the first in a chain of self-taught habits of distaste. And once she has acquired these habits over hundreds of pages, taught herself to think that way, she carries these habits over to Vronsky, until she totally loses touch with reality and moves into a world of utter falsity. In that world, everything has a meaning, and she knows what it is; in that final carriage ride, in the new terrible light "that revealed to her the meaning of human relations" she assigns a meaning to everything she sees: Tiutkin, coiffeur, and every other shop sign. She becomes the perfect semiotic totalitarian.⁸

7. By now it should be apparent, that, like Dick Gustafson, I entirely and without reservation adhere to the minority camp that holds that the book condemns Anna. The majority view, which holds that Tolstoy began with the intention of condemning her but ended up doing the opposite, is I think entirely mistaken. To be sure, much happened in the course of writing Anna -- too much to be described here -- but I think that what readers take as sympathy for Anna is rather an attempt to avoid a two-dimensional character, and to create one whose evil is real and understandable, but nonetheless evil. The favorable reading of Anna also derives in part from readers sharing some of Anna's values, including Romantic love, which Tolstoy emphatically did not share. The pro-Anna critics have had to wrestle with what one of them, Boris Eikhenbaum (in Tolstoy in the Seventies), calls the puzzle of the epigraph: it is a puzzle not only because it seems to condemn Anna, but also because after completing the book Tolstoy explicitly endorsed the interpretation that it condemns Anna. Thus, the pro-Anna people have had to say that Tolstoy didn't understand his own novel. For me, there is no puzzle in that sense.

8. There is a very interesting reason for the reading that is sympathetic to Anna and unsympathetic to Karenin. In order to show Anna's mental process of constructing a false image of her

husband, Tolstoy uses what I like to call "the Emma technique," because Jane Austen makes that technique central to the whole experience of reading that novel -- and was probably the first to use it so consistently. Readers of Emma (and of Pride and Prejudice to a considerable extent) construct a false image of what is going on because Austen narrates in a misleading free indirect discourse which describes Emma's thoughts in the third person, and so misleads the reader into taking her interpretations as facts attested by the author. Much of what readers of Anna take as objective descriptions of Karenin are in fact Anna's purposeful misperceptions. Tolstoy only rarely interrupts to dispute his heroine; occasionally even Vronsky tells her she is being unfair to Karenin. But on the whole, we are likely to see Karenin through Anna's increasingly false gaze because that is the perspective we are given.

9. But we are given clues to another view. In line with Tolstoy's idea that the least dramatic and most inconspicuous facts are the most important, Tolstoy uses what might be called "the decoy technique": the most noticeable evidence is unreliable, whereas more reliable evidence is given haphazardly, often buried in long paragraphs or subordinate clauses, or dropped at moments when one is primarily led to think about something quite different. In this way, we learn that some of what Anna claims to feel about Seryozha is the result of role-playing; we are told that little Annie would have died had Karenin not looked after her; and we are on a few occasions given evidence that before the events described in the book, Anna and Karenin had a relatively good, though not especially passionate and certainly an unromantic, marriage. When Anna answers one of Karenin's early attempts to discuss her behavior with feigned incomprehension -- she is at this point still capable of surprise at how well she can play false -- Karenin immediately understands that this very incomprehension is significant. "But to him, knowing her, knowing that whenever he went to bed five minutes later than usual she noticed it and asked him the reason; to him, knowing that every joy, every pleasure and pain that she felt she communicated at once to him; to him, now to see that she did not care to notice his state of mind, that she did not care to say a word about herself, meant a great deal" (part 2, chapter 9). To me, that does not sound like a description of a bad marriage. How many readers remember how Anna and Karenin got married: that he was tricked into proposing to her by being invited to Anna's, and then told it would be dishonorable not to propose -- a story whose parallel is the Vronsky-Kitty courtship, where Vronsky, unlike Karenin, does not do the honorable thing.

"As he[Mikhailov] corrected the foot he looked continually at the figure of John in the background, which his visitors had not even noticed, but which he knew was beyond perfection" (part 5, chapter 12); in art as in life the unnoticed figures hidden in plain view may be the most important.

10. On the train back to Petersburg, Anna is reading an English novel, which Tolstoy describes. Although the book is evidently some distillation of the English tradition as a whole, it is clear that the writer Tolstoy primarily has in mind is Trollope, especially his Palliser novels.⁹ The novel contains fox-hunting ("Lady Mary riding to the hounds") and speeches in parliament, both of which were Trollope's signatures, objects of parody. Tolstoy, we know, greatly admired Trollope. There are at least three important reasons for using him here. I have already indicated that Trollope's central theme is honesty, and that he treats dishonesty as a matter of acquiring bad mental habits. This idea is itself important to the English novelistic tradition, which Tolstoy apparently opposes to the French tradition: the English novel is a prosaic tradition, and is dedicated to the prosaic values Levin loves and Anna grows to hate. Trollope, above all, is aggressively prosaic.

Finally, the Palliser novels center around a couple much like Anna and Karenin; the advice about mental habits is given to the Anna character, Lady Glencora. Most important, Palliser himself is a sort of Karenin viewed positively, and was probably a model for Karenin: a politician, he is cold, stiff, bureaucratic, extremely inept at expressing emotion, but fundamentally decent and honest. When Lady Glencora is tempted to forsake "the worthy man" for "the wild man" as Trollope defines the opposition, she too indulges for a while in teaching herself to see her husband as incapable of feeling pain because he is incapable of expressing it. Can You Forgive Her?, in fact, narrates three stories of the choice between a wild and worthy man, though Trollope does none of them with the psychological insight of Tolstoy.

11. My final observation is about prosaics and ethics. Tolstoy's novel repeatedly teaches the lesson that good behavior is not at all what the Western Cartesian and Kantian tradition has taught us it is, the instantiation of the right moral norms. If morality were a matter of following rules, then a computer could do it best, or a sort of Ivan Ilich who follows rules perfectly because he is never distracted by anything human. But as Levin learns, there is no rule, and when he comes to judge rightly, it is not because he has discovered a rule, but because he lives rightly moment to moment. He appreciates the richness of each case -- is in the root sense, a casuist. When Koznyshev asks Levin whether he would kill a Turk about to harm a child before his eyes, Levin answers that he doesn't know, that he would decide on the moment. Though weak philosophically -- no basis for how to make the decision is offered -- this is the right answer. No rule should decide, because the particularities are too unpredictable and important, and the consequences of a wrong decision too terrible. The right thing to do is to develop a good moral sense over a lifetime and then trust one's morally trained eyes over any abstract philosophy. There is no shortcut

to ethical judgment, or as Bakhtin later put it, no alibi for being.¹⁰

And how does one train one's moral sense, apart from teaching oneself to live rightly moment by moment? Here we come again to the significance of great prose, of novels. Much more than philosophers examples or even our necessarily partial knowledge of situations in real life, great novels give us a rich and "thick" description of particular cases in our moral universe. Contemplating them, slowly attending their tiny alterations and considering their moral quandaries, may enrich our moral sense. The best education in prosaic ethics is offered by the most prosaic of genres -- and best of all by Anna Karenina.

NOTES

1. The following is the text of a talk delivered at the 1987 annual meeting of the American Association for Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages. Footnotes have been added, and a few observations about Anna Karenina, which were omitted because of time limitations, have been restored. I have not attempted to remove the traces of its composition with oral delivery in mind.

2. I first used the term "prosaics" in my paper for the 1986 AATSEEL conference, "The Ethics of Reading." It also appears in my book Hidden in Plain View: Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace' (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987) and is explained in greater detail in my article, "Prosaics: An Approach to the Humanities," forthcoming in The American Scholar (1988). Caryl Emerson and I develop its significance for Bakhtin in our joint study Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics (Stanford Univ. Press, forthcoming). Shortly after the publication of Hidden, the term "prosaics" was also used in a different sense by Jeffrey Kittay and Wlad Godzich in The Emergence of Prose: An Essay in Prosaics (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1987). Evidently Kittay and Godzich arrived at the neologism independently and essentially simultaneously. As Emerson and I use the term, it differs from Kittay and Godzich's "prosaics" in two ways: (1) in our sense, prosaics is not only an approach to prose, but also a view of the world focussing on the prosaic and messy events of daily life; and our discussion of prose centers on the novel, theirs on the "emergence of prose." Despite these differences, we have no difficulty in responding with enthusiasm to their basic argument.

3. Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: Norton, 1961), p. 17. Freud goes on to say that loss of the memory-trace is possible only in the case of brain damage.

4. Gregory Bateson, "Metalogue: Why Do Things Get in a Muddle?." Steps to an Ecology of Mind (New York: Random[Ballantine], 1972). The metalogue appears on pages 3-8. See also "Metalogue: Why Do Things Have Outlines?," pp. 27-32.

5. Natasha Sankovitch is developing the concept of a "novel of length."

6. On the centrality of Dolly in the novel, see Marina Leckovsky, "Dolly Oblonskaia as a Structural Device in Anna Karenina," Canadian-American Slavic Studies, vol. 12, no. 4 (Winter 1978 --special issue on Tolstoy edited by Richard Gustafson), pp. 543-548.

7. See the second chapter of The Diary of a Writer for February, 1877.

8. The meaning of human relations that Anna discovers is a form of Darwinism: "what Yashvin says, the struggle for existence and hatred is the one thing that holds men together" (part 7, chapter 30). This is one of many references to Darwinism and evolution in the book.

9. Amy Mandelker has also arrived at this identification of the novel Anna reads.

10. See the recently published essay from Bakhtin's early period, "K filosofii postupka," Filosofiia i sotsiologiia nauki i tekhniki (Nauka, 1986), pp. 80-160.

Round Table

Richard F. Gustafson. Leo Tolstoy, Resident and Stranger: A Study in Fiction and Theology. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. 480 pp.

Five Critiques and a Reply

Victor Terras, Brown University

Much about Gustafson's remarkable book is contingent upon his phenomenological approach which, to an extent rarely seen in so ambitious a scholarly undertaking, factors out the literaturnost of Tolstoy's works, their historical context, their intertextual connections with the literature of the times, and immediate critical reactions to Tolstoy's fiction. Consistently with this approach, the leitmotif, "resident and stranger," is not, or at least not explicitly, defined in relation to analogous dichotomies perceived in Tolstoy by Apollon Grigor'ev, Nikolay Mikhaylovsky, Dimitry Merezhkovsky, and Isaiah Berlin. Tolstoy's metaphysical searchings are seen, to a significant extent, in context with the theology of the Eastern Church, but even this is done in a rather general way only. In fact, at one point Gustafson makes the somewhat surprising statement that Tolstoy's theology "was not derived from scripture or any other books" (190).

It is therefore understandable that analogies which can be established between Tolstoy's thought and German idealist philosophy (Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel in particular) which was widely current in Tolstoy's Russia are not pursued, even when they are obvious. For instance, having stated that "Tolstoy's God of Life and Love is an Eastern Christian God," Gustafson points out that such theology is contingent upon abandoning "the shackles of the Aristotelian excluded middle" (108). But the same is of course true of Hegelian dialectics. For another example, Tolstoy's view according to which "the knower is also the event," "the consciousness of the All is the life of God," and "separation of the subject and object is a fiction of the knowing mind" (274-6) is also Hegel's. In this connection, it is significant that even Schopenhauer, a major influence, is mentioned only once, in passing (220). Nor is Lukacs's Theory of the Novel consulted, although Lukacs's existential "homelessness" and search for "totality" mean essentially the same as Gustafson's "resident" and "stranger."

Also consistently with his basic method, Gustafson deals with

the whole of Tolstoy's oeuvre as if it were a unity, factoring out those traits that are peculiar to the writer's youth, maturity, and old age. It ought to be noted that this diversity is as essential to an understanding of Tolstoy as is the unity perceived by Gustafson. Childhood is the work of a very young man, Resurrection the work of an old man.

Gustafson's conception of "resident" and "stranger" is certainly fruitful, though it takes the reader some time to absorb the broad meaning given to "resident," as in "a failed resident" (47). In common usage, "stranger" covers a broader semantic area than "resident." For example, Gustafson's analysis of Napoleon as the "stranger" and Kutuzov as the "resident" (224) is illuminating, and so is the application of these terms to the experience of war: some are "at home" in a battle, they are with it, while others perceive it as outsiders (244-52).

But then Gustafson takes his "resident: stranger" model beyond the existential and psychological into the epistemological dimension. Thus, he extends it to Tolstoy's theory of art, where "infection" transforms "strangers" into "residents." Elsewhere, he observes that the narrator may be a "resident," that is, merge his consciousness with his subject, or remain a detached "stranger" (250). Perhaps this metabasis eis allo genos should have been marked more clearly.

Gustafson presents Tolstoy's ontology, theology, moral philosophy, and epistemology better than any study I am aware of. The latter offers the most interesting material since it is linked to Tolstoy's aesthetics and poetics and Gustafson presents excellent examples of "recollective," "conventional," and "intoxicated" consciousness, "ecstasy," "infection," and "self-consciousness" as dealt with by Tolstoy and makes important observations on Tolstoy's treatment of point-of-view and the different ways in which Tolstoy's reader gains his knowledge.

Though concerned primarily with the paradigmatic aspect of Tolstoy's texts, Gustafson gives lengthy plot summaries of some of Tolstoy's works, as well as a maze of direct quotations, which lead to some good observations but make it difficult to follow Gustafson's main argument. His recognition of the paradigmatic quality of Tolstoy's fiction (290) does not induce him to use the familiar terminology of structural analysis. In his effort to avoid the familiar clichés of Tolstoy criticism, Gustafson uses terms, such as "relatedness" (162), "clarification of guilt" (175), and "restorative deification" (228), as well as formulations such as: "The rhythm moves from the hopeful possibilities of a new residency to the actuality of isolation (44), all of which the reader finds hard to digest. This is a good, but not particularly well written book. For a final thought, I

hope that Gustafson is wrong when he sees in "The Death of Ivan Ilyich" Tolstoy's art "in its most typical form" (160). I rather hope that the wonderful randomness and uniqueness of an individual human being's life as presented, say, in "Hadji Murat" is.

Robert C. Williams, Davidson College

In Leo Tolstoy: Resident and Stranger, Richard Gustafson has produced an elegant and definitive reinterpretation of Tolstoy's entire philosophy, theology, and writing. The book emphasizes his consistent and continuous religious world view within the culture of nineteenth-century Russian Orthodoxy, based upon two decades of reading and thinking about Tolstoy. A magisterial study, it illuminates the soul of an orphaned genius in unique and creative ways.

Gustafson interprets Tolstoy as both resident and stranger, a man desperate to belong to a loved community but estranged from others by his own self-centeredness. The resident achieves happiness by the soul's attraction to the good of others; the stranger believes in the primacy of the self. Following the Eastern Christian tradition, Tolstoy's imagined career of life seeks deification through an ultimate merging of the individual with God the All.

