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THE "INDIAN" IN TOLSTOY (Part two)

Tolstoy's departure is manifoldly reflected in memoirs and research literature.¹ We shall not repeat here all the details of the respective evidence, which is well known, although from 1910 and up to now it has received different interpretations. Putting aside the most biased and one-sided opinions (as e.g. accusing V.G.Tchertkoff of the main responsibility for this departure²) and judging without prejudice, from the evidence of Tolstoy himself and those surrounding him, one can see that the desire to leave the family, to be able to follow his doctrine more closely had been characteristic of Tolstoy for a long time; this desire was permanently strengthened by the domestic situation but evidently could never have been fulfilled if this situation had not been extremely aggravated during 1910. Irrespective of giving preference to one or another factor (ideological or domestic), both of them appeared long before Tolstoy's departure, sometimes closely interwoven with each other (e.g. in his reaction to his wife's hostility to his spiritual quest).³ We do not dwell on positive elements in Tolstoy's family life (which certainly existed) and in connection with the problem discussed, would note here that certain conflicts had begun in the first months and years of marriage. Respectie feelings of S.A. Tolstaja and Tolstoy himself (who began at this time to think of leaving the house, under different pretexts), are often testified to in their diaries.⁴ Tolstoy's spiritual interests turn him more and more to the idea of departure from the late eighteen seventies, when these interests come up against the lack of understanding and sometimes - the direct aggressiveness of his wife.⁵ "He cried out aloud to-day that his most passionate desire was to get away from the family" - runs her diary of 26 VIII 1882.⁶ During the eighteen eighties Tolstoy already makes attempts to pass from words to deeds. On 17 VI 1884 he leaves the house but turns back half-way (S.A. Tolstaja was going to give birth to a child at this time). On 26 VII he records: "It is a pity that I did not leave. It seems that I shall not escape it" (t. 49, p. 113; cf. 104-105). The next crisis comes at the end of 1885 when Tolstoy writes her a letter cited above (cf. notes 3,5).⁷ He makes another attempt to leave but again stays at home, trying to make his situation more bearable. In the end of 1890 his daughter Tatiana records: "He says that he sees only two ways to be quiet. First - to leave the house - he thought and thinks about it; and the second - to give all his landed estates to peasants and to make his works common property".⁸ In April 1891 he divided all his estates between his wife and children - as if performing a traditional procedure of the householder (gr̥hastha), prior to his going away to the forest (cf. Br̥hadāraṇyaka upaniṣad, II, 4; IV, 5; cf. below). New complications arose in the eighteen nineties when S.A. Tolstaja was enamoured of S.I. Tanceff. In May 1897 Tolstoy thinks of going abroad - alone or with her (t. 84, pp. 284 sq.). On 8 VII 1897 he writes her again - the main motivation here is the growing burden of discrepancy between his life and convictions. "The children have grown up and my influence in the house is no longer necessary" (TL, II, p. 561). These words seem to echo the important condition for leaving the house in Hinduist tradition (The "Laws of Manu", VI, 2; cf. above). And then justifying his intention, he resorts directly to an Indian model: "But the main thing is that just as the Hindus, when they are getting on for 60, retire to the forests, and every religious man wants to dedicate the last years of his life to God... so I, who am entering my

70th year, long with all my heart and soul for this tranquillity and solitude, and if not full accord, then at least not blatant discord between my life and my beliefs and conscience" (t. 84, p. 288-289; TL, II, p. 561). As we see, the first motivation here is the need to coordinate life with moral convictions. This letter however was not given to S.A. Tolstaja. The next day a reconciliation followed, though Tolstoy did not abandon his plans - cf. his letters to A.R. Ernefelt in summer and winter of 1897 (t. 71, pp. 410, 517; in particular, about going to Finland). During the next years the domestic situation worsened and came to a head in 1910 (problem of Tolstoy's Testament; strained relations between S.A. Tolstaja and V.G. Tchertkoff; her obvious nervous disorder, etc.). On 14 VII 1910 Tolstoy writes her again that if she does not accept his conditions for a peaceful life, he will certainly go away "because it is impossible to go on living as we are doing now" (t. 84, p. 400; TL, II, p. 702). His argument here is not based on his ideas but on their domestic situation alone. Meanwhile this situation grew worse and on the night of 28 X hearing her burrowing in his papers, Tolstoy felt, as he wrote in his "Diary for myself only" ("Dnevnik dlja odnogo sebia" - t. 58, pp. 123-124) "the stimulus, that made me take a step which has been my cherished dream for thirty years". In a letter left to her on his night he refers first to his domestic position which "has become unbearable" and second - to his convictions: "Apart from everything else I cannot live any longer in these conditions of luxury, in which I have been living, and I am doing what old men of my age commonly do: leaving this worldly life in order to live the last days in peace and solitude" (TL, II, pp. 710-711). Here, Tolstoy does not mention explicitly the Indian tradition but the complete analogy with the respective passage from his letter of 8 VII 1897 seems to be obvious. At the same time in two variations of this letter he does not mention his domestic situation at all and begins directly with self-accusation about his sin - a life of a rich man among the poor, "of senseless luxury among common poverty". It is interesting that both variations contain similar additions to his words about departure where he stresses that his leaving is different from that of an orthodox Christian: "Most people go to monasteries, and I would also go to a monastery, if I only believed in the things in which the people in monasteries believe. But since I do not believe in such a manner, I go now simply to solitude" (t. 84, pp. 404-405).