Both the lives of Tolstoy's characters and the structure of Gustafson's book elucidate this merging. In the beginning is the struggle for love, exemplified by Anna Karenina, Levin's search for faith, and the death of Ivan Ilich. The soul achieves wisdom through suffering. The way to love is redemptive and divine, a Christ-like love for all epitomized by Nekhliudov in Resurrection.

The second part of Gustafson's study illustrates Tolstoy's conception of evolving states of awareness through body, feeling, mind, and will. For Tolstoy, true self-consciousness means loving the other whose name is God, being conscious of God within us. Life is evolving consciousness from separateness to unity, from stranger to resident, from physical to spiritual egotism.

Recollective consciousness is central to Tolstoy's narrative technique. Both character and reader ascend by steps of prayer to moments of increasing consciousness of God. Recollection of self blocks awareness of the divine, which comes in moments of intoxication, ecstasy, and self-forgetting, epitomized by Pierre at Borodino in War and Peace. Likewise, political authority blocks the free self from achieving cooperation and community through love; the unnatural state coerces the natural community of free participation. Self-consciousness and knowledge of God produce a state of perfection and salvation possible to all who attempt to love.

Finally, Gustafson shows that Tolstoy's theology involves a transformation of consciousness where the self as "I" approaches the "non-I", the All, God. Paradoxically, this loss of self is a return to the self who knows God, the part rejoining the whole, eliminating personality and death.

Gustafson's brilliant, complex, and exhaustive rereading of Tolstoy places the writer squarely within the religious traditions of Eastern Christianity. Weaving together newly translated passages from all of Tolstoy's work, he is able to demonstrate clearly the lifelong unity and consistency of Tolstoy's philosophy of life. Tolstoy emerges impressively as both resident and stranger of the world of nineteenth-century Russia in which he strove to live.

Yet the historical dimension is somehow absent in this book, with its emphasis on continuity rather than change in Tolstoy's work. The chronological and the biographical vanish in a seamless web of religious seeking. Tolstoy's Christianity appears to be fully developed, rather than evolving, throughout his life.

Likewise, the historical traditions of Christianity in Russia are far more diverse than Gustafson's reading of Eastern Orthodoxy might suggest. Schismatic and sectarian interpretations, so crucial for Dostoevsky, are absent. So is the deep-seated Russian reading of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic, with its three stages of history leading to a final Judgment Day of collective salvation and resurrection, central to Nikolai Fedorov and Andrei Bely. The gnostic tradition so important to Russian nationalism, and even to Bolshevism, is yet another strand of Russian Orthodoxy.

It is crucial to remember that the subject of Gustafson's book is Tolstoy's Christianity, not Russian Christianity. The personal vision is perhaps more unique to Tolstoy and his followers than Gustafson suggests. Yet this historian's quibbling should not obscure the significance of this book, which ranks with Martin Malia's biography of Alexander Herzen as one of the most erudite and imaginative interpretations of any Russian writer or thinker. Its richness and wisdom defy the brevity of a review.

Richard Gregg, Vassar College

Let it be said at the outset that this is a landmark in Tolstoy scholarship: encyclopedic in its grasp of the subject, original in its approach, bold in its conclusions. By defining Tolstoy's narrative genius in basically religious terms, by synthesizing his

multifarious fictions into a single quest (though with many and diverse way stations) for spiritual love, and by placing the Tolstoyan Weltanschauung in the context of Eastern Christian thought the author has in effect presented us with a new Tolstoy. This presence will, I predict, be among us for some time.

A dithyramb is not a critique. And no study of such scope about so great a writer can fail to elicit strictures of some kind. Minor quibbles aside--the Princeton University Press proofreader (Slavic Section) should be fired on the spot--my reservations, some of a quite subjective nature, boil down to four.

1) For readers who have strong theological interests and aptitudes this book, subtitled "A Study in Fiction and Theology" will offer in the literal sense of Dryden's famous phrase "God's plenty." For those who do not, this bounty will sometimes seem like a plethora. Important parts of the work deal with Tolstoy as an (amateur) theologian without any reference to his fiction at all. In these sections that abstract language endemic to the metaphysical mind (e.g., "God is in everything and everything is in God, but God is not everything and everything is not God. Rather, God is everything taken as 'one live whole'") will try the patience of some earthlings and make this study--if only rarely--a "page turner" in the bad sense. In registering this caveat I am, to be sure, committing one of the cardinal sins of reviewmanship, viz., complaining that the author has failed to produce exactly the kind of book which the reviewer hoped for. So be it. The fact remains that Professor Gustafson's skills as a literary critic are such that one admiring reader could not but regret these prolonged forays into alien and (for him) marginally rewarding fields.

2) These same extra-literary interests raise a problem of a quite different sort. The parallels which Professor Gustafson draws between Tolstoy's thought and that of the Eastern Church are many and striking. But, as the French say: "Comparaison n'est pas raison." And the crucial question remains: was Tolstoy (whose interest in the religions of the Far East is of course abundantly attested) actually acquainted with the writings of (say) Origen and Gregory of Nyssa? The distinction being made is between an intellectual debt and a spiritual affinity, between, if you will, a causal and an "accidental" relationship. It is not a small one, and in failing to deal with it explicitly Professor Gustafson leaves an interesting stone unturned.

3) While the author possesses a style which is for the most part lively, forthright, and mercifully free of jargon, at times his expository method suffers from the defects of overkill. Tracing the spiritual odyssey of one hero (or heroine) after another, he uses similar or identical terminology, repeatedly claiming for the episode in question "paradigmatic" or "emblematic" qualities.

This method has its advantages: we are never left in doubt about the nature of the spiritual crisis or its similarity to crises undergone by other Tolstoyan protagonists. But the danger of monotony is not always avoided, and there are stretches in this lengthy text (almost 500 pages) which ask for the blue pencil.

4) Like most determined systematizers Professor Gustafson sometimes succumbs to the temptation of making things a little too simple, of (in this case) cropping off some of Tolstoy's wonderfully ragged edges for the sake of neatness or symmetry. For example, in retailing the many and important flaws in Anna's character Professor Gustafson offers a welcome antidote to the widespread (and erroneous) view that she is little more (or less) than an innocent victim of a stifling puritanical code and a hypocritical society. When however he encapsulates the unhappy heroine's life story as a "parable of self-indulgence" he is doing less than justice to that "large, rich, generous, and delightful nature" of which Matthew Arnold rightly spoke. Or again: when he speaks of Prince Andrew's ultimate, deathbed reconciliation with "life and love" he fails, so it seems to me, to appreciate the full significance of a passage which he himself quotes, a passage which makes it clear that during his last conscious hours this all too cerebral hero is still unable to unlock the mystery of divine love. Or still again: it is not easy to reconcile the sweeping statement that "all deaths in Tolstoy[...] terminate in some form of illumination with the apparently meaningless death of Petia Rostov, to say nothing of the slaughter of tens of thousands of French and Russian soldiers at Borodino. And while it is true that the death of Nicholas Levin eventually acquires a posthumous significance in the eyes of his brother, for the frightened, bitter and despairing victim there is no light at all at the end of the tunnel.

These are very small smudges on a very large and impressive canvas. By his imaginative analysis of the spiritual journeys of Tolstoy's greatest characters from "residency" to "strangerhood" and back to "residency"; by his seminal discussion of the crucial distinction in Tolstoyan thought between "love for" and "love of"; and by his brilliant demonstration of how from the beginning to the end, from the autobiographical trilogy to Hadji Murad, Tolstoy's fiction may be seen to hang together as a whole, Professor Gustafson has put all Slavists in his debt. This is a study of permanent importance.

Donna Orwin, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Toronto

Rereading Leo Tolstoy: Resident and Stranger, I experienced again the mixed feelings that had attended my first reading of it, respect and gratitude for the author's achievement and uneasiness about some

of his major arguments. One of the most valuable and original contributions of the book is Professor Gustafson's presentation of Tolstoyan theology. I question, however, whether it provides the ultimate key to interpreting even the early fiction. Certainly, as Professor Gustafson shows, Tolstoy's need for love -- obshchenie -- both underlies his aesthetics and leads to his religious philosophy. Tolstoy's works are expressions of a life-long search for a world view which would satisfy this need. Professor Gustafson believes that his final writings provide the "clearest articulations" (6-7) of this view and that therefore later works clarify the earlier ones.

If Tolstoy's religious development and his development as an artist had peaked at this time, then one might regard the religious thought of his old age as the perfect explanation of his fiction. In fact, however, the scope of Tolstoy's fiction declines after his religious crisis. The reason for this, I believe, is that while Tolstoy always remained constant in his search for obshchenie, his ideas about how to achieve it changed in ways which crucially affected his art. From the point of view of the biographer, or of the critic of Tolstoy's religious thought, each of Tolstoy's works of art may take its place in an ascending hierarchy culminating in Tolstoyan Christianity. The literary critic, however, must treat each work as Tolstoy himself did at the time he was writing it: as a coherent whole. The early works, at least through War and Peace, depend upon certain ideas (and ambiguities) that Tolstoy eventually left behind. His later ideas cannot be our sole guide to interpreting his earlier works.

Tolstoy's theology is more relevant to the works of his old age than to those of his youth. When applied to earlier works it tends to Christianize what Tolstoy himself considered their pagan flavor. Take, for instance, Professor Gustafson's treatment of Pierre's search for "identity and vocation" (73) in War and Peace and specifically the dream of the liquid globe, "the culmination of Pierre's metaphysical quest. . . [and]. . . also one of Tolstoy's most important fictional images of his metaphysics of life" (81). Professor Gustafson ultimately explains this globe -- and hence Pierre's identity -- with reference to Tolstoyan theology.

Each particular thing is a process of expansion and merger in which the merger is the completion and end of the former particular thing and the creation of a new and greater particular thing. "A drop that merges with a larger drop, a puddle, stops being and starts to be" [53,231;1899]. God is the completion and perfection of this process: the living liquid sphere in Pierre's dream of the globe of life. . . There is no annihilation or meaningless return because "every

being while living is achieving the good(dobreet), that is, is becoming more and more conscious of his unity with other beings, with the universe, with God"[55,9;1904]. Everything is becoming the all(107-08).

For Professor Gustafson, the globe celebrates the lover of all in man. He writes that it follows and illuminates Pierre's "spontaneous giving forth of self"(315: his rescue of the baby?). But Professor Gustafson has misunderstood the place of dream in the narrative. The event directly preceding it is the death of Platon Karataev, whose pitiful last summons Pierre has deliberately ignored. In order to preserve his own will to live, Pierre has refrained from giving himself. In so doing, he has experienced first-hand the necessity of natural selfishness and he is able to accept it in others. It is this selfishness, I would contend, that the globe celebrates.

As Professor Gustafson(392) mentions, the globe evolves from an image of each uncorrupted soul as a perfect sphere in a draft of the article "Who Should Teach Whom?"(8,433;1862). There Tolstoy attributes the idea of the original perfection of man to Rousseau, for whom it consisted in a natural moderation maintained by self-love (amour de soi) adequate to preserve life without unnecessarily harming others. Life for the Enlightenment philosopher Rousseau meant our particular animal existence, whose legitimacy the young Tolstoy was also concerned to establish. Tolstoy's love of law, or higher reason, was such, however, that he could establish it only by grounding our particularity in metaphysics. The liquid globe illustrates the metaphysical relation of each particular individual, each perfect sphere, to others and to God.

Each drop was striving to expand, to capture the greatest expanse, but others, striving to do the same thing, were trying to compress it{and} sometimes destroyed it, sometimes merged with it.

"This is life," said the old teacher. . ."In the center is God, and each drop strives to widen itself so as to reflect Him in the greatest dimensions."

There is no mention here of "everything becoming the all" with God as the "completion" of the process. And the liquid globe legitimizes more than just Rousseauist self-love in the service of self-preservation. In it God, the spring of life, continuously generates particular living beings who then "live," that is, expand, at the expense of their neighbors when necessary. Expanding, capturing, compressing, destroying and merging are all deeds of war. As Professor Gustafson at one point seems himself to acknowledge(43), the human relations which the globe represents are those of the hunt, a warlike competition without warlike rancor. An equally vivid celebration of unfettered human vitality is the duet of Natasha and

Nikolai Rostov after Nikolai's loss at cards to Dolokhov. Yes, as Professor Gustafson says (368), Nikolai does share a moment of "harmonious gladness" with his sister, but this harmony includes Rostov's reflection that "one can kill and rob and be happy." Professor Gustafson (88) correctly observes that Pierre's discovery of "life" in the novel must be integrated with Andrei's discovery of "love." But it is significant that Andrei dies after finally achieving a love of everything. To love one's particular as opposed to one's divine self is to love one's own body, and it is precisely the acceptance of the body that distinguishes Pierre (and Platon Karataev) from Andrei. Andrei can become what Professor Gustafson calls a "resident" (someone who belongs [8]) only by shedding his body and moving to another and better world.

The later Tolstoy, in the treatise On Life, for instance, or in Resurrection, sides more with Andrei than with Pierre. In War and Peace, however, he defends as valuable in itself our natural vitality, the "crust of animality" whose manifestation in the soul is self-love. It is this portrayal of amoral vitality as good in itself that I think Professor Gustafson misses in his Christian interpretation of War and Peace and other works of Tolstoy.

Philip C. Rule, S.J., College of the Holy Cross

In an earlier review of Leo Tolstoy: Resident and Stranger (in Theological Studies) much of what I said was by way of summary for a general theological audience. Writing from the viewpoint of one who is an expert neither in Tolstoy nor Russian language and literature but rather British Romanticism and 19th century British religious thought, I concluded by stating that "it is possibly one of the very best pieces of 'theology and literature' this reviewer has yet encountered." I used the term "theology" by design, for much of what is passed off as "theology and literature" studies is in fact "religion and literature" studies, i.e. looking for religious themes in works of literature. The proper correlations for such studies should be "religion and literature" and "theology and literary criticism," pairing the concreteness of symbol (or image) and experience against the abstractness of two different kinds of critical reflection. Here, however, we really do seem to have the case of a writer who truly "theologizes" through literature, i.e., narration. I would like, then, to comment briefly on two aspects of Tolstoy's theology: the relationship between theology and narrative and his particular "theology of consciousness," as Gustafson labels it.

In talking about the relationship between theology and narrative I wish only to allude to the increasing number of interdisciplinary

studies that have appeared over the past ten to fifteen years in which theologians and literary theorists have explored the use of narrative in organizing religious experience. Early in his study Gustafson points out that "the pattern of articulation which governs Tolstoy's life in general, however, moves from experience to image to idea. It is significant in this respect, that while creating his most complex fictions, War and Peace and Anna Karenina Tolstoy virtually abandoned his diaries and wrote no essays" (7).

One finds a striking parallel in the life of the Romantic poet John Keats. Reading his letters chronologically and paralleling them to the composition of the poems, one sees clearly that Keats struggled unsuccessfully to think out ideas in what he called "consequitive reasoning" and such abstract thought gives way to the imaginative process of writing a poem. What was previously talked about confusedly appears in letters written after a particular poem with stunning clarity. The famous example is the writing of Endymion, a mediocre poem, and the subsequent articulation of his doctrine of "Negative Capability." What examples like this have forced theologians to do is reconsider the role of imagination as a cognitive activity in mediating between experience and idea. All too often, in western Christian theology at least, the legacy of the Enlightenment has been to enthrone reason rather than imagination as the primary tool in theologizing. Gustafson's study brilliantly documents the process of imaginative theology, the rendering of image from experience, and then of idea from image. This in turn suggests another theological reflection upon which I am not qualified to comment: the formative influence of the religious icon in Russian culture. Speaking more generally, however, it is clear that literary criticism is an essential tool in approaching Sacred Scriptures which are not dogmatic texts for theological mining but rather the narrated experience of a chosen people.

Of particular interest to me, since I am currently engaged in a major study of consciousness and conscience in the writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and John Henry Newman, is Gustafson's treatment of Tolstoy's theory and psychology of knowledge which constitutes the second half of the book. While the first part is more properly literary analysis, the second focuses on what, by comparison, is the abstract structure of Tolstoy's metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and theology of prayer. This section should be of particular interest to theologians, for it is clear that Tolstoy relied little if at all on western philosophical tradition and much more, if not exclusively, on the Eastern Orthodox religious tradition which has its roots in the Greek Fathers of the Church. Here he found the basis for his theory of human consciousness, a theory that anticipates the tradition of Catholic thinkers such as Joseph Maréchal, Karl Rahner, and Bernard Lonergan. Gustafson, in fact, uses Rahner to provide a more sophisticated articulation of Tolstoy's "theology of consciousness." My own studies in Coleridge and Newman have focused on the same point. What Gustafson says of

Tolstoy applies equally well to these two thinkers: "The consciousness of self as willing, living, loving, striving toward the other whose term is God is a primary mode of self-knowledge which precedes all objectification and hence not reducible to any words about it" (265). The awareness of the self as a moral being (in earlier English usage "consciousness" and "conscience" were interchangeable as they still are in modern Romance languages where one word often covers both concepts) is both the beginning of true self-knowledge and the knowledge of God. Coleridge derived most of his teaching from his own introspective powers and from the German transcendental philosophers. While Newman was equally skilled at introspection, it has never been clear to me what his theoretical sources were and I wonder now, after reading Gustafson, if he might not have derived them from the same source as Tolstoy: the Greek Fathers with whom he was intimately familiar. My own ongoing research in British religious thought has been enormously stimulated by this brilliant book.

Richard F. Gustafson, Barnard College and Columbia University

These five critiques plus the substantial published reviews by McLean (Russian Review), Silbajoris (Slavic and East European Journal), and Lock (St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly) raise four major issues about my book Leo Tolstoy, Resident and Stranger, all of which are related to the methodological procedures I chose to follow. The first issue is the lack of attention to the diachronic flow of Tolstoy's life and the various changes in his art and thought. To many, I am aware, this seems a flaw, but I felt, and still do, that in order to demonstrate the remarkable consistency within the variety I had to narrow the focus. Had I chosen a chronological structure and paid attention to the many tributaries and brooks through which Tolstoy swam, I would have lost sight of the main stream of his thought and experience. One unfortunate result of this methodology, I now see, is that readings of some early works, in which I tried to show an embryonic version of later and clearer positions, have been disturbing because they seem to preclude other possible readings. Let me say that I am well aware that the psyche and its creations are overdetermined and can draw the conclusion from this that multiple readings of a text are inevitable. If I have been able to help people see a new aspect of Tolstoy—certainly not the only one—I shall be happy indeed.

The second main issue is related to the first. Many readers are disturbed by my failure to relate Tolstoy's ideas to thinkers who are considered to have been influential on him in one way or another at particular periods in his life. There are two reasons why I chose such an approach. First, I felt that continual asides

to discuss parallel ideas in others would have obscured the subject. I very much wanted to give a clear and organized presentation of Tolstoy's theology. And had I written a separate book on that subject, I might well have taken a diachronic approach with attention to changing influences. But I was also writing about the unity in all of Tolstoy and especially the relationship of the theology to the fiction. To do all of that together, and to try to present it in all its historical complexity, would have, I believe, obscured the basic argument. Secondly, the whole issue of influence is, in my opinion, a most vexed subject. While Tolstoy was obviously very well-read, his reading habits were peculiar. He claims that he did not continue to read a book if he did not agree with it. If that is even partly true, how does one assess influence? Furthermore, Tolstoy often did not read major thinkers seriously at all. To my knowledge he read very little Hegel or Fichte, for example. Indeed how much even of Kant or Plato did he know? Often Tolstoy read excerpts or summaries, as can be seen clearly in his quoted sources for *What is Art?* And finally even with those thinkers that Tolstoy did know well, and here one usually mentions Rousseau and Schopenhauer, how did he understand them? It is a bit simple-minded, it seems to me, to assume that he read them in quite the same way a late-twentieth-century, non-Russian reader would. I hope that someday we will have detailed studies of Tolstoy in his relationship to major thinkers, done with attention to the complex problems such a project entails. Above all I hope that in any study of Russian culture we can move from the prevalent model of influence, which seems to be the empty container into which foreign elements are cast, toward some understanding of the very dialogical nature of influence itself.

The third major area of discontent revolves around the parallels that I drew between Tolstoy's ideas and Eastern Christian thought. My intention was to show some structural similarities between the shape of Tolstoy's theological conceptions and those of some seminal Greek thinkers. This was not meant to be taken as an influence in the usual understanding. I meant it more as a "spiritual affinity," rather than an "intellectual debt," to use Gregg's terms, but I certainly do not assume that a spiritual affinity is necessarily and always "accidental." I can be accused of working with a theory of osmosis, as McLean does, since that is how I believe we do acquire at its most fundamental level our culture and especially our religious "beliefs." Religious understandings are shaped by cultural environment, and that environment in nineteenth-century Russia was strongly influenced by the Russian Orthodox tradition. Tolstoy himself always identified church with the Orthodox church. He was generally unfamiliar with Roman Catholicism and had only limited knowledge of Protestant theology. His first task after his "conversion" was a detailed study of Orthodox theology, especially the work of Macarius. His Christian outlook is shaped within the Orthodox framework, and when he dissents, he dissents from that worldview, which thereby shapes even his dissent.

A more serious question has been raised by Lock, who wonders if the model of Orthodoxy with which I work does not emanate more from twentieth-century Parisian Orthodox circles than from nineteenth-century Russia. In part this is true. But then it must be said that we do not yet have a good understanding of just what Orthodoxy was in nineteenth-century Russia. It was clearly in a period of change which had to do with the renewed emphasis on Greek patristics, the re-emergence of the hesychast tradition and the institution of elders, and the phenomenal growth of monasteries. It was this direction of change that led to the theological developments in Paris. That the Slavophiles and such leading figures as Dostoevsky, Solovyov, and Tolstoy were aware of all this is clearly attested. How all this is to be assessed, however, is not yet so clear. I would hope someday someone would write a study of Tolstoy's relationship to Orthodoxy. It will be the complex story of a man who attacks the official church (as did and do many Orthodox) and writes a detailed and critical study of its dogmatic theology, while reading saint's lives, diligently studying the Philokalia (with many marginal comments on his copy, waiting to be assessed by some scholar), and continuing to believe in the appropriateness of blessing oneself with the sign of the cross. If I have helped people to start to see that Tolstoy is not just some Western-style Protestant living in Russia, I will have accomplished my task.

Nor is Tolstoy some Buddhist or Taoist manqué. It is true that Tolstoy, in his later years, read a great deal in East religious philosophy. And there are affinities between some of his beliefs and certain Eastern doctrines. But are these influences? By the time Tolstoy began to read Eastern philosophy, his main theological ideas had already been shaped. Perhaps the more interesting question is what is the relationship of Eastern Christianity to the religions of the Far East? We already know of the similarity of hesychast practice to yoga. And certainly the strong Platonic and neo-Platonic traits in Eastern Christian thought structures have parallels in the Far East, and may even have their source in India. In general, it is time that we start to look at some of the differences from the West that Russian culture manifests, and one place to begin is in the Russian version of Orthodoxy.

Finally, some find it hard to abandon the received model of before and after, and therefore find that the theological readings of the earlier works are too distorting. This has especially troubled Orwin, who of all the reviewers seems least to understand me. I do not claim that the later ideas should be our "sole guide" to interpreting the earlier works. Nor am I interested in finding in the later religious thought a "perfect explanation" of the fiction. But I do think that the theological perspective can help us see aspects of the earlier texts often ignored. Orwin singles

out the dream of the globe of life and argues that I misread it. But can we accept her Rousseauian reading? Remember at this time Tolstoy was about to become involved in Schopenhauer whose vision is utterly un-Rousseauian, both in his understanding of "vitality" and in his evaluation of "selfishness" (Schopenhauer has a whole moral vision based on sympathy and compassion). Yes, the dream comes after Pierre has failed to respond to Karataev, but that does not necessarily mean that the lesson learned is the celebration of "natural selfishness." It might be, as Stilman argued long ago, that only now does Pierre begin to confront the forgotten Masonic precept about loving death, with its attendant revelation about the meaning of life. At any rate, I find it hard to conclude from these scenes that in War and Peace Tolstoy "defends as valuable in itself our natural vitality, the 'crust of animality' whose manifestation in the soul is self-love," although I am aware that there is a received opinion that early Tolstoy writes about "amoral vitality" and that people have read Natasha in this vein. By the way, in this scene how are we to understand the meaning of Karataev's story told just before the death (and which Tolstoy rewrote as God Sees The Truth But Waits)? Is not this story of clarified guilt and forgiveness significant, especially when we recall that Prince Andrew's dying vision is also embedded in a story of clarified guilt and forgiveness? In short, the reading depends upon which items one chooses to single out for attention. One way of seeing the difference between Orwin's reading and mine is that hers looks backward (Rousseau) and mine looks forward. Is the work of art a product of what the author has seen (or read) or an expression of what the author is beginning to see? I suppose it is at least both, hence the multiplicities of readings. At any rate, it is with the desire to shake up the fixed (and in my opinion rather too simplified) views of Tolstoy, that I offered my "new Tolstoy."

the texture of daily life, as Louise Smoluchowski creates it, resembles nothing so much as a good Dostoevsky novel. Rather than the passionate details and belief in individual integrity that mark Anna Karenina and War and Peace, this biography gives us one scandal scene after another. Not only husband, but also wife threaten to leave repeatedly and more than once make a dramatic departure. Every torturous conflict yields to a melodramatic and slightly unbelievable resolution. If, as readings of Romantic poets have taught us, the writer models his or her life as an extension of the writing, then what would it mean for Tolstoy's literary achievement that he created a world to live in so much at odds with his fiction?

NOTES

1. See Gary Saul Morson, "Tolstoy's Absolute Language," Critical Inquiry, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Summer, 1981), pp. 667-687; Krystyna Pomorska, "Tolstoj's 'Triplets': An Approach to Biography and Creativity," Semiosis: Semiotics and the History of Culture, In Honorem Georgii Lotman, ed. Morris Halle et al., Michigan Slavic Contributions, No. 10 (1984), pp. 176-180.
2. Boris Eikhenbaum, Molodoi Tolstoi (Munich, 1968).

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Anthony Thorlby. Leo Tolstoy. Anna Karenina. Landmarks of World Literature. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987. 114 pp.

Anthony Thorlby's slim volume on Anna Karenina joins the new Cambridge University Press series "Landmarks of World Literature." Although each book in this series discusses a single great literary work, no further principle of selection seems to guide the general editor. Why, for instance, include Mann's Buddenbrooks rather than The Magic Mountain, or Woolf's The Waves rather than To The Lighthouse? Does Constant's Adolphe belong in the same category as The Iliad and The Divine Comedy? The series boasts some well-known critics: Wolfgang Iser treats Tristram Shandy, Ian Watt writes on Nostramo, and Michael Wood does 100 Years of Solitude. The haphazard nature of the editor's choices skirts the revived controversy over what exactly constitutes the canon of world literary masterpieces, even though the series title would seem to call for such a statement. With the exception of Woolf and Murasaki Shikibu, however, the series treats works by Western Caucasian males, thus

remaining consistent with the orthodoxy that Allan Bloom and William Bennett presently advocate on this side of the Atlantic.

Professor Thorlby, of course, bears no blame for the above. He in fact succeeds admirably at what he has undertaken, which is to provide those who read Anna Karenina in English translation with a perceptive and detailed discussion of that work without resorting to critical jargon. The monograph should appeal to a large audience, including general readers, professors outside the field who must teach Anna Karenina in survey courses, and Slavists who specialize in areas outside nineteenth-century Russian literature, but who find themselves in front of undergraduates waiting to be guided through yet another translated Russian masterpiece. Tolstoy specialists will find the book elementary, but worth reading nonetheless. Thorlby uses a kind of Tolstoyan ostranenie in explaining complicated literary concepts without recourse to the interpretive clichés that have accumulated around them. Consider, for example, his handling of Levin's epiphanies:

Tolstoy has few rivals in the difficult art of depicting experiences of spiritual revelation. He shows these occurring generally under the pressure of unusual bodily circumstances; they seem almost to be a vision of something in the external world, yet they are manifestly an excitement of the heart and mind. (68)

He offers clear discussions of many difficult areas of the novel without oversimplifying. His discussion of the generic differences between tragedy and the novel, along with his lucid explanation of the breadth of Tolstoy's moral vision--"a morality which insists less on what is good and bad than on what is necessary and cannot be otherwise"(27)--offers hope to those of us who must explain the epigraph and Anna's tragedy to young products of the sexual revolution. Thorlby provides effective illustrations of Tolstoy's use of accumulated physical details to convey overwhelming psychological and spiritual events. Because his own admiration for the work shows through at all times, Thorlby presents the novel in a way that a talented teacher might use to stimulate an enthusiastic first reading in his students.