Tolstoy dreamed of this departure for 30 years and being unable to perform it, he naturally tried to find some ethical justifications for his contradictory position. "Having once entered definite practical relations with people, one should not suddenly neglect these conditions for the sake of Christian renunciation of life... You should try to become higher not by denying your duties but by freeing yourself from them, that is: 1. carrying out those already undertaken (cf. below) and 2. not undertaking new ones" runs his record of 4 V 1895 (t. 53, p. 28-29).⁹ However, his decision "to endure without changing the present state" proved to be impracticable. He was so obsessed by the desire to leave, that even on his deathbed in Astapovo he uttered repeatedly in delirium: "One must run away, run away".¹⁰ "I confess to you that I am waiting only for any occasion to go away" - he said to his daughter several days before departure.¹¹ But in fact, he looked for such occasions still earlier and his reasons (besides ideological) were of every kind¹² - property relations, jealousy (of S.I. Taneeff in the late eighteen nineties), rivalry around him ("they tear me to pieces. Sometimes I think of leaving them all" - t. 58, p. 138), etc.

However, notwithstanding the substantial (sometimes - decisive) influence of the domestic situation (by no means connected with India) an obvious influence of a traditional Indian institution, which served him as a model worthy of imitation and one of the basic arguments

for his intention, can be traced in his departure. As we saw, his letter of 8 VII 1897 contains a direct reference to a Hindu custom of leaving the house, that is of passing from *gṛhastha* to *vānaprastha* (or *saṃnyāsin*) state. But apart from this letter, Tolstoy more than once referred to this custom in his later years. "He often spoke enviously of the way in which Hindu men, when they become old, withdraw from society and live in solitude" - recalls his daughter Tatiana.¹³ Similar evidence is adduced by D.P. Makovickij as well - such is e.g. Tolstoy's narration in December 1906 about 60-year old Hindus who go to the forest and live on charity as recluses (JZ, II, p. 324; a description containing elements of the 3rd and the 4th āśramas, while mentioning "the yellow robes" in this context is obviously called forth by Buddhist sources - cf. below). And though in his letter written on the night of departure he did not mention "Indians", the example as we have already said is the same. The words about life of "peace and solitude", of old men of his age, obviously correspond to the state of a forest recluse in India. It is noteworthy that departure such as in the Indian model was evidently so often in Tolstoy's thoughts and was so often and intensely lived through by him, that it became in his imagination quite a traditional act, even in his Russian surroundings. Hence a substitution of "Hindus, when they are getting on for 60" by "what old men... commonly do", made 13 years later (1897-1910). These variants obviously meant the same thing for him, though for an old Russian man such a change of state was not so "common". And the response of S.A. Tolstaja who wrote to her husband on 30 X 1910 is natural: "You say that old men go away from the world. But where have you witnessed it? The old peasant men live out their last days amid their families and their grandchildren, and it is the same among gentefolk and all other classes of the community".¹⁴

The country where such a departure was common indeed - is India. Hindu sources (not only law books cited above) beginning in ancient times contain plenty such evidence. So we find a typical example in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* up. (II, 4; IV, 5). A *brāhmaṇa* Yājñavalkya (one of the most authoritative Hindu sages) is about to leave the state of householder and to go into the forest. He had two wives: Maitreyī, who was "a discourses on *Brahma* = knowledge", that is living by spiritual interests, and Kātyāyanī who "possessed only such knowledge as women have". Before he leaves, Yājñavalkya wants to divide his property between them. But Maitreyī rejects the wealth which cannot provide immortality and asks him to teach her the thighest Truth. "You have been truly dear to me (even before), now you have increased your dearness", - answers Yājñavalkya, and he teaches her the doctrine of Ultimate reality, the supreme Self, *Ātman*, for the sake of whom (but not for the sake of themselves) all is dear - the wife, the sons, wealth, the worlds, the gods and all that exists (one can find similar words in Tolstoy's record of 5 XI 1909).¹⁵ And completing his precept Yājñalkya leaves his house.¹⁶

However, the most famous case of departure in India, though performed in a mode substantially different from traditional prescriptions, was that of Buddha - a case well known by Tolstoy. Buddha had likewise abandoned himself to passions in his youth; then he felt the discrepancy between his luxury and human sufferings and still a young man left his house, became a recluse, grasped the Truth and preached it. Tolstoy doubtlessly was aware of certain of his own traits that paralleled Buddha's;¹⁷ we have already mentioned his interest in this image, including its artistic aspect (cf. t. 30, pp. 109, 382, etc.). While mentioning Brahmanism in most cases impersonally, as certain texts, or trends, Tolstoy usually associates Buddhism with the name of Buddha, referred to by him (like that of Jesus Christ) perhaps more often than any other ancient teacher. In his last years Tolstoy was also inclined to

connect the idea of departure especially with Buddhist tradition. "How good it is among Buddhists whose old men go into the forest" - he says in summer 1909, and several days later adds: "I want to go into seclusion, to retire from mundane vanity as old Buddhist men do" (JZ, IV, pp. 28, 35). Here leaving the Hindu āśrama institution (absent in Buddhism), Tolstoy obviously approaches the usual (not only among old men) tradition of entering the Buddhist community (sangha) and becoming a monk; a tradition so often described in ancient Buddhist sources - cf. a typical description of a wandering monk (pāli: bhikkhu, pabbajā) who renounces his family and property, cuts off hair and beard, clothes himself in yellow robes and begins to wander in a homeless state (agārasinā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyyan - cf. *Digha nikāya*, II, 41; XII, 16 sq; XIV, 2, 8 sq; 15 sq, etc.).¹⁸