Thorlby's book has its shortcomings. His treatment of Levin's marriage and life with Kitty often merely paraphrases the novel (which itself may be a bit too obvious, since happy families live better but provide duller narrative material). He virtually ignores Tolstoy's relationship to the Russian literary world of the 1870s, treating Anna Karenina as if it appeared in isolation. The final chapter, "The Critical Context," occupies a mere seven pages, two of which are devoted to Lukacs, a few paragraphs to the work's contemporary reception, followed by a brief, fragmented glance at the twentieth-century response. The "Guide to Further Reading"

relies too heavily on British editions and scholarship, and offers little to the scholar who might wish to pursue a more sophisticated interest in the novel. The question of Anna Karenina's critical heritage raises an inevitable comparison of Thorlby's book with the Norton Critical Edition of the novel. The Norton Edition offers excellent footnotes to the text and 174 pages of excerpted criticism, including selections from Tolstoy's diaries, Mirsky's critical biography, and extensive excerpts from the Russian, Soviet, British, and American criticism of the work that has appeared in the century since its publication. Thorlby alludes to some of the critical traditions and controversies in his text, but only to illuminate points in his own exposition of the novel. To be fair, however, Thorlby did not set out to provide such an extensive critical apparatus as that of the Norton Edition. His book, in fact, provides an excellent supplement to the latter, in that it attempts to create the sophisticated reader that the Norton Edition already assumes. Both can be used together to teach the novel effectively. I would recommend Thorlby's monograph to students and teachers who deal with the work in translation, especially in broad survey or culture courses, as well as to the casual reader who wants a deeper appreciation of the novel. For those who wish a more scholarly approach, I would recommend reading Sydney Schultze's The Structure of Anna Karenina (1982), or waiting for Saul Morson's forthcoming study of the novel.

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Il'ia Tolstoi. Svet iasnoi poliany. Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1986. 286 pp.

Svet iasnoi poliany, part of the Otechestvo series published by Molodaia gvardiia, the publishing organ of Komsomol, does not pretend to be a standard scholarly work. According to the preface by Soviet film director Sergei Bondarchuk (War and Peace), Ilia Tolstoy wrote the book primarily with young readers in mind — advanced high school and university students, I should say, judging from the vocabulary and tone. But the book should be of interest to a wide number of Tolstoy readers, despite some weaknesses in the text.

Like Progress Publishers' excellent Lev Tolstoi i iasnaia poliana, Ilia Tolstoy's book relies heavily on photographs of the famous estate and on Tolstoy and his circle. The pictures are, in fact, the best feature of the book. Many of them show scenes familiar to students of Tolstoy's life, but there are also a number of rarely or never before published photographs and drawings of the estate, the Tolstoy family, and various archival materials. Moreover, many

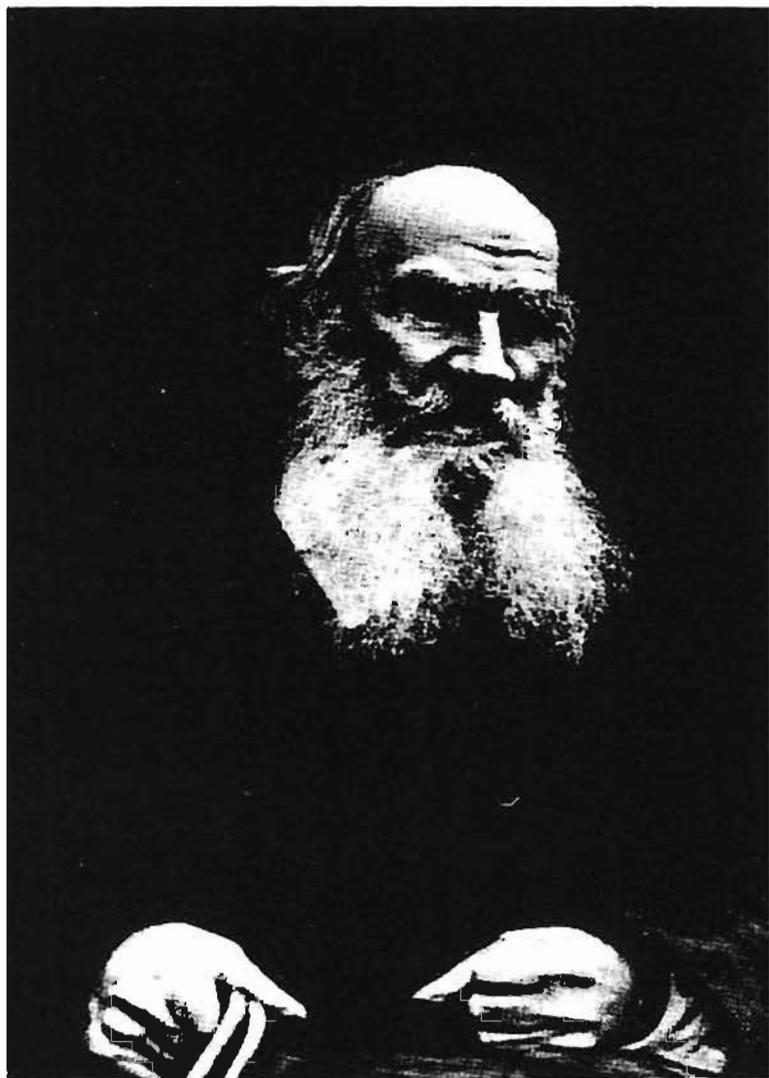
of the photographs of rooms and objects in Tolstoy's home are the clearest and most detailed I have ever seen. In terms of composition, layout, color, and paper quality, these photographs compare favorably with the finest Soviet photographic publications.

In addition to the visual richness of the book there is a text that strives to clarify the relations between Tolstoy and Iasnaia Poliana. Ilia Tolstoy does not always succeed in this attempt. Why? Because the book can't seem to decide whether it's a biography, character analysis of Tolstoy, guidebook to the Iasnaia Poliana museum, a study of the estate's role in Tolstoy's life and work, or a collection of reminiscences about Ilia Tolstoy's own immediate family. As a result, the book lacks a sense of development, except in the loosest chronological sense.

There is also an occasional disjointedness in the writing. The early pages go off on a distracting digression about Ilia's father's credentials as a non-enemy (I use this phrase intentionally, to suggest the awkwardness of the digression's theme) of the Soviet Union during World War II. Later, in the chapter on Tolstoy and hunting, Tolstoy's closeness to his sister and brothers is explained in a way that, while interesting in and of itself, is not clearly related to the rest of the chapter.

In tone the book is generally earnest, even didactic, as it repeats various platitudes about Tolstoy and Iasnaia Poliana as symbols of Russia, the Russian land, and, above all else, of the narod. But the author (a great-grandson of Lev Tolstoy) also presents valuable insights stemming from his own closeness to the subject and his contacts with other members of the Tolstoy family. For instance, Ilia Tolstoy transcribes an intriguing conversation, in Rome, between himself and Tatiana Mikhailovna Tolstoy, about the way that Michelangelo's statue of Moses at San Pietro in Vincoli recalled both the character and appearance of Tolstoy. The book contains some particularly interesting, hitherto unpublished reminiscences by Tatiana Mikhailovna about life at Iasnaia Poliana during World War I and the Revolution. There are also some charming anecdotes about Tolstoy told by peasants who were among his pupils at Iasnaia Poliana, as well as Ilia Tolstoy's pithy observations on Turgenev's ambivalence toward Tolstoy and on the popular canonization of Tolstoy as an eternally aged, white-bearded, peasant-shirted prophet. All in all, despite its occasional flaws, Svet iasnoi poliany is an engaging volume, superbly illustrated, that will appeal to scholars and non-specialist readers of Tolstoy alike.

Nicholas O. Warner, Claremont McKenna College



1909

Recent Dissertations

HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE PROSE OF TOLSTOY AND LESKOV

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ABSTRACT

Tolstoy and Leskov, like Karamzin, Pushkin, and Dostoevsky, sometimes turned to Old Russian literature as a source for literary raw material. However, unlike Karamzin or Pushkin, Tolstoy and Leskov drew directly from hagiography or religious legends derived from hagiography. Their aims were not only literary, but also openly didactic: that is, they produced stories, legends, and short novels which taught Christianity in the moral and ethical interpretation usually called Tolstoianism.

This dissertation examines the genres of the stories that Tolstoy and Leskov wrote in relation to the genre system of medieval literature, especially hagiography. It considers the didactic mechanisms these two authors used to preach their religious messages in literature, and compares the interrelation of content, style, and genre not only in the medieval sources but also in the modern texts. This study leads to insights in a number of areas: the relations between the two men, especially in the 1880s, their handling of narrative discourse, the problems of transplanting narratives from a medieval to a modern genre system, and the use of didactic techniques in modern literary works. It sheds light on the question of the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction in the modern period, and between genres in both periods.

The stories considered here include seventeen pieces by Tolstoy (written 1871-1893), and nine "Prolog tales" of Leskov (wr. 1886-1891). They can be described by a four-fold typology of hybrids: story-short saint's life, story-legend, short novel-legend, and short novel-saint's life. Chapter 1 contrasts some aspects of the genre system of hagiography in Old Russian literature with analogous genres in 19th century Russian literature, and discusses the place of the oratorical genres in medieval literature. It defines certain critical differences between medieval and modern literature as seen by D. S. Likhachev and others, and also considers the concept of the saint. It reviews those aspects of Tolstoian-Leskovian moral philosophy which most affected these stories, as well as the relevant secondary literatures on the two authors. Chapter 2 gives the criteria for the proposed typology, and identifies each story by type.

Chapters 3-6 are devoted to close readings of eight stories, four from each author. The Tolstoy stories are "The Moorish

Woodcutter" from the "Primer" (PSS 22:130-134), the "story for the people" "The Two Brothers and the Gold" (5:28-30), "What Men Live By" (25:7-25), and "Father Sergius" (31:5-46). Each chapter summarizes the story and its medieval source. For each story type I examine the relationship of author and narrator, the didactic mechanisms, the language of narrator and characters, the handling of supernatural elements, plot structure, and character development, as well as the author's worldview and model of reality. Each chapter concludes with a discussion of genre, differences between the authors as revealed by the stories, and their success both in the synthesis of diverse elements into a new narrative, and in terms of reception history. Chapter 7 offers some conclusions.

Tolstoy's "Father Sergius"

The saint was "the friend of God."
 "Holy" meant simply one who had been
 marked by God, as a workman might put
 a stamp on a chair[...] It did not
 have much to do with goodness, except
 that the Workman was good and proud
 of His good work.

Michael Mott, The Seven Mountains of
 Thomas Merton

A few of the reworkings of hagiography considered here are so different from their medieval originals and so extensively developed by modern literary techniques that they are in effect short novels which happen to have hagiographic sources. This is particularly true of "Father Sergius," which is also unique among these stories in drawing on more than one hagiographic source. By far the most important is the "Life of Our Holy Father Iakov the Ascetic Who, Having Fallen, Repented."¹ A similar event, where the hero must mutilate himself to conquer lust, occurs in Avvakum's autobiography,² but the parallels with Iakov's story are clearer and more extensive. Certain motifs in the characterization of Pashen'ka are reminiscent of the "Tale of Juliana Lazerevskja": "seeking holiness not in a monastery but in the world," both saintly women "for some time did not attend church but prayed to God at home."³

Use of Sources and Development of Narrative Structure

Tolstoy changed the ending of Iakov's Life by bringing in a new model of holiness, the saintly Pashen'ka. Her great virtue, humility, overcomes the lure of social opinion, and the story focusses around the mechanism which produces meaningful moral change in human lives. Prayer, in Tolstoy's telling, is important, but not church; penitence matters but penance does not; the example of living saints is more important than hagiographic depictions. In terms of narrative structure, we see the same sort of selectivity in religious matters. Tolstoy absorbed his source text almost

intact, without limiting himself to the specific episodes, or to the moral message of the original. He treated it as raw material for a short novel with such success that few readers recognize or even suspect its source.

Grossman's "History of Composition and Publication" in vol. 31 of the PSS gives some interesting information on the process of amplification which the plot underwent in Tolstoy's hands. Without mentioning a specific source for "Father Sergius," he quotes a "cursory entry" for the diary on 3 February 1890: "The story of a saint's life and a music teacher.--Would be good to write.--Merchant's daughter sick--seductive because of her sickness--and in a criminal act--he murders her"(31:257 quoted from 51:16).

Almost every episode mentioned here comes directly from the "Life of Iakov," including the murder which Tolstoy used in one variant (No.7) and then discarded. What Gossman calls Tolstoy's "concept" consists in not inventing the temptation and downfall of the hero, but in bringing the hagiographic plot into modern times and in confronting his saint with someone yet more holy, in the person of Pashen'ka, the music teacher. She is the new and more perfect type of saintliness, and judging from Tolstoy's diary entry, is an integral part of the plot from its inception.

Each of these episodes represents a digression from the canonical text of the saint's life and points the reader toward the final encounter between Sergius and the wealthy travelers which in Grossman's view "as it were crowns his quest"(31:264). The hero ends his life following the example of Pashen'ka, who also "teaches children and cares for the sick"(31:46). Tolstoy's additions to the life of Iakov make "Father Sergius" more typical of the saint's-life pattern than the original itself. Tolstoy begins earlier, giving his version of the saint's parentage, childhood and education before his tonsuring (the first episode in the "Life of Iakov"). Sergius then follows the ancient pattern of a novitiate in the communal monastic life, withdrawal to the eremitic life, and a return to social contact as a healer and miracle worker.

The second temptation and the hero's fall, not typical episodes in hagiography, are in fact borrowed from the medieval narrative. Both heroes then set off into the world to expiate their sins. Each finds a new and humbler life, and so regains his ability to serve the sick and needy, although Iakov's miraculous gifts are strengthened by his return to grace, while Sergius's confession to Pashen'ka in Ch. 8 replaces all three of Iakov's confessions, including the final confession to God in the isolation of the tomb, which is central to the medieval version. In place of Iakov's "passing away" and posthumous veneration (and continued miracle-working), Sergius's "death" consists of his disappearance into the abyss of Siberia, and his complete merging with the people as a nameless "servant of God"(31:45).

Despite these changes in the final episodes, Tolstoy's message remains much the same as the marginal summary at the beginning of Iakov's "Life": "pride is harmful and pernicious."⁴ Tolstoy said as much in a letter to Chertkov: "The struggle with lust is just an episode here, or rather one level. The main struggle is with something else, with social opinion" (87:71, quoted 31:262). The process of sanctification, whether in Iakov or in Sergius, demands self-abnegation, simplicity and humility; the second element in the medieval formula, "the power of repentance," is almost lacking in Tolstoy's version. With the music teacher Tolstoy seeks instead to build on the definition of sanctity found in Iakov's "Life," sharpening and refining its more message to his own taste.