The plans for this departure and the beginning of its realization (which lasted but a few days) were naturally determined by Tolstoy's position and surroundings and they were far from the way of life led by traditional forest recluses or wandering mendicants. Nevertheless one can observe certain analogies with each of these states. On the one hand Tolstoy often spoke about the joys of a quiet solitary life¹⁹ and expressed a desire to settle somewhere in this manner. The place had not been definitely decided upon by him - in this connection he spoke at various times about different places in Russia (Caucasus, Crimea, Odov, a village Borovkovo in Tula province), or abroad (Finland, Bulgaria, Paris, America).²⁰ Sometimes his projects did not mention solitude but just a simple life of work.²¹ Another substantial modification of departure for him was a life in a monastery, preferably small and secluded ("skit"). His visit to "Optina pustyn'" monastery on 28-29 X, his interest in the life of the elders ("starcy") there and the subsequent removal to Šamordino monastery on 29-30 X testify to Tolstoy's possible preference for such a life style. According to one evidence, during this last visit he said to his sister Maria (a nun in Šamordino): "Sister, I have just been in Optino. It is so nice there! How happy I would be to live there, performing most unskilled and difficult labour, with one condition only: not to be forced to go to church".²² It is possible that such a solitary monastic life, even within the framework of old Orthodox tradition, could have pleased him, notwithstanding all his reservations (cf. above on his letter of 28 X 1910), if some mode of living in a monastery ("skit") could be found which would not contradict his convictions and would be acceptable to Church authorities. However, excommunication made this possibility too complicated,²³ while Tolstoy's fear that his wife might pursue him made him dart off and run further on the night of 31st October.

One may add that Tolstoy's apparent inclination and readiness to follow certain canons of monastic life in the forms that were most suited to Russian conditions, does not seem to be accidental. As we know, he was interested in "Optina pustyn'" even earlier and beginning in the eighteen seventies visited it at least six times. Other monasteries attracted his attention as well. For example, in summer 1905, talking about the Soloveckij monastery, Tolstoy praised its role in the education of the simple people and the local inhabitants' way of life, making a noteworthy confession: "I wanted all my life to go to the Soloveckij monastery, but did not succeed" (JZ, I, pp. 384-385; the Russian idiom: "Želat [= xotet'] v monastyr'", used here, as a rule, suggests an unequivocal intention to take the monastic vows).²⁴

Whatever these possible variants could be, there is no doubt that in some manner Tolstoy strove to be solitary, far from Jasnaja Poljana and among common people, and that he searched more and more for a quiet life during his last years. The words about seclusion and peace, about the necessity to be alone are also found in his departure letter, previously cited (t. 84, pp. 404-405). These words were perhaps not called forth only by his desire to prevent

his wife from following him.²⁵ His physical and nervous state in those last days was such that the ideal of an active life "among people" could scarcely attract him more than the monastic peace and seclusion.

On the other hand renouncing family life was closely connected in his thoughts with the state of wandering (*saṃnyāsin*). And though by the time of his departure from Jasnaja Poljana this state already could not be practically carried out by an 82-year old man, the ideal of wandering possessed him for many years. Already in the late eighteen seventies, admiring such traits of Jesus' image as his renouncing of family and lack of property, he speaks first of all about Jesus' wandering way of life.²⁶ This state seems to him the most important for a Christian and he often mentions it - not only with respect to Christian tradition²⁷ but to Indian as well. "It is better to go around begging with a money-box as Buddhists do" he writes in a letter to N.N. Ge of 20 III 1890 (t. 65, p. 48). In February of 1910, answering B. Mandžos who urged him to give away his property, to leave the house and to move begging from place to place, Tolstoy wrote: "The thing, that you advise me to do is my cherished dream ... There is no day when I do not think about carrying out your advice" (t. 81, pp. 104-105; it is interesting that, obviously in accordance with his plans, Tolstoy kept this answer a secret and asked his correspondent to act similarly). We shall see that the same ideal is more than once realized by his heroes.

The wandering ascetic-*saṃnyāsin* overcomes not his worldly attachments only, but the traditional ritual as well and this reminds us of one more essential trait of Tolstoy's views, already noted above. Though this trait evidently does not go back to Hinduist or Buddhist influences, there are a number of significant parallels to these traditions. Tolstoy's continuous surmounting of ritualism, his evaluation of rites and of beliefs, connected with them, as useless and senseless can be (and already was) compared to a protestant reaction to Catholicism, or - in connection with the subject that interests us more - to a reaction to the traditional Vedic ritualism. The latter evidently began around the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. and became basic feature of some great religious trends in India - Buddhism and Jainism among them. Tolstoy's attitude to Orthodox Christianity is in some respects reminiscent of Buddha's (or partly the upanishadic teachers') approach to Vedic rites. We similarly find in these ancient trends a certain transformation of traditional dogmatics, a re-evaluation of ritual culminating in complete renunciation of it (as useless and not leading to liberation; cf. below), a recommendation of a definite "introvert ritual", i.e. a personal spiritual state²⁸. Corresponding evidence of Tolstoy's views dates from the eighteen fifties (cf. above, his letter to A.A. Tolstaja)²⁹. Thus, substituting the "external" ritual for the "internal" one, he seemed to attempt long before his departure, to embody in his views and deeds some significant traits of *saṃnyāsin* or a Buddhist monk.

One is reminded here of another characteristic type of behavior, pertaining to a person who renounces the world. It is connected first and foremost with the tradition of Oriental Christianity and at the same time it appears to be significant within the more general framework of the typology of religious behavior, and has, in particular, some parallels with Indian tradition as well. We mean here the state of "The fool for Christ's sake" ("jurodivyj"), which was realized most completely in Byzantine and Russian religious life³⁰. Tolstoy more than once expressed his attitude to this state. "If I were alone I would be "jurodivyj" valuing nothing in the world"³¹. A specific *jurodivyj's* trait: to provoke consciously the abuse and condemnation of other people was also typical of him from his young years: "What I am ... I am ugly, awkward, untidy ... short tempered ... I am almost a know-nothing ... I am in-

temperate, irresolute, inconstant, foolish, vain ... I am not brave, I am inaccurate, lazy ..." runs his record of 1854 (t. 47, p.8-9). This tendency is often displayed by him in the years following his spiritual turning-point. In a letter to N.N. Strakhoff of 1-2 XI 1890 he speaks of the necessity to describe himself in such a way as to "arouse aversion for his life in all his readers" (t. 62, p.500). This purpose is reflected in his "Ispoved'"³². One is reminded here of similar motifs in "Father Sergius" ("Otec Sergij")³³.

In this connection we should like to touch upon the role of respective ideas, and first of all, the motif of departure, in writings of Tolstoy. A close tie between his "Dichtung" and "Wahrheit" goes back not only to the essentially autobiographical character of his main and best images, but - to no small degree - to his concept of the main purpose of the artistic work. All that he wrote - not only diaries, didactic treatises, letters, but his works of art as well - was never isolated from spiritual quest. This link can be traced back to his earliest writings (cf. his autobiographical trilogy) and he was aware of it himself³⁴. The creative activity was conceived by him during his last decades as something that can be justified only by spiritual, moral aims, as the expression and transmission of corresponding values (cf. above on similar traits of Indian didactic tradition, also used by Tolstoy)³⁵. From this point of view his writings irrespective of their artistic importance are characterised by a high degree of pragmatism and it seems like a misunderstanding that he was able to censure later these very writings, using the same pragmatic criterion.

For Tolstoy the idea of departure was a necessary step in the attainment of spiritual perfection, in overcoming all mundane attachments, and this act, which is so close to Indian religious tradition, is often repeated by his heroes - though its reasons, forms and surroundings may be quite different, according to real images and events that served as prototypes for his heroes.

The combination of domestic and more speculative, ethical and religious impulses for departure, that invariably marked the last decades of Tolstoy's life, is reflected symmetrically in the images created by him. These images seem to supplement each other in their variety and in the contradiction of grounds that influence them - emotional and rational. It is typical however that with all this variety of motives and characters, the ultimate result of departure is always the same - an enlightenment which on the highest spiritual level justifies the act performed by the hero.

Let us begin with subjects where the departure is caused by a crisis in family relations and a subsequent emotional explosion - the departure fated to become that of Tolstoy himself. One of the most characteristic works of this kind is "Father Sergius" ("Otec Sergij") - 1890-1898, t. 31, pp. 5-46; cf. 203-210; 257-269)³⁶. The hero, duke Kasatskij, goes away twice. The first departure is caused by a discovery that shatters his value system (his bride appears to have been a mistress of the emperor Nicolas I, adored by him). He goes to the monastery "to be above those who considered themselves his superiors", to "look down on those he had formerly envied" (TW, v.16, p.307). The feeling of pride invariably takes hold of him in the monastery where he lives 22 years in all (from the age of 34 to 43 and 43 to 56). Living in solitude for the last thirteen years he is not satisfied with himself and wants to leave again, to become a wanderer ("There was a time when he decided to go away and hide ... First he would go some three hundred versts by train, then he would leave the train and walk from village to village" (p.332-333), as if renouncing the third āśrama for the sake of the fourth. However at the end of his monastic life a sudden fall takes place - his adultery with an imbecile daughter of a merchant who was brought to him by her father to be cured (Sergij

had the reputation of a healer by that time). This fall marks the second turning-point in his life - he leaves again and becomes a wanderer imitating his relative Pašen'ka - an insignificant, oppressed, wretched woman, but full of kindness and resignation (another analogy with "jurodivyj"). Thus he overcomes his pride entirely and in the end becomes a servant of a rich Siberian peasant. Notwithstanding the role of carnal temptation, the main purpose of his life is overcoming the pride, a struggle with worldly fame (cf. note 33).

Another still more affected departure is presented in "Kornej Vasil'ev" written in 1905 for "Krug čtenija" (t. 41, pp. 205-220; cf. t. 42, pp. 599-605). A rich 54-year old cattle-dealer, who has discovered his young wife's infidelity, beats her brutally (mutilating the child as well) and leaves the house. His departure however does not lead him to perfection at once (here again Tolstoy stresses the arrogance of his hero - cf. t. 41, pp. 213, 215; t. 42, p. 601). Kornej suffers setbacks in his enterprises, degenerates, takes to drinking and little by little becomes a wandering mendicant though deprived yet of samnyāsin's moral standards. An incitement to such perfection is his return to a native village, already an old sick man, seventeen years after departure. He finds shelter in the house of a grown-up girl (the child whose arm he has maimed). She does not acknowledge the old man, yet in a touching way takes care of him. He dies in her house soon after - reconciled and enlightened. Similar to "Otec Sergij" the pride is not overcome here by departure; on the contrary, the latter is rather stimulated by it. This departure brings new trials overcome by Kornej only at the end of his life. At the same time death is preceded here by the state of a wandering beggar.

In Tolstoy's life the emotional impulses for departure were combined with ideological ones - with his spiritual quest leading to more and clearer understanding of the discrepancy between his life and ideals. This discrepancy, which tormented him for decades, plays a still more prominent role in his heroes' departures than their domestic relations. This motif is displayed first of all in Buddha's image, which he was interested in from the eighteen seventies, and which served him as a personal example (cf. above part one, note 24). Though it is difficult to separate Tolstoy's artistic work from his philosophical and religious writings, there is no doubt as to the artistic value of this image in Tolstoy's writings - cf. e.g. a short tale written, like "Kornej Vasil'ev" for "Krug čtenija" (t. 41, pp. 96-101; cf. t. 42, pp. 592-593).