Language

Tolstoy was evidently drawn to the spirituality which he saw in Iakov, and unlike Leskov he showed little interest in the linguistic trappings or colorful episodes of medieval narrative for their own sake. Tolstoy's language is colorful, varied and flexible, but it is basically standard literary Russian. This reflects his intended audience; unlike "What Men Live By," "Sergius" was not intended for a child or peasant reader, and was never published by Posrednik. Tolstoy had written mainly for himself, something which pleased him but did not "seem to him necessary" (72:480) for the moral education of the people. In the "stories for the people," by contrast, Tolstoy never brings up the sexual themes so prominent in "Sergius," "The Kreutzer Sonata," and "The Devil."⁵

The close ties between the language of the author and the omniscient narrator have caused some confusion among critics. S. Bulgakov wrote that the story is "simply an autobiography of Tolstoy."⁶ It is true that Tolstoy does not distinguish himself from his narrator here as he did in "What Men Live By." In "Sergius" the voice and sensibility of the narrator are those of an educated Russian looking back over several decades at the life of an exceptional man. Both hero and reader are treated as the peer of the narrator. In talking about Kasatskii's court and military career, the narrator uses the correct terminology naturally and comfortably. He is less precise in ecclesiastical matters, but this seems to fit well with the persona that Tolstoy builds up for his narrator; most lay people do not know clearly what life in a monastery is like. It could also be a minor error on the author's part, like having Kasatskii leave his estate both to his sister (31:5) and to his first monastery (31:12): the story was never finished to Tolstoy's satisfaction.

On occasion the narrator's language reflects the speech of a character, in a way which is distinct from inner monologue: "Praskoviia Mikhailovna herself was kneading the dough for the rich raisin bread which the serf cook had made so well in her papa's day" (31:38). Only Pasha would refer to her father as "papa" and this the sort of reminiscence a poor gentleman might often repeat to her grandchildren, yet the voice is the narrator's. However, the use

of what Bakhtin calls the "character zone" is much less prominent here than in "What Men Live By."

The narrator shows no interest in creating an illusion of orality: this is clearly written, not spoken, language, whatever voices echo through it. It is a work in an established genre of modern literature, not a stylization on a folk legend. Sergius's own speech is initially quite conventional. When he enters the monastery his speech takes on a veneer of false humility, so that he says to the abbot whom he despises, "Your Reverence deigned to summon me?" (31:16). At the end of his life, his speech becomes simpler and plainer again. When he comes to Pashen'ka he says only "Pashen'ka. I have come to you. Receive me" (31:39). At the end he hardly speaks at all. During his encounter with the wealthy travelers in the final scene, he says only that he is "the servant of God" and acknowledges their alms with the minimal response, "Christ save you" (31:45). Speech becomes another arena in the struggle for control over one's fellow beings, another avenue for violence, and the hero must communicate by his silence his new humility and desire for service, his rejection of the state's power over human lives.

The characterization of secondary characters by their language is precise and richly varied. The general who visits Sergius at the monastery speaks in an offensively familiar way to his "brother officer" (31:16). The merchant who brings his daughter Mar'ja to be healed by the hermit uses delightfully overblown "sacred" language in his petition: "Holy Father, bless my ailing daughter and heal her from the pain of illness" (31:32). Yet in chasing away his fellow pilgrims so that he can speak to Sergius alone, he speaks quite differently: "Get out of here, beat it! He blessed you, well, what more do you want? March. Or else I'll wring your neck, really" (31:32). ("—Otets sviatyi, blagoslovi dscher' moiu boliashchuiu istselit' ot boli neduga...—Ubiraites', ubiraites'. Blagoslovcvil, nu, chego zhe vam eshche? Marsh. A to, pravo, sheiu nammu.")

The clear differentiation within the language of the story between characters and narrator, and the evolution toward silence in Sergius's own discourse, are elements entirely alien to the medieval text, where a single voice tells the whole story, and the saint's penitence returns his teaching and healing gifts to him. These devices serve not only a literary function, in furthering the telling of the story, however. They also lay bare the story's ideological message. The ideal of non-violence and extreme self-abnegation is acted out in the sphere of communication just as it is in the hero's actions. Both modern and medieval texts depend on the saint's deeds to exemplify their moral message, and their messages remain quite similar; but Tolstoy's particular use of language represents his experiment in using a modern literary means to his own didactic ends.

Narrator

The narrator serves in critical but subtle ways to orchestrate the story's blending of the modern and the medieval. He presents episodes in the hero's life and makes general pronouncements about his character, especially at the beginning of the story, very much in the manner of the medieval scribe. He says directly, "The boy was distinguished by brilliant abilities and enormous egoism" (31:5). Both virtues and faults are illustrated by a series of telling incidents with his fellow cadets and a superior officer, showing his "explosive temper" (31:6).

The narrator presents Kasatskii as others see him: "handsome, a prince, a squadron commander in the Life Guards..." (31:5). At the same time, he analyzes his hero's inner life, attaining an understanding perhaps deeper than Kasatskii's own: "A complex, tense process was going on within him" (31:7), that is, the drive for self-perfection. Although pursued in unfruitful ways, both in the world and the monastery, this striving does not in itself differ substantially from the goal the Orthodox church holds up to every believer: "Such, according to the teaching of the Orthodox church, is the final goal, at which every Christian must aim: to become God, to attain theosis, 'deification' or 'divinization.' For Orthodoxy man's salvation and redemption mean his deification."⁷

Sergius and Iakov are driven by the same force, are tripped up by pride, and are ultimately saved—Iakov within the church, Sergius outside it. The narrator's lexicon for this process echoes the formulation above: "Pashen'ka appeared to him as salvation [my emphasis] (31:38). During his wanderings after leaving the monastery, "little by little God began to manifest himself within him" (31:45). In the Tolstoian version, it is only the separation from the ecclesiastical power structure that permits God even to appear in the pilgrim's heart.

The modern narrator is clearly the spokesman for the authorial point of view, then, but does not announce the fact openly. Where the medieval author devotes the opening paragraph of his narrative to telling the reader what lesson to glean from Iakov's fall and redemption, Tolstoy's narrator usually allows the events of the story to put forward their own message. Occasionally he steps forward with direct moral pronouncements: he prefaces his comments on contemporary Russian society with the phrase, "I think..." (31:8,9). Each interjection relates to the story line, and establishes the narrator early on as a critic of existing institutions, but is tied only tangentially to the central didactic point. As the story develops, the narrator becomes yet more self-effacing, relying on objective description and dialogue to articulate his critique of church and society.

In the passage immediately preceding Sergius's seduction of and by Mar'ia, in fact, the narrator seems to merge with the hero's

self-awareness and conscience. It is as if in lucid moments Sergius were condemning his own manner of life, then lapsing back into complacency: "[Mar'ia] considered him a saint, one whose prayers are answered. He rejected this, but in the depth of his soul he did consider himself a saint" (31:34). Ultimately, "he was about to reconfirm his healing power" (31:34), but "suddenly he became ashamed of his vanity" (31:34-5). After the fact, he "was horrified at himself, when he examined her body" (31:36). The narrator does not simply merge with either Tolstoy or Sergius, nor does he put forth a single spiritual or moral teaching. Instead the characters act and speak for themselves, so that this can hardly be an "unambiguous plot" in the medieval mold.⁸

Reality and the Supernatural

Supernatural elements such as "devil" and "angel" retain their place in Tolstoy's narrative, but are really immaterial to the story of Sergius's sanctification. At the end, all his miraculous powers are stripped away, leaving only God immanent in human beings, not God transcendent and triumphant as he is in Iakov's "Life." Having used the form and imagery of hagiography, and its approach to God through prayer and sacraments, Tolstoy faces the task of creating a counterbalance, a new and compelling type of virtue. If he fails, there is a disjunction between Chapters 1-7 of "Father Sergius" and Chapter 8. More than in his other reworkings of hagiography, like "Two Brothers" or "What Men Live By," Tolstoy has admitted here elements of mystical spirituality. Sergius prays the "Jesus prayer" of Hesychast tradition (31:34), and experiences joy and peace through his prayers: "he felt not only light, but joyfully moved" (31:20). By prayer and recollection of hagiographic tradition he successfully overcomes Makovkina's temptation (31:20). His elder belongs to the line of monks who helped to revitalize Russian spirituality in the 18th and 19th centuries and who themselves followed the Hesychast prayer practices. When Sergius later falls to temptation, it is because the "spring of living water" (31:28) is no longer flowing in him as it was before. These images and phrases are so charged with positive associations, particularly for Orthodox readers, that a very direct attack would be required to discredit them. Tolstoy does not attempt this, and instead tries to add a further stage, the ultimate perfection of the mystic, where such practices are no longer important or necessary. The reduction from rich complexity to bare simplicity makes Chapter 7 a sharply delineated part of the narrative, furthest removed from the norms of complex realistic fiction. In the earlier chapters, Tolstoy integrated his hagiographic source material so that it is almost imperceptible. Here, he paradoxically moves furthest from his sources while moving closer to the medieval manner of writing about sanctity. Taken as a whole, however, "Father Sergius" transcends its generic connection to the medieval genre, synthesizing disparate material into a new work of art.

NOTES

1. "Zhitie prepodobnago ottsa nashego Iakova postnika, padshago i pokaiavshagosia." Entry for March 4 in the "Kniga zhitii sviatykh," M., 1837. This is the edition which Tolstoy himself owned, and his copy is preserved at Yasnaya Polyana(23:534).
2. From the "Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma," Khrestomatiia po drevnei russkoi literature, ed. by M. Fedorova and T. Sumnikova, p.242.
3. From the "Povest' o Iulianii Lazarevskoi," Khrestomatiia po drevnei russkoi literature, ed. by Fedorova and Sumnikova, p.349.
4. From the first page of the "Zhitie Iakova"(unpaginated).
5. Jahn, "Tolstoj's 'Stories for the People' on the Theme of Brotherly Love," unpublished dissertation, p. 18.
6. In "Chelovekobog i chelovekozver," Voprosy fil. i psikh., kn. II(112), 1912, p. 55(Cited by Pletnev, p. 55).
7. Ware, Orthodox Church, p. 236.
8. Lur'e, Istoki russkoi belletristiki, pp. 23-4.

[Editor's note: The following is a condensed version of the author's conclusion.]

CONCLUSION

For myths are realities, and
themselves open into deeper
realms.

Thomas Merton,
Cold War Letters

Genre, content, and style, so closely interconnected in medieval literature, are no longer bound up in the same way in modern literature. They might appear to be entirely unconnected: Likhachev stresses the importance of both the "style of the epoch" and "authorial principle" as features distinguishing the modern period from the medieval. However, this study points to an equivalent interaction of genre, content, and style which, although very different from the strict rhetoric governing medieval prose, operates in analogous ways in these modern narratives. Bakhtin says at the beginning of Discourse in the Novel:

The separation of style and language from the question of genre has been largely responsible for a situation in which only individual and period-bound overtones are the

privileged subjects of study. The great historical destinies of genres are overshadowed by the petty vicissitudes of stylistic modifications, which in their turn are linked with individual artistic and artistic movements. For this reason, stylistics has been deprived of an authentic philosophical and sociological approach to its problems; it has become bogged down in stylistic trivia; it is not easy to sense behind the individual and period-bound shifts the great and anonymous destinies of artistic discourse itself.¹

In the stories considered here, it is religious ideology, rather than political or ideological orientation, which is crucial. However, some aspects of Bakhtin's analysis of prose discourse are relevant and useful in examining these works, where Bakhtin's "great historical destinies of genres" such as hagiographic legend are played out, as it were, in miniature.

Each of these stories combines modern and medieval literary techniques in varying proportions. Medieval rhetoric dictated simple stylistic means in didactic works like short saint's lives. In longer works such as sermons or full-length "Lives" a more elaborate style was required to edify and uplift the audience, sometimes even to draw them into contemplation of the divine nature in the Hesychast tradition.² What parallel can be drawn between such a rhetorical system and the style of these modern stories? The aim of all these stories is to inculcate the Tolstojan moral-ethical understanding of Christianity. Seven of the eight are openly didactic, ostensibly written for a peasant audience or young reader. "Father Sergius" is the only one of these works written for Tolstoj's peers, and he chose not to finish it. Only "What Men Live By" appears to have satisfied both author and readers, whatever the inner strains on its stylistic system.

In Tolstoj, unlike Leskov, both the short novel-legend and the short novel-saint's life show implied or direct connections with the Hesychast tradition. The transfiguration of the angel in the final scene of "What Men Live By" and Sergius's prayer practices both have parallels in the 14th century "Life" of Sergius of Radonezh, and, stylistically speaking, the longer periods found in "Sergius" are akin to Epifanii's elaborate phraseologies. Even in the modern period, elements of mystical theology maintain a connection, however tenuous, with their stylistic correlates as dictated by medieval rhetoric.

Truth in Art

[In this section, Professor Chester discusses the Hesychast elements in these stories, and how Tolstoj and Leskov differ in their use of Old Russian material.]

Style and Content

In the four stories which I consider as examples of story-short life and story-legend, stylistic simplicity and didacticism correlate completely. Only the short-novel type stories had any degree of acceptance with a broad readership, and only these types, with their novelistic features, approach the type of prose which Bakhtin discusses in "Discourse in the Novel." Particularly in Tolstoy's stories, the characters' discourse has achieved a significant degree of differentiation from the narrator's discourse, and their inner monologue spills over into "character zones," coloring the narrator's language. This "speech diversity"⁶ shows up not only in the syntax and lexicon but in the moral viewpoint as well. The narrator in such stories tends not to comment directly on the story's moral teaching, and instead allows the characters to serve as mouthpiece for the author's message. Both Mikhaila in "What Men Live By" and Sergius take on this role at the end of the story, after appearing to be natural or morally ambiguous characters throughout the early chapters. In Bakhtin's terms the author allows "dialogizing" of the text. But this autonomy, combined with a greater number of complex characters, inevitably weakens the story's didactic focus. This is somewhat less of a problem in stories like "What Men Live By": the short novel-legend is a good example of "double-voiced narrative," using the legend form with its medieval roots to transmit a message subtly altered from the original. Pluralism, a variety of potentially valid moral viewpoints, is alien to the old legend form, which normally presents and clarifies only one value system. In addition, the legend, particularly in Shchegolenok's telling of the source of "What Men Live By," with its "geographical-toponomic" moral, is hardly an authoritative text on a par with, say, Scripture.

According to Bakhtin's model, the problems in handling authoritative texts should be greatest in a work like "Father Sergius," which is a true short novel. The problem of integration is greatest, I believe, in the concluding section of "Sergius." In both "Sergius" and Leskov's tale "Mountain," however, the characters' point of view dominates whole sections of the story. Validating their angle of vision implies some acceptance of their moral vision as well, and this interferes with the integrity of the author's intended message.

Certain parallels, then, can be drawn between the style and genre systems of the two periods. Simplicity of stylistic means and particularly of narrative techniques permits the author to transmit an unambiguous moral message. As the complexity of the style and the richness of narrative discourse increases, as it approaches the techniques of the modern novel, the clarity of the didactic message is inevitably blurred, subordinated to the linguistic and moral "heteroglossia" of human discourse. The spirituality which informs the saint's life, particularly those with roots in

the mystical tradition, are least amenable to Tolstoian ultrasimplicity and tend to bring in elements of a non-rational faith which contradict the author's overt message.

NOTES

1. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," Dialogic Imagination, p.259.
2. Eremin, Lektsii po drevnei russkoi literature, pp. 62-3.

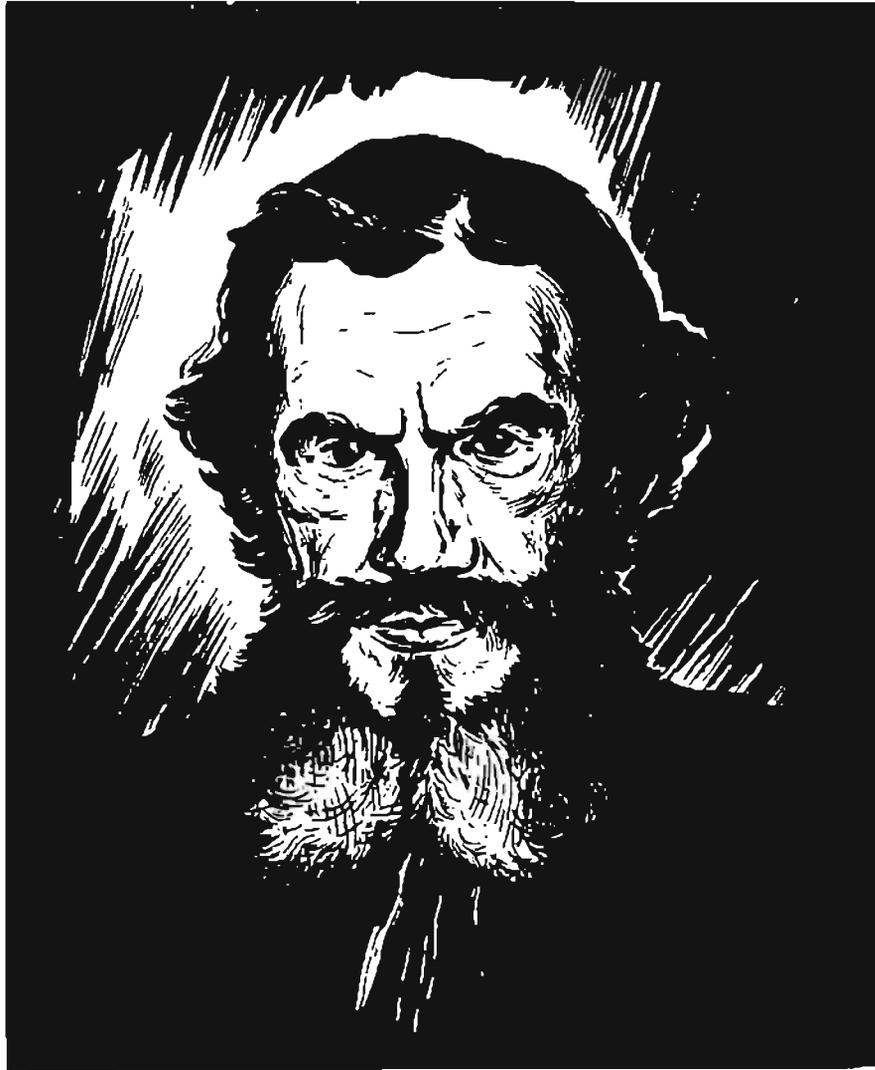
[Footnotes 3-5 belong to the section of "Truth in Art" that is omitted here.]

6. Bakhtin, "Discourse," p. 272.
7. Bakhtin, p. 272.

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Professor Chester writes that her future plans include an article comparing "What Men Live By" with Leskov's "Lion of Elder Gerasim," and papers on "What Men Live By" and "Father Sergius" for upcoming conferences. Further ahead she is interested in the question of Hesychast elements in the latter two stories, and in the relevance of Bakhtin's theory of the novel to Tolstoy's prose. Eventually, she would like to move on to other areas where the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction blur, such as the autobiographical and semi-autobiographical narratives of 20th century women writers.



The Chronicle

Carolyn McMartin, Woodbridge, Virginia

Editor's Note: Carolyn McMartin is an independent scholar who has undertaken the project of translating N. N. Gusev's Chronology of the Life and Work of Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy, a work that will be exceptionally useful to Tolstoy scholars.

Gusev has chronicled Tolstoy's daily life as represented in the usual sources such as Tolstoy's diaries and letters. He has also drawn on memoirs, official documents, letters written by those who knew Tolstoy, and other materials, and has included detailed documentation. Thus, a person researching, say, Tolstoy's quarrel with Turgenev can find, as only one example of this long-running dispute, the following entry for 6 February 1856:

"Over dinner at Nekrasov's Tolstoy sharply attacked the views of George Sand on the woman question, setting him at loggerheads with Turgenev. (Diary, 7 Feb.; Turgenev's letter to V. P. Botkin dated 8 Feb. 1856, V. P. Botkin and I. S. Turgenev. Unpublished Correspondence, "Academia," M-L, 1930, pp. 78-9; Nekrasov's letter to Botkin dated 7 Feb. 1856, Nekr., X, No. 220; D. V. Grigorovich, Literary Memoirs, Complete Collected Works, Vol. XIII, Marks, StP, pp. 326-7.) Note: In Tolstoy's Diary, the quarrel with Turgenev is noted as having been on 7 Feb. 1856, while Nekrasov and Turgenev date it in their letters as on 6 February. We believe that Nekrasov and Turgenev are correct, as Tolstoy's note was among others which he made for several days at once and thus might be incorrect."

As I continued my translation, I began to wonder how Gusev came to undertake the compiling of this chronology. I found surprisingly little about him in Tolstoy biographies other than his connection with Tolstoy's last years. Gusev is mentioned briefly in connection with Tolstoy dictating thoughts to him. By assembling the bits and pieces about Gusev scattered throughout the Tolstoy literature, I have managed to construct the following brief treatment of his life.

In the introduction to his Two Years With L. N. Tolstoy, Gusev tells us that he first became acquainted with the work of Tolstoy in 1901 when he read The Gospels in Brief. He was 19 years old, a marxist and revolutionary by his own definition, and he admits that he read the book primarily because it had been banned. Marxist philosophy, however, did not satisfy him in a moral sense. "Having accepted the teaching that everything in the world in general, and in my life in particular, happens according to inevitable

historical laws on which my will can exert no influence, I lost any kind of reasonable direction and feeling of responsibility for my actions..." He had had a very religious upbringing, he tells us, and although he had lost his faith under the influence of marxism, he retained "those high moral ideals which are the basis of faith."

Before reading The Gospels in Brief, Gusev had come to the conclusion that moral demands must serve as the main guide in life, but he had not defined just what those moral demands are and what they are based on. He did not expect to find the answer in Tolstoy, because he had been "prejudiced against Tolstoy by revolutionary literature, primarily because of his advocacy of nonresistance to evil. From the words of revolutionary writers I acquired the idea that nonresistance to evil meant submissiveness to evil, reconciliation with it."

The Gospels in Brief staggered Gusev with its power. It completely satisfied "those moral questions which had forced me to renounce blind faith in materialistic philosophy." He began to read literary criticism about Tolstoy. It wasn't until two years later, in 1903, that he finally wrote to Tolstoy expressing his admiration for him and his work. Two weeks later he received an answer written by Aleksandra Tolstaya, and a month later Tolstoy himself sent a letter. In mid-September 1903, Gusev visited Tolstoy, and from that visit a correspondence began.

A note to the 26 October 1907 entry in Tolstoy's diary says that Gusev began working for the Posrednik publishing house in 1905. Gusev seems to have won the confidence of Vladimir Chertkov, which was, of course, essential to anyone who wished to become close to Tolstoy at the end of his life. In 1907, when Chertkov found it necessary to return to England on business, he suggested that Tolstoy invite Gusev to be his secretary, helping with correspondence and other duties. Gusev accepted this invitation and moved into the house at Aleksandra's estate at Telyatinki which was 3 versts from Yasnaya Polyana.

Gusev was arrested twice because of his connection with Tolstoy. In October 1907 he was arrested on the basis of rumors that he held gatherings in his room in which the Tsar was abusively mentioned. In The Tragedy of Tolstoy, Aleksandra Tolstaya relates that a search of his room revealed copies of Tolstoy's article "The One Thing Needed," in which Gusev had inserted the passages which the censor had prohibited, most of which were unfavorable references to the Tsar. Gusev was sent to Krapivna, thirty versts from Yasnaya Polyana. Tolstoy intervened with authorities on Gusev's behalf, and after two months' arrest, he was released.

On 4 August 1909, Gusev was once again arrested and exiled to Cherdyn, charged with "propagating revolutionary ideas." Aleksandra Tolstaya suggests that "the government continued to fight my father, not by interfering with him personally, but by persecuting his friends.

It would have been impossible to invent a worse punishment for him." Tolstoy once again tried to intervene with authorities on Gusev's behalf, but this time he was unsuccessful in obtaining Gusev's release.

In her biography of Tolstoy's wife Sonya, Ann Edwards says that Aleksandra was "intensely jealous of Gusev's privileged position" in her father's life. Unfortunately, Ms. Edwards does not document her book, and there is no way of assessing the validity of that assertion other than to look at Aleksandra's own statements about Gusev. In The Tragedy of Tolstoy, Aleksandra complains that Gusev noted down all the intimate details of our life," depriving the Tolstoy family of the "common human satisfaction of living unobserved." She describes how he "shook his head judiciously and left the room" one night, expressing disapproval of a song about the passion of love, saying "it's so characteristic of the surroundings in which Tolstoy lives." She criticizes the letters he wrote on her father's behalf to people who had written to Tolstoy with questions. From these examples it is difficult to tell just what Aleksandra's true attitude toward Gusev was, for by the time she was writing this, nearly 25 years had passed since her father's death, and she would have known of the work that Gusev was doing to preserve information about her father's life and work.

In addition to Two Years With L.N. Tolstoy, Gusev compiled a four-volume series entitled L.N. Tolstoy: Material for a Biography, the volumes covering the years 1828-1855, 1855-1869, 1870-1881, 1881-1885. He died before he could complete this series. A small fifth volume covering the years 1886-1892 was published in 1979 under the authorship of L.D. Opulskaya, Gusev's assistant.

Gusev compiled the chronology of Tolstoy's life, a two-volume work entitled Chronicle of the Life and Work of L.N. Tolstoy, the first volume covering the years 1828-1890, and the second volume covering 1891-1910. This is an essential reference work for all Tolstoy scholars. Gusev has consulted and incorporated into the chronology many works which are unavailable to scholars outside the Soviet Union. It is the definitive source for dates. It is from Gusev that I verified the date of his arrest in 1909 which has been variously reported as 4 August and 5 August. In Gusev we can find exact dates of births, deaths, and other significant events in the lives of those who were close to Tolstoy. For example, Tolstoy's father, Nikolay Ilich, was born on 26 June 1794; was liberated in Paris on 19 March 1814; was discharged on 14 March 1819; married Marya Nikolayevna Volkonskaya on 9 July 1822, and so on. Regarding Tolstoy's mother, we learn that her death on 4 August 1830 was recorded as resulting from "fever"; and that Yuliya Mikhaylovna Ogareva, a family friend who was present when she died, wrote a book entitled Voice of the Past in which she described the cause of death as a "nervous fever," meaning that the illness lasted only a few days.

As an example of the paths this type of research can lead to, I had noted a reference to Yu. M. Ogareva in Shklovsky's book: "Ogarev was another frequent visitor, and the children did not know that Ogarev's wife and their father were lovers" (53). Gusev makes no mention of this relationship in the chronicle, but does relate the following in Material for a Biography, 1828-1855: "After his wife's death, N.I. Tolstoy did not enter into a second marriage. There is some information about his passion for his neighbor, Yuliya Mikhaylovna Ogareva, the wife of the owner of the estate of Telyatinki...retired Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Mikhaylovich Ogarev" (96). Telyatinki is the estate which later passed to Tolstoy's daughter Aleksandra.

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Anne Edwards, Sonya: The Life of Countess Tolstoy, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.

My interest in Gusev led me to the decision to begin a publication - a sort of newsletter - based on Gusev chronology. I called it The Tolstoy Chronicle. The following is an extract from the first issue.

CHRONICLE OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF
LEV NIKOLAYEVICH TOLSTOY*

[Editor's note: the Chronicle begins with a long entry for 1828, the year of Tolstoy's birth.]

1830

2 March 1830: The birth of Mariya Nikolayevna Tolstaya (died 6 April 1912). (T.A. Yergolskaya's notebook, GMT; letter from M.N. Tolstaya to L.N. Tolstoy, 3 March 1851, GMT)

Note: In the Kochak Village Church Registry of Births, Marriages, and Deaths (GMT), the birth of M.N. Tolstaya, daughter is antedated 7 March.

4 August 1830: The death of Tolstoy's mother, Mariya Nikolayevna Tolstaya. (T.A. Yergolskaya's notebook, GMT)

Note: In the Kochak Village Church Registry of Births, Marriages, and Deaths (GMT), the death of M.N. Tolstaya "from fever" is antedated 7 August 1830. In the memoirs of Yu. M. Ogareva, who was present at the death of Tolstoy's mother, the cause of death is said to have been "nervous fever," which is to say that the illness lasted only a few days. (Voice of the Past, 1914, 11, p. 113).

1832

15 March, 1832: The date of the extract from the journal of the Tula Nobility Deputy Assembly concerning the financial position of Nikolay Ilich Tolstoy. In the various villages of Tula and Orlov provinces, "793 male and 800 female souls" of serf peasants, including 219 "souls" in the village of Yasnaya Polyana were included in his accounting. ("For the Biography of L. N. Tolstoy," Russkaya mysl, 1911, 4, pp. 108-110)

1833

Tolstoy is transferred to the supervision of F.I. Rossel, his older brothers' tutor. (My Life)

Note: F.I. Rossel is portrayed in Childhood and Youth as Karl Ivanovich Mauer.

1833-1834

Nikolenka Tolstoy announced to his brothers that he knew the secret of how to make it so that people knew no unhappiness, never argued or got angry, and all would love one another and would always be happy. "He told us this secret was written on a green stick, and this stick was buried by the road at the edge of the ravine of the "Old Forest Reserve." (Reminiscences, ch. "Fanfaron Mountain")

*Translation copyright 1987, Carolyn McMartin

Note: The "Old Forest Reserve" was the name of the forested section half a kilometer from the Yasnaya Polyana house. Tolstoy willed that he should be buried at this place, which he was.