Another example is connected with Tolstoy's interest in the legend about the elder Fedor Kuz'mič i.e. the Russian emperor Alexander I who allegedly renounced the mundane life - "Posthumous notes of the hermit Fedor Kuz'mič, who died in Siberia in a hut belonging to Khromov, the merchant, near the town of Tomsk, on the 20th January, 1864" ("Posmertnye zapiski Starca Fedora Kuz'miča, umeršego 20 janvarja 1864 g. v Sibiri bliz Tomska, na zaimke kupca Xromova" - t. 36, pp. 59-74; 584-589)³⁷. "Let it be historically proven that it is impossible to combine the personalities of Alexander and Kuz'mič - the legend remains in all its beauty and truth", so he writes in his letter to the Grand Duke Nikolaj Mixajlovič of 2 IX 1907 (t. 77, p. 185). The scheme of "Zapiski" relates to 1900; Tolstoy worked on the novel in 1905, but did not finish it. It is a genre of fictional memoirs written allegedly by an old emperor who likewise strives for people's censure and blames himself: "I am the greatest of criminals, the murderer of my father, the murderer of hundreds of thousands of men in wars, I have occasioned, an abominable debauchee and a miscreant" (TW, v. 15, p. 387). In his 47th year he decides to leave and stages his death using the corpse of a soldier beaten to death, who resembled him. Alexander's departure opens a way to the attainment of perfection for him - the reader sees him as an old man of 72 who is joyfully waiting for death in his seclusion.

A sketch for a drama "Petr Xlebnik" (1884-1894, t.29, pp.281-291; 364-371; 433-434) deals with a legendary rich man who lived in Syria in the III century A.D., gave away all his property, overcoming his family's resistance, and sold himself as a slave (a motif of self-abasement) in order to distribute the gained money among beggars. In this sketch Tolstoy used the text of a "Word" ("Slovo") about Petr Mytar' from the Orthodox-ecclesiastical "Monthly readings" ("četi minei").

One more variant of leaving the family appears in his unfinished play "The light shines in darkness" (1896-1902, t.31, pp.113-183, 216-243, 291-306) - one of his most autobiographical artistic works which he called "his own" drama. The history of the couple Saryncev follows closely Tolstoy's own family conflict (cf. especially their dialogue from the IVth act - pp.176-180). Saryncev suffers the discrepancy between his principles and his life and he is ready to leave the house and go to Caucasus, but in the end he is unable to abandon the family (the situation of Tolstoy himself in those years).

A motif of departure is found in some of Tolstoy's other works as well, though in somewhat different circumstances. First of all these variants are marked by an altruistic tendency of the hero, who tries in some manner to change his previous way of life, which has become more and more intolerable. Such is the play "The live corpse" ("Živoj trup" - 1900, t.34, pp.5-99; 407-483; 553-545)³⁸. Its hero first feigns suicide, disappears and lives among the town tramps (one more variant of a wandering mendicant) and in the end commits real suicide. On the one hand his motive is wholly altruistic - he looks for an escape from a family conflict, trying to free ("to untie") his wife by disappearing. On the other hand this deed brings him freedom as well - "Forgive me that I could not ... free you any other way ... It is not for you ... it is best for me" (TW, v.17, p.290) - are his last words. Moreover this real suicide is motivated by his fear of becoming connected with his wife again according to the court's judgment. We are again reminded here of Tolstoy's own experience. One can suppose that this situation (the case of the couple Gimer which served as material for the play) seems to have given him a possibility - in a way typical of the creative process - to live through his wish: a fantasy in which the departure, so desired by him, should at the same time make his wife happy (a situation, utterly impossible in reality).

Another variant is Nekhludov's departure in "Resurrection" ("Voskresen'e", 1889-1899, t.32-33). A young single man renounces his habitual well established life in order to follow the woman whom he has ruined. This departure is also altruistic and at the same time marks the hero's spiritual growth. One cannot speak here definitely of any final stage (that of recluse or wanderer); the subsequent householder's life is also possible (and in one of the novel's variants Nekhludov marries here indeed). The author leaves his hero at the moment when he discovers the Gospels anew.

As we see, Tolstoy's heroes reflect his own spiritual progress and repeat, with necessary modifications, his states in different periods. This refers to his earlier years as well, not yet marked by an *idée fixe* of departure, though bearing already the germs of the future conflict. This state (of the eighteen sixties-seventies) is reflected best in "Anna Karenina" (1873-1877; t.18-20)³⁹.

The spiritual quest of Levin (who before his marriage already thinks of a new life among peasants - TW, v.9, p.314), reminds us of Tolstoy's own experience during the first years of his family life. This quest results in Levin's enlightenment on hearing the peasant's words about a righteous old man Fokanych, who "lives for his soul and remembers God" (v.10, p.411). This turning-point described on the last pages of the novel (ibid, pp.412-438) does

not bring him yet to the idea of departure. Levin is still wholly absorbed by his family attachments, he is anxious about his wife and child, cares about people's opinions, gets inappropriately excited in discussions, sometimes he is rude to servants, etc, but henceforward according to his concluding words, "My whole life ... every moment of it, is no longer meaningless, as it was before, but has an unquestionable meaning of goodness, with which I have the power to invest it" (v.10, p.438). At first he decides to share these new thoughts with his wife, but seeing her absorbed with household troubles, changes his mind ("No, I had better not tell her ... It is a secret, necessary and important for me alone, and inexpressible in words ... there will still be a wall between my soul's holy of holies and other people, even my wife ..." - *ibid.*, pp.437-438). Thus the first happy years of married life are already marked by an inner estrangement from his wife. One can observe, that from the very beginning it is justified in a certain sense by her attitude. While a bride reading his diaries, she pays no attention to his want of faith that tortured him so much (v.9, p.462). "She ... smiled when she thought about his disbelief and called him funny. "Why has he been reading these philosophies for a whole year?" (v.10, p.400). And though such an approach was connected with her high opinion of her husband's moral qualities ("she was persuaded that he was Christian, like, and even better than, herself, and that all he said about it was one of his funny male whims" - v.10, p.71; cf. *ibid.*, pp.143, 401), the very lack of attention to his spiritual quest, conceiving it as a whim, seems to be characteristic. We are reminded here of the respective lack of understanding on the part of S.A.Tolstaja and her dissatisfaction with her husband's interests even during the first years of marriage⁴⁰. And though S.A. Tolstaja, to a certain extent had similar interests (see note 16), this discord deepened more and more⁴¹. In summer 1877 (the year when "Anna Karenina" was finished), Tolstoy records in his diary: "Keep silence, silence and silence" (t.48, p.185) sounding like a paraphrase of the novel's final scene. The subsequent history of Tolstoy's family relations, as we know it, goes beyond the frames of analogies to "Anna Karenina" - one can only suppose, judging by later evidence, what the relations between Levin and Kitty could be like in a later embodiment by Tolstoy. The novel however reflects only the first symptoms of estrangement, a departure "into oneself" which became a link in the long process crowned with a real and final departure.

We can conclude that the idea of departure in Tolstoy's artistic work - irrespective of his heroes' personal experiences, and of immediate reasons which served as a stimulus - is marked by certain traits typical of the act of departure in Indian and some other monastic traditions. We mean the connection of this act with the hero's search for moral perfection, with his changing of his internal (resp. external, social) state, and with his gradual attainment of highest bliss in this new state.

The above evidence shows the manifold reflections of Indian ethical and religious traditions on Tolstoy's life and creative work. These reflections are called forth by his natural inclination to Indian spiritual values, his acquaintance with respective sources and his putting these sources into practice - in his artistic creations, letters, talks with friends, personal reflections and plans and at last - in his deeds. A similar inclination is testified to more than once with respect to different authors and thinkers of modern history who nevertheless yield to Tolstoy, if we consider the intensity of this interest and the range of its influence. One should add that the "Indian" in Tolstoy is not limited by the sphere of this direct influence. A number of traits defining him as a writer and as a man suggest direct analogies with the world of Indian values; analogies which are obviously free of any Indian influence and

which can be regarded as independent typological parallels. Within the framework of all other evidence they do not seem to be accidental, and in a definite sense can be connected with this evidence by a kind of genetic link as well. Some of Tolstoy's character traits and some aspects of his mentality, which developed before his acquaintance with India and independently of it, could, to a certain degree, have motivated his later interests and aspirations which helped him to find the way to himself.⁴² Among these traits, some of which are mentioned above, we should stress again his striving for perfection - in himself and others - his "Weltverbesserungswahn"; his inclination to preaching displayed not only in everyday life but in his creative activity as well, whose moral aims were understood by him as close to those of traditional Hinduism. Hence the peculiar genres he chooses for his writings, and the principle of spiritual progress that plays so decisive a role in his heroes' images, and which is worked out so thoroughly in Indian religions. Among ideas and rules that inspired Tolstoy and were preached by him, we find again those consonant to Hinduism or Buddhism - such is e.g. non-resistance to evil expressed by him obviously independently of Indian ahimsa and so ardently supported in India.⁴³ Another typical trait is his inclination to divide his life into periods, calling forth (beside direct allusions to Indian customs) a number of supplementary analogies with the institution of āśramas. At the same time, the character of aims formulated by him⁴⁴, the invariable preference for the principle of moral duty, his family life, the full length of it, call forth an association with the traditional complex of dharma-artha-kama-mokṣa. We should stress here that his example goes beyond the simple simultaneous pursuit of different spiritual and material purposes, which appears to be common enough. It is rather a combination of pragmatism with a logically consistent tendency to overcome and renounce material values in the pursuit of perfection. In this connection Tolstoy often expresses ideas close to the concept of mokṣa: overcoming egoism, the difference between Self and not-Self (tat tvam asi), the fear of death (cf. his numerous records in diaries, images of Karataeff, Bolkonskij, etc.)⁴⁵. Such overcoming appears in ancient Indian sources as a necessary condition for attaining the highest state - mokṣa, nirvāṇa⁴⁶. At the same time, it defines to a great extent the mechanism of Tolstoy's appraisals, resp. his specific, sometimes paradoxical, relation to some phenomena of civilization: to scientific achievements, to separate genres of art, and personalities (Shakespeare, Beethoven, etc.). In the course of such an approach the notions, pertinent to respective systems of description or forms of expression, and accepted conventionally in different genres, seem to be neutralized and made senseless by him. Tolstoy's main argument for this "overcoming" was practical (in his eyes) uselessness, futility, and even harmfulness of respective institutions, branches of science, works, as against the values and purposes that were really important and necessary for him (spiritual unity of people, understanding the law of love etc. - cf. t.30, pp.66 sq; 109 sq; 185 sq, etc; see his words on G. Oldenberg's book part one, note 2). We find here one more noteworthy analogy - to the views and attitude of Buddha. As we know, negating Vedic rituals and traditional forms of seclusion, Buddha at the same time rejected dealing with a number of abstract problems and theories with which some of his contemporaries (and interlocutors) were pre-occupied - i.e. such questions as whether the world is finite or infinite, whether it is eternal or not eternal, whether the Self continues to exist without consciousness after death, etc. Buddha's argument is based on his assertion that a similar question, unlike the four noble Truths (ariya-sacca) about suffering and the Eightfold Path (aṭṭhaṅgikamagga) proclaimed by him, "is not calculated to profit (atta), it is not concerned with the Norm (the dhamma), it does not redound even to the elements of right conduct (brahmacariya), nor to detachment,

nor to purification from lusts, nor to quietude, nor to tranquillisation of heart, nor to real knowledge (*abhiññāya*), nor to the insight (of the higher stages of the Path), nor to Nirvāṇa (cf. *Dīgha nikāya* - IX, 28; 33; cf. XXIX, 27 sq. a.o.)^{46a}.

On the other hand Tolstoy was aware of his personal duty, not on a higher spiritual level only, but in its social and pragmatic sense as well, i.e. as a definite set of obligations imposed by social and genetic ties. This reminds us of a Hindu concept of *dharma* as a definite principle of behavior prescribed to every separate estate and caste⁴⁷. So in his last years, several decades after his spiritual turning-point, preaching non-violence, non-participation in military service, etc., Tolstoy displays quite unexpectedly a liking for some social institutions and prejudices. We can refer e.g. to his reaction to the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Taking to heart the defeats of the Russian army and surrender of Port Arthur he said in December 1904 that the fortress should have been blown up but not surrendered, and when his interlocutor raised an objection, referring to possible victims, he added: "What do you expect? If you are a soldier you've a job to do. And you do it properly."⁴⁸ On the same occasion he says in the beginning of 1905: "Not long ago dogs frightened away a hare; I wanted him to escape but if I were a hunter I should have hunted him ... If you undertake to fight, you must sacrifice yourself for your cause. Such a thing could not happen in our time. Everyone should die but not surrender" (*JZ*, I, pp.156; 163, etc.). Another noteworthy piece of evidence - Tolstoy's enthusiasm at the sight of the military bearing of two cadets he met in the street ("My God, what fine fellows!... What stature, freshness, strength!... Oh, how splendid, how charming!")⁴⁹. Tolstoy proceeds thus from the concept of a soldier's duty. Though this duty binds him - a noble, a former officer, who has taken his oath - no more, it remains immovable in his ideas - in direct contradiction to his own teaching and to his numerous statements. Now and then he makes declarations of his patriotic feelings⁵⁰. The same refers to some of his class prejudices⁵¹, e.g. with respect to arranging his daughters' life, to different traditional occupations and the habits of his circle, etc.⁵².

It may be suggested that evidence of this kind can be (at least partially) explained by a pragmatic approach to everyday behavior, which made Tolstoy more than once recommend to his interlocutors and correspondents that they fulfill those obligations, which result from their present state and not change this state unless they have no choice. This approach could refer to military service as well⁵³ (hence the necessity to fulfill a soldier's duty), or to other cases or circumstances⁵⁴. Thus he takes into consideration the real state of a man, in which the latter is naturally bound by certain traditions, obligations, duties (cf. above on Tolstoy's arguments against leaving the family).

In the broader context of Tolstoy's teaching, this attitude calls forth another, "double" analogy, which is still more interesting from the structural point of view: that with *Kṛṣṇa*'s doctrine as taught to Arjuna in *Bhagavadgītā* (familiar to Tolstoy)⁵⁵. It is noteworthy that the situation, in which *Kṛṣṇa* expounds his teaching, is to a certain degree analogous to the conflict in Tolstoy's conscience, where traditional class and family obligations clashed with his moral principles. Finding himself between the armies, ready to fight, Arjuna is afraid of entering the battle and killing his relatives - even under the threat of death (I. 35 sq). *Kṛṣṇa* refutes him, producing beside more abstract proofs (impossibility to destroy our true essence by death - II, 17 sq), more concrete ones as well, based on the necessity to follow one's own duty (*svadharma*). Arjuna is *kṣatriya* (i.e. a member of the second warrior caste) and a "better thing than a fight required of duty exists not for a warrior" (II, 31)⁵⁶ - therefore he must throw away all his doubts and fight. As we see, in his later years, himself a teacher devoted

to the ideal of mokṣa and preaching non-resistance to evil (cf. above on his reaction to violent exploits of the same Kṛṣṇa - t.56, p.340), Tolstoy, as if following Kṛṣṇa, more than once makes similar pragmatic statements, urging Russian soldiers to fulfill their duty and to stand up to the enemy till the end. He appears here not only as teacher, but, notwithstanding his doctrine, as a former soldier, a nobleman who was fulfilling his duty in the past and recalls this duty again and again, depending on the circumstances.

It seems that until the end of his life Tolstoy did not cease to experience at heart this duality - of a wise teacher moving towards a final liberation, and of a soldier bound by his duty - that is the duality of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in Bhagavadgītā, or of Kṛṣṇa himself, whose ambiguous image combined the traits of a warrior destroying his enemies (the demons, asuras) and of a wise preceptor⁵⁷. Here, one should be reminded of some noteworthy evidence - an interesting dream⁵⁸ that greatly impressed Tolstoy: On 29 XI 1908 Tolstoy records the following in his diary: "I have dreamed by night that I partly write, compose, and partly experience the drama of Christ. I am Christ and I am a soldier at the same time. I remember myself putting on a sword. Very lively" (t.56, p.158). Some parallel, partly complementary, evidence is found in V.G.Tcherkhoff's record of 4 XII 1908: "Several days ago L.N. told me about his dream. - I have seen a dream so lively - a drama about Christ, performed by characters: I imagined myself in the place of certain personages. I was now Christ, now a soldier, but more often - a soldier. I remember very distinctly how I put on a sword. But it made a powerful impression on me"⁵⁹. The character of the experience lived through in this dream is scarcely accidental⁶⁰, and it presents a peculiar correspondence - at a subconscious level - to the duality mentioned above.

It goes without saying that there is much in Tolstoy's individuality and writings, that should be studied within the framework of other, not necessarily Indian traditions, as well. This refers, in particular, to the problem of departure, which cannot be understood completely outside traditional Christian institutions, and to the sources of Tolstoy's ethical and philosophical views, arrived at initially under the influence of European spiritual tradition, beginning with ancient stoics and also including modern Western thinkers. Nevertheless, when one considers that in comparison to antique, Christian or new European sources, the Indian spiritual values were much less accessible, more distant in the historical perspective and much more alien to the society in which Tolstoy grew up and lived all his life - the disproportionately great role of these values in his spiritual quest becomes obvious. In the course of time they occupied a more and more important place in his life among other oriental traditions, seeming to drive them back. Notwithstanding all the reservations that arise with respect to Tolstoy's handling of Indian sources (lack of professional and sometimes of general knowledge, contradictory judgements, mistakes) his experience in this domain seems to be unique. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that such an intensive Indian influence, touching upon creative activity, world-outlook and everyday behavior, cannot be found in any non-Indian author whose significance is equal to that of Tolstoy's.