1835

The earliest preserved example of Tolstoy's handwriting is in a notebook entitled "Child's Play. The First Part. Natural History. Written by. C.L.Ni.To." (i.e., Count Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy).

This notebook contains a short description of seven types of birds: the eagle, falcon, owl, parrot, peacock, hummingbird, and rooster (Jub. 90)

1835-1836(?)

Fedor Ivanovich Tolstoy - the American - arrived at Yasnaya Polyana. "I remember his beautiful face: tanned, clean-shaven, with thick white side-whiskers to the corners of his mouth, and similar curly white hair. I would very much like to tell about this unusual, felonious and attractive uncommon man." (Reminiscences, ch. "Brother Seryozha")

1836

Tolstoy read Pushkin's poems "To the Sea" and "Napoleon" aloud to his father, who was struck by his inspired reading. (Reminiscences, ch. III; S.A. Tolstaya, Material for a Biography of L.N. Tolstoy, GMT)

GMT=State Museum of L.N. Tolstoy in Moscow

The above is a translation of N.N. Gusev's Chronicle of the Life and Work of Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, 1828-1890, Moscow: Khud. lit., 1958.

I sent out advertisements offering The Tolstoy Chronicle to colleges and universities with Russian studies departments, but the lack of response at that time caused me to suspend my efforts on the newsletter. I have continued my translation of the chronology, and I invite anyone who is interested in my work to write to me at the following address:

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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 R. Jahn of the University of Minnesota has agreed to compile this list. The compilation for 1987 is necessarily modest, since it includes only those items which were published in serials received by the University of Minnesota library and located by Professor Jahn. So that future lists may be as complete as possible, 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 off-print, together with a brief abstract for inclusion in the listing. In subsequent years the list will contain two parts: the list for the immediately preceding year and an update of the list published the year before. Thus, the 1989 compilation will contain both a listing of articles on Tolstoy published in 1988 and such additions to the list as come to Professor Jahn's attention in the intervening period. 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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1987

Bagby, Lewis and Pavel Sigalov. "The Semiotics of Names and Naming in Tolstoj's 'The Cossacks.'" Slavic and East European Journal, vol. 31, no.4(1987), 473-489.

The authors begin with the conviction that "The attempt to overcome the artificiality of the verbal sign, to restore its internal form, is clearly at work in Tolstoj's use of personal names in 'The Cossacks.'" Their analysis leads them to conclude "that the significance of names and the relationships they reveal are elevated beyond the narrator's level to incorporate the author. The narrator and author share the power and control which derive from not being held to the limitations of plot phenomenology. They win the victory over the Caucasus which Olenin cannot. They also debunk Olenin's romantic, literary

expectations about the Caucasus and the incursion of the Russian into that space. But at the same time Tolstoj keeps the myth of the Cossack alive in Mar'jana and Luke. In the double encoding of their names beyond the parameters of Pomorska's rule, an encoding moreover which is effected through the sacred names, Tolstoj renders the romantic myth in a new form."

Dolinin, A. S. "Logic and Tolstoy." Soviet Studies in Literature, XXIII, 3-4(1987), 64-69. A translation of "Logika i Tolstoj" in Vozrozhdenie severa, no. 57(March 23] (1919).

Heirbrant, Serge. "La Guerre de 1812 et la Littérature Russe du XIXe Siècle." Slavica Gandensia, vol. 14(1987), 69-77.

A discussion of the War of 1812 as a theme in the works of various writers (Pushkin, Gogol, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Pisemsky, Chekhov), including Tolstoy. Specific reference is made to "Two Hussars" and Youth as well as to War and Peace.

Krajneva, I. N. "Lev Tolstoj i natural'naja skola." Russkaja literatura, no. 2(1987), 31-48.

Subtitled "perspektivy izučeniya problemy," this item consists of a fairly detailed exploration of the secondary literature on the connections between Tolstoy and the writers and methods of the Natural School. The author's survey begins with Nekrasov, Chernyshevsky and ends with Xrapchenko, Galagan, and Kuprejanova. Opinions of K. Leont'ev and A. Bely are presented. "As we see, the problem of the relationship of Tolstoj's work to the artistic potential of the Gogol school is far from simple. . the fact that [the task of studying this relationship] has ripened and is demanding our efforts for its resolution is confirmed by a number of publications by foreign Slavists [not named]."

McLean, Hugh. "Tolstoi Made Whole." The Russian Review, vol. 46 (1987), 321-8.

This substantial review of Richard Gustafson's Leo Tolstoy. Resident and Stranger is very favorable. Gustafson's work is favorably compared with those of Ejxenabum, Kuprejanova, and other eminent scholars. The work's major insight is its perception of "the fundamental unity in Tolstoy, a profound 'oneness' that marks his work from beginning to end." There is, however, a price to pay for this insight. "Gustafson's extreme monophysitism, as suggested earlier, does have some drawbacks. History, biography, the whole diachronic axis—these are essentially lost." McLean seems not completely convinced of the validity of Gustafson's insistence on connecting Tolstoy intimately to the tradition of "Eastern Christianity."

Morris, Marcia. "Sensuality and Art: Tolstoyan Echoes in 'Tristan.'" Germano-Slavica, V, 5-6(1987), 211-222.

The author's abstract: "Most readers of Thomas Mann's 'Tristan' assume that the novella is based on Wagner's opera of the same name. Mann's use of the triangular love affair as a structuring device as well as his fascination with Wagner do much to promote this view. A careful reading of the text, however, reveals closer affinities to Tolstoy's novella 'The Kreutzer Sonata.' It is hardly surprising that Mann might choose to write a burlesque based on Tolstoy; his early letters and essays all attest to his deep admiration for the Russian master. 'Tristan,' like 'The Kreutzer Sonata,' is built around the evolving relationships between three main characters: a husband, who represents man's sensual urges; an artist, who is deeply involved in music; and a wife who is caught between two men's conflicting views of life. In both novellas the heroine perishes, unable to reconcile the demands made on her by husband and artist. 'Tristan' has often been viewed as Mann's summation of his early work. It not only presents a polished version of one of his favorite themes, the conflict between the 'Burger' and the artist, but also attempts a humorous variant of Tolstoy's extremely serious work, which allows its author to synthesize Tolstoy's influence on him and, to a certain, extent, exorcise it."

Sendich, Munir. "English translations of Tolstoj's 'Vojna i mir': An Examination of Difficult Renderings." Russian Language Journal, XLI, 138-39 (1987), 313-340.

A consideration of three translations of "Vojna i mir" into English: those by Ann Dunnigan, Rosemary Edmonds, and Louise and Aylmer Maude. His analysis covers eight problems of translation: play on words, syntax, speech peculiarities of certain characters, transliterations and literalisms, omissions and concoctions, similes, repetition, and use of French. On the basis of the numerous examples discussed under each of these categories Prof. Sendich concludes "The above critique has time and again ranked Dunnigan's rendition as the best and the most accurate if the three I have examined."

Sendich, Munir. "Tolstoj's 'War and Peace' in English: A Bibliography of Criticism (1879-1985)." Russian Language Journal, XLI, 138-39 (1987), 219-272.

This bibliography focuses on a single work, War and Peace. It is divided chronologically, by decades. Besides providing the most current listing of English-language sources on War and Peace, the bibliographer claims to have filled numerous lacunae in other bibliographies, with over 800 items.

Zytaruk, George J. "D.H. Lawrence's 'The Rainbow' and Leo Tolstoy's 'Anna Karenina': An Instance of Literary Clinamen." Germano-Slavica, V, 5-6 (1987), 197-209.

Author's abstract: "In his youth Lawrence thought Tolstoy's 'Anna Karenina' to be the greatest novel in the world. Later he was to repudiate Tolstoy's vision, and in his own novels attempt to correct the older writer's work. His hostile criticism of Tolstoy is a 'misreading' which, in Harold Bloom's terms, was necessary to free Lawrence from artistic anxiety and which enabled his own creative work to emerge. 'The Rainbow' and 'Women in Love' represent an artistic 'clinamen' in relation to 'Anna Karenina.' The latter novel proceeds correctly, up to a certain point, but then should have swerved in precisely the direction that we see the author taking in the former two novels."

Amy Mandelker, CUNY Graduate Center

The following articles will appear in The Supernatural in Slavic and Baltic Literature: Essays in Honor of Victor Terras. Amy Mandelker and Roberta Reeder, eds. Intro. by J. Thomas Shaw. Columbus: Slavica, in press. The following abstracts are from Professor Shaw's Introduction.

Michael Holquist, "The Supernatural as a Social Force in Anna Karenina." Holquist, in a study of Anna Karenina, notes a trend in Western thought recognizing that the modern pressures society exerts on the individual are analogues to the personification of supernatural agents (such as fate) in earlier times: there is a general reassignment of responsibility for the ultimate necessity that controls individual destinies and changes in history, from personalized gods (requiring religion and theology) to impersonal social forces (requiring economics and sociology). Holquist notes that the epigraph to Anna Karenina suggests "supernatural retribution taken from scripture" but he shows in detail how the central events leading up to Anna's suicide are portrayed in terms of social forces.

Gary Jahn, "A Note on the Miracle Motif in the Later Works of Lev Tolstoy." Jahn studies the theme of "miracle motifs" in the later fictional works of Tolstoy designed for the educated reader. In his late stories for the popular audience, Tolstoy makes overt use of the supernatural. However, for his educated peers, he uses symbolically the themes and images of the passion and resurrection of Christ, especially in Master and Man and The Death of Ivan Il'ic, though his theology rejected Christ's bodily resurrection. For Tolstoy, the only resurrection is spiritual. Jahn suggests that in these late stories, Tolstoy the artist in effect rebelled against both Tolstoy the theologian and Tolstoy the aesthete (of What is Art?).

A panel on "Anna Karenina and European Literature" was presented at the annual AAASS meeting in Boston on Sunday, November 6, 1987. The panel was chaired by Richard Gustafson of Barnard College and Columbia University, and the discussant was Thomas G. Winner, Professor Emeritus of Brown University and Director, Boston University Program in Semiotics. The following abstracts were written by the author's of the papers.

"Rousseau's Emile as a Source for Anna Karenina." Thomas Barran, Brooklyn College.

In Part VIII of Anna Karenina, the resolution of Konstantin Levin's spiritual doubts hinges on his rediscovery of conscience as an innate ethical faculty. Levin's conscience has been working through his feelings rather than his reason, while his intellect pursues a futile search for the meaning of life. The novel comes full circle as Levin learns to heed his internal voices, in contrast to Anna who increasingly tries to silence hers, by denial, then morphine, finally by suicide. In portraying Levin's spiritual resolution in Part VIII, Tolstoy drew on the section of Book IV of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Emile entitled "The Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar," which Tolstoy esteemed a a profound source of moral teachings. In portraying Levin in Part VIII of Anna Karenina, Tolstoy drew on the advice of Rousseau's vicar to abandon far-reaching intellectual searches for God and the meaning of life by turning instead to the inner voice of conscience which has been given to people as an infallible moral guide.

"The Shadow of Anna Karenina." Amy Mandelker, CUNY Graduate Center.

A casual utterance by an unnamed minor character early in Tolstoy's Anna Karenina institutes the comparison of Anna and Vronsky to characters in the Grimm fable of "a man without a shadow." The cliché of being shadowed, and the inaccurate, superficially irrelevant literary reference have passed unnoticed in the critical literature. An exploration of the cumulative effect of shadow imagery throughout the novel and of the symbolic value of the shadow figure is informed by literary tradition and Jung's theory of archetypes. The result of this study reveals that the penumbrae of the shadow figure impinge on the fundamental thematic issues of the novel. The Faustian literary sub-texts concerning a man without a shadow, or, more accurately, a man whose shadow gains separate Mephistophelian autonomy, elaborate the novel's moral concern with sin and redemption. The Jungian interpretation of the mythic shadow figure locates this myth in the human psyche, and refocuses our perception of Anna's ordeal as the struggle for unity.

"Prophecy and Causality in Anna Karenina and The Red and the Black."
Isabelle Naginski, Tufts University and Radcliffe College Bunting
Institute.

This paper examined the presence of a prophetic narrative in Anna Karenina and Le Rouge et le noir as a counterweight to the more common emphasis of critics on the "realism" of the two novels. While few would deny that the fictional worlds of Stendhal and Tolstoy are reliant upon historical events, there has been a tendency to overlook a second component, a second narrative mode based not so much on history as on the prefiguration of certain events. In Le Rouge et le noir an anagram in the early pages of the novel condemns Julien to be executed. In Anna Karenina an early scene prefigures the heroine's suicide. While Stendhal's and Tolstoy's narrators use a similar structure of fatality, their reasons for doing so are different. For the French writer, the prophetic structure encapsulates the idea of the Restoration as an era in which everyone's destiny is fixed. Tolstoy's narrative a crucial, strategic element of the author's moral argument with which he demonstrates the inexorable destruction of a woman who embarks upon the path of adultery.

Hugh McLean sends word that he is editing a volume on Tolstoy called In The Shade of the Giant (California Slavic Studies, vol. 13). Along with a piece by Professor McLean there will be articles by Ruth Rischin, Andrew Wachtel, Irina Gutkin, Joan Grossman, John Weeks, and John Kopper.

In Exchange

A REPORT ON THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TOLSTOY CONFERENCE

Amy Mandelker, CUNY Graduate Center

Frank R. Silbajoris, Ohio State University

The US-USSR Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences, Subcommittee on Literature and Languages for the project "American Russian Literary Relations" met for its second working conference on January 20-21, 1988, in New York City. The first conference was held on January 6-7, 1987, at the Academy of Sciences Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow. Both conferences were sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies-Soviet Academy of Sciences Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences, administered in the United States by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX).

The Soviet participants were Professors Lydia D. Gromova-Opulskaia, Aleksei L. Nalepin, and Dmitrii M. Urnov, all of the Gorky Institute; and Nikolai N. Skatov, Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkinskii dom). The American side was represented by Frank R. Silbajoris, The Ohio State University (Coordinator of the Subcommittee); Dr. Edward Kasinec, the New York Public Library Slavonic Division (Chair, AAASS Committee on Archives and Manuscripts); Dr. Richard Gustafson, Barnard College and Columbia University; Gary Saul Morson, Northwestern University; Amy Mandelker, CUNY Graduate Center; William B. Edgerton, Indiana University; Robert T. Whittaker, Lehman College, CUNY; Robert Karlovich, Pratt Institute; Vitaut Kippel, Hunter College; Nicholas Rzhnevsky, SUNY Stony Brook; and Thomas E. Bird, Queens College.