However voluminous the literature about Tolstoy is, it seems to be impossible in essence to render an exhaustive interpretation of his personality and writings - one can speak only of separate descriptions, complementing each other and to a certain degree drawing us towards this ideal. In this advancement, in as much as we are capable of it, an investigator should not lose sight of the Indian heritage which Tolstoy for decades realized in himself on his way to "The Kingdom of God within us".

Notes

- 1 See t.58 (diaries and notebooks of 1910); *Dnevnik Sofi Andreevny Tolstoj*. 1910, Moskva, Sovetskij pisatel' 1936 (TD); S.Tolstoj, pp.235-293; Suxotina-Tolstaja, pp.369-426 (*O smerti...*); ST, pp.186-244); I.L. Tolstoj. *Moi vospominanija*, Moskva, izd. Xud.lit-ra, 1969, pp.254-266; Gol'denvejzer, II (1910); V.F.Bulgakov. *The last year of Leo Tolstoj*, London, 1971; V.F. Bulgakov. *Uxod i smert' Tolstogo* - in: *Lev Tolstoj, ego druž'ja i blizkie*, Tula, 1970, pp. 80-123; JZ, IV (July 1909 - November 1910); A.I.Ksjunin, *Uxod Tolstogo*, Spb, 1911; V.G.Čertkov. *Uxod Tolstogo*, Moskva, 1922; V.Xodasevič. *Uxod Tolstogo - Izbrannaja proza*. N.Y. Russica publishers, 1982, pp.109-122; *Smert' Tolstogo po novym materialam*, Moskva, 1929; B.M.Mejlax. *Uxod i smert' L'va Tolstogo*, Moskva, izd. Xud. lit-ra, Izd.2, 1979; Lanskoj, pp.361-460.
- 2 By his son L.L.Tolstoj (cf. Mejlax, p.59 sq.).
- 3 "All my works, which were none other than my life, interested and interest you so little" (see his letter to wife of 15-18 XII 1885 - t.83, p.546). In autumn of 1907 he says as if summing up: "I have been waiting for it for 45 years - that S.A. would listen to me - and I cannot achieve it" (Suxotin, p.196).
- 4 Cf. already a record of 8 X 1862 in S.Tolstaja, I, p.37. In autumn 1863 Tolstoj desires to go to war if it begins (ibid., pp.61, 527; GT, 1855-1869, pp.614 sq.). See also with respect to these relations: Suxotina-Tolstaja, pp.375 sq. (ST, pp.190 sq.); A.Tolstaja, II, pp.10, 136, 192 sq., 290; S.Tolstoj, pp.240 sq.; D.P.Makovickij. *Uxod L'va Nikolaeviča* - Gos. Literaturnyj Muzej. Letopisi, Kn.2, Moskva, 1938, pp.446 sq.; Mejlax, pp.197 sq. etc.
- 5 "Alas! He is writing what you might call theses about religion ... My only hope is that he will get to the end of this work as quickly as possible and just get over it all like an illness" (in S.A.Tolstaja's letter of 7 XI 1879 to her sister - see: Suxotina-Tolstaja, p.389; ST, p.207). In *My life (Moja Žizn')* she remembered later how in 1880, when she was rewriting his religious works, "I was seized by mounting indignation. I snatched up all the pages, took them to Lev, and told him, that I would not be doing any more copying for him; I cannot - Suxotina-Tolstaja, p.390 (ST, p.207); cf. M.V.Muratov, *L.N.Tolstoj i V.G. Čertkov po ix perepiske*, Moskva 1934, p.11. We do not dwell here on Tolstoj's relations with other members of the family, who did not play such an important role in his departure. However he suffered from misunderstanding not only on the part of his wife. In a letter to her of 15-18 XII 1885, cited above (see note 3) he goes on: "and as it to children, they do not care even to read" (i.e. his religious writings) (t.83, p.546). His favourite son Vanečka, in whom he placed his hopes as on his successor, died a child in 1895. Other sons were more or less alien to him (especially Leon, Andrew and Michael, who took their mother's side in the family conflict). The daughters stood much closer to him, especially Maria, who, however, left Jasnaja Poljana after her marriage in 1897 and died in 1905. The eldest daughter Tatiana married and left him in 1899. Of all the family only the youngest daughter Alexandra supported him actively in his last years. Cf. Suxotina-Tolstaja, pp.297 sq (ST, pp.215; 219 sq.; cf. ibid. 245 sq.); A.Tolstaja, II, pp.82-83, 296; JZ, II, p.312; A.Šifman. *Stranicy izni L'va Tolstogo*. Moskva, 1983, pp.261 sq.; etc.
- 6 S.Tolstaja, I, p.108 (cf. *The Diary of Tolstoj's wife*. 1860-1891, London 1928, p.200). It was evidently still earlier that Tolstoj said to the tutor of his children, who lived with them: "I constantly think that I should renounce the life which I lead" (V.I.Alekseev, *Vospominanija* - Gos. Literaturnyj Muzej. Letopisi, Kn.12, L.N.Tolstoj, t.II, p.263).

- ⁷ Cf. also P.Popov. *Pis'mo Tolstogo k S.A.Tolstoj* - LN, t.37/38, L.N.Tolstoj, II, pp.665 sq.; GT, 1881-1885, pp.522 sq.
- ⁸ Suxotina-Tolstaja, p.198.
- ⁹ Cf. A.Tolstaja, II, p.136; Mejlas, pp.261 sq.; cf. t.63, p.198; t.78, p.114; Gusev, p.107; etc.
- ¹⁰ S.Tolstoj, p.280.
- ¹¹ A.Tolstaja, II, p.386. On the same day (25 X 1910) he wrote