The first session was concerned with archival materials on Tolstoy available in the New York metropolitan area. Robert T. Whittaker reported on these materials [editor's note: see "The Tolstoy Archival and Manuscript Project" which follows] and distributed a manual summarizing the holdings in local collections; the manual offers brief descriptions, including 123 items by Tolstoy, 145 items by relatives of Tolstoy and 5 letters of V. G. Chertkov. Descriptions of these materials are also available in the database kept in the NYPL Slavonic Division. Thomas Bird then offered a brief account of the history of the "Frey Collection" at the New York Public Library. Robert Karlovich commented on the two presentations on archival materials. The Soviet representatives received copies of the documents and were impressed with the efficacy of computerized procedures in archival research.

The second portion of the meeting offered assessments of recent developments in American Tolstoy scholarship by the authors of two

major works on Tolstoy which have appeared in the last year. First, Richard Gustafson spoke on "Recent American Publications on Tolstoy," including a synopsis of his book Leo Tolstoy. Resident and Stranger. Saul Morson elaborated his theory of "prosaics" with special reference to Tolstoy's Anna Karenina, the subject of his next book. Amy Mandelker commented on this section.

The third section of the conference was devoted to a consideration of practical issues involved in joint Soviet-American production and preparation of archival and textological materials for publication. Antonia Glasse spoke on "Recent Soviet-American Archeographical and Textological Work," summarizing her experiences in working on a collaborative project to bring out a volume of Lermontov materials. William Edgerton then spoke on "The Experience of Publishing American Archival Materials in the Soviet Union," with special reference to his work with Literaturnoe nasledstvo. The section was concluded by Edward Kasinec who commented on archival matters.

During the fourth section of the conference, the Soviet delegation offered their contributions on the topic of "Recent Russian/Soviet and Eastern European Publications, Archeographic and Textological Work on Tolstoy." Lydia Gromova-Opulskaia spoke of the ongoing effort to document the extensive correspondence between Tolstoy and his American correspondents. Dmitrii Urnov made extensive comments on American visitors to Tolstoy's estate and on the American authors in Tolstoy's Yasnaya Polyana library. Aleksei Nalepin's report centered on the memoirs of American guests of Tolstoy as a source for studying the writer's creative biography. Nikolai Skatov discussed an open letter by N. Fedorov to Tolstoy, and then gave a general survey of the activities of the Gorky Institute. After comments and questions, a summary by Frank Silbajoris concluded the session. Participants reassembled at the New York Public Library, where the Slavonic Division had prepared an exhibit of archival materials. Edward Kasinec spoke about the history of the Slavonic collection as well as about the extent and variety of its holdings.

The second day of the conference was devoted to reports by the American side on ongoing activities of the Russian Classical Literature Group in America, on the Tolstoy Archival Materials session at the San Francisco AATSEEL conference, and a discussion of the prospects for publishing two discrete Soviet and American volumes on Tolstoy research prepared by the Tolstoy subcommission on both sides. Lydia Gromova-Opulskaia described opportunities for American contributions to the forthcoming new Academy edition of Tolstoy's complete works, and spoke of the next meeting of the subcommission in spring, 1989, in the Soviet Union. The meeting will be held either in Yasnaya Polyana or in Moscow.

The Tolstoy Archival and Manuscript Project

Robert Whittaker, Lehman College, CUNY

As part of the Soviet-US project "Tolstoy and America," an effort is being made to locate and describe materials relating to Tolstoy in American archives. This project began with the greater NYC area, which has the richest concentration of Tolstoy manuscripts and materials in the United States. These materials are being collated with his published works, which seems not to have been done before. The collation of manuscript letters with Tolstoy's published correspondence has led to a number of findings: texts known only from his copy-books can now be verified in the original; dates that were suggested from internal or circumstantial evidence can also be established more precisely; and there are not only unpublished, but also unknown letters to be found in these collections.

A secondary type of material also belongs to this project: the archival documents of family members. There is a vast amount of manuscript material relating to the Tolstoy family in America which is still awaiting description. For example, on the Tolstoy Farm in Valley Cottage, fifty miles north of New York City, there is a small library, the second floor of which is filled with boxes of uncatalogued, undescribed archives. Another area of Tolstoyana comprises the memoirs and other first-hand material in the archives of Americans who visited Tolstoy. This secondary type should probably include materials by American Tolstoyans -- the large number of non-resistant pacifists, agrarian communists, non-traditional Christians, vegetarians, abolitionists, Unitarians, Quakers, and Shakers, among others, who were influenced by (or were at least sympathetic to) Tolstoy's writings and thought.

The most significant collection of Tolstoy's manuscripts are his letters in the personal funds of Aylmer Maude, Ernest Crosby, and Isabel Hapgood. A brief survey of these three will suggest something of their value. The largest such collection is Tolstoy's letters to Aylmer Maude (1858-1938), the English biographer and translator of Tolstoy -- not the first of the great translators, but nearly so, for he started his work about ten years later than Hapgood and Dole. He had the advantage of having spent over twenty years in Russia and met Tolstoy on several occasions, first while living there. Soon the acquaintance developed into discipleship. He was not a Slavist or even a translator by profession. Rather, when he first met Tolstoy, he was manager of the wholesale division of the Russian Carpet Company in Moscow. In 1897, motivated by his sympathy for Tolstoyan ideas and their incompatibility with the merchant's world of marketing rugs, he and his family left Moscow to settle in England. Because he had bought into the company, which did well, he was able to retire on his capital from the profits when he was forty. The Maudes settled near Chelmsford, in Kenworthy's Tolstoyan land colony.

There are 68 letters of Tolstoy to Maude at Columbia University, which represent a significant part of the total of about 90 known pieces of correspondence that he sent Maude between 1897 and 1910. Tolstoy corresponded with Maude more extensively than with any other Englishman or American. (This, however, represents just over one percent of Tolstoy's total extant correspondence, which comes to some 8600 pieces.) The correspondence was most intense when Maude was working on a translation or involved in a Tolstoyan project.

One would expect to find the letters to Maude in England in the Maude family archives. However, upon Aylmer Maude's death, his son Lionel gathered the Tolstoy materials - letters from Lev Nikolaevich and other family members - and offered them for sale through Sotheby's. These letters were bought by Charles Scribner's Sons in New York; Columbia University purchased them in 1947. Most of the Maude letters at Columbia have been published, in most cases from photocopies apparently received from Maude. Not all of Tolstoy's letters were photocopies, however, since a number of the texts are published from copybooks. A check of these letters shows that there are some discrepancies in the texts and dating. Most important, there are nine apparently unpublished letters. The first four unpublished letters belong to the series exchanged between Maude and Tolstoy concerning lexical questions of translating What is Art - late 1897 and early 1898. The remaining letters are of greater interest. In one (December 1898) Tolstoy expanded on his anti-intellectualism: "The longer I live, the more I become convinced that our excessive intellectual development greatly hinders us in life's business." He then related how his son Sergei once asked a peasant why he left his master: "One can't live with him, he is too frightfully wise. And I believe, Tolstoy continued, "that most of our failures come from our being too frightfully wise."

Among the Maude letters, with no explanation of how they got there, are two letters by Tolstoy to Bolton Hall: only one has been published, and that only from a copy. These letters of 1908 express his views on non-violent resistance, on Henry George's land ideas, and on how the State Duma seemed not to have the time to deal with his suggestions along these lines.

The second major collection, held at Vassar College, contains Tolstoy's letters written to Ernest Howard Crosby (1856-1907), an avid, dedicated Tolstoyan. Only 25 of Tolstoy's letters are extant. The 18 autographs that are in the archives at Vassar College might have been lost altogether, had it not been for the curiosity of Crosby's niece. Apparently intrigued by letters in an indecipherable hand which she found in a trunk, and unaware of their origin or author, she contributed them to her alma mater. Thus seven unpublished letters survived, as well as two published only in Russian translation.

Like Maude, Crosby was a Tolstoyan - whom Teddy Roosevelt scornfully called "the leader of the Tolstoy cult in America." There was much disappointment in this disgust: Crosby was to have had a brilliant political career, following in TR's footsteps. But in 1893 he read

Tolstoy's "On Life" (O zhizni), resigned from an international judgeship, traveled to Russia to meet the master, and corresponded with him until his death in 1907. Crosby propagated his teachings of non-resistance and George's single tax, wrote prolifically against American imperialism and against the arrogance of government and the courts. He satirized TR and the jingoist enthusiasm for the Spanish-American War in his 1902 Captain Jinks, Hero. Crosby, unlike Maude, did not translate, but wrote on Tolstoy - in 1896 Count Tolstoy's Philosophy of Life, and in 1897 a memoir of his visit, "Two Days with Count Tolstoy." In 1899 he helped Louise Maude prepare a translation of Voskresen'e (Resurrection) - and in a remarkable letter requested permission to tone down some of the explicit scenes in the novel.

The correspondence with Tolstoy began in 1894. In one of the unpublished letters Tolstoy gave Crosby the permission he requested to abbreviate Resurrection as he saw fit. Other letters deal with Crosby's Tolstoyan writings. In response to these writings Tolstoy composed a lengthy letter (over ten printed pages) to Crosby which turned into an open letter that he sent not to Crosby but to Kenworthy: in one of the unpublished letters (September 1896) Tolstoy explained how this essay came to be written and asked permission to publish it. Finally, in 1903 (in the last unpublished letter) Tolstoy thanked Crosby for his essay on Shakespeare and the working class, which he planned to publish in Russian. His foreword to this essay got out of hand and grew into "On Shakespeare and Drama" completed the following year, 1904.

The third collection of Tolstoy's letters is located in the archives of perhaps the most remarkable of his American correspondents - Isabel Hapgood (1850-1928). What seems most unusual about this translator-scholar, journalist, and Russophile is that she - unlike her fellow English-speaking students of Tolstoy - remained immune to the attractions of Tolstoy's teachings, which she resisted firmly to the end.

Hapgood was America's first reliable translator of Tolstoy, and indeed of all the Russian classics. Her first translations were of Tolstoy in 1886; she continued translating Gogol, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Leskov, Alekseev, Gorky, Bunin, as well as byliny (Epic Songs of Russia), folk songs, and the Russian Orthodox Church Service. Her 1895 Russian Rambles is a journalist's attempt to interpret the Russian people for Americans. Her only competition for first place as America's premier translator of Russian literature was Nathan Haskell Dole (1852-1935). Though his knowledge of Russian seems to have been quite modest, they collaborated on a collected works of Tolstoy.

Hapgood was of English-Scots ancestry, born and brought up in Boston and Worcester; unlike Dole (Harvard, 1874), she had no benefit of university education. Indeed, she left school at 18, after three years in Miss. Porter's Seminary in Farmington, Connecticut. From 1876-86, she learned several languages on her own, including Russian.

At the end of this period, she began to publish translations from French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and Russian. She traveled to Russia for the first time in 1886, and on this trip she met Tolstoy and his family. The meeting resulted in published recollections and an authorized Life of Tolstoy (1888).

After their first meeting, Tolstoy asked Hapgood to translate The Kreutzer Sonata (1887-89). She refused because of the work's radical views of sexuality and family life. This led to a cooling of relations with Lev Nikolaevich, but apparently brought Hapgood closer to Sofia Andreevna. During her first visit she had asked Tolstoy why he didn't "return" to writing and give his readers another Anna Karenina or War and Peace. She apparently shared these thoughts with Sofia Andreevna, as letters from the latter indicate: Sofia Andreevna wrote to Hapgood in 1892 that Tolstoy had begun a new work which she hoped would be a novel, like Anna Karenina; a month later she sadly reported that it was a work of philosophy (probably The Kingdom of God, 1890-3). Tolstoy, now with some hesitation, asked Hapgood to translate this work as well, sending it with an emissary, a Professor Yanzhul of Moscow University. Hapgood read the manuscript, was outraged at the proposition, and returned it to the professor. She wrote an explanatory letter to Tolstoy in which she apologized for being unable to translate such a work of anarchy. Her refusal is not surprising, given the fact that she had translated the Russian Orthodox church service into English and also wrote a study of Russian church music (which remained unpublished). Yanzhul left a striking portrait of Hapgood in his memoirs: tall, loud, forceful, and knowledgeable. Unfortunately, she insisted on speaking her broken Russian, even though Yanzhul's wife was fluent in English.

The Hapgood archives in the New York Public Library contain eight letters from Tolstoy, of which four have been published and two others identified as unknown. Two published letters concern contributions Hapgood sent to Tolstoy in support of his peasant relief work during the 1892 famine. Hapgood had established a Tolstoy Fund and advertised for contributions in the Evening Post (New York) and that year sent over \$7000 to Tolstoy, who provided her with an accounting (which she translated). The five extant letters of Tolstoy from 1892 all deal with this Fund, as do six letters from Tatiana Lvovna written on her father's behalf and another six from Sofia Andreevna. When Hapgood gave these letters to the NYPL, she provided the Tolstoy letters with a seven-page typed commentary (1911), explaining their background and significance. In this valuable memoir she relates how she had attempted to sell the Tolstoy letters to obtain more funds to send for famine relief. Unfortunately (i.e. fortunately) the only response to her advertisement of the sale was from a Philadelphia butcher who offered five dollars for the lot. These archives contain the only Tolstoy manuscript that seems to exist in the NYC area: a copy of Tserkov' i gosudarstvo (Church and State, 1879), signed by Tolstoy, which was apparently given to Hapgood by Professor Yanzhul.

There is significant material here for the joint publication "Tolstoy and America" planned as part of the Soviet-US project. There is additional material in archives across the country. The next step of the project is to begin locating and describing these documents. There are, evidently, letters and other manuscripts in the archives of Caciuss Marcellus Clay, of the Garrison family (William Lloyd), Jeremiah Curtin, Clarence Darrow, of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore, the Shaker Alonzo Hollister, and even of John Harvey Kellogg of Battle Creek, Michigan. An inventory of these Tolstoy materials and other archival Tolstoyana will probably appear in the publication of the joint project. Just how the materials themselves may be used is still an open question. Certainly the unpublished letters and other materials will appear in the new PSS of Tolstoy that is now being undertaken to replace the 90-volume Jubilee edition.

There is much "missing" archival material, i.e. material that should exist somewhere in a personal, family, or institutional archive, but which does not appear in any listing. Indeed, much may have been lost. For example, there are copies of Tolstoy's letters to some sixty or so Americans, none of whose papers are listed in the usual archival indices. The Soviet scholars who have looked at these materials have expressed surprise at the incongruity of the number of letters received with the number Tolstoy sent. They have supplied a list of over twelve hundred unknown individuals (unknown except for name and address) who wrote to Tolstoy: the American side will try to help identify them.

Much material needs to be located, described, and awaits research. If anyone is interested in a copy of the current inventory (printed or in disk in MS-DOS format), please contact me. Also, anyone who knows of Tolstoy materials in United States archives or who would be willing to assist in the inventory process, please get in touch with me.

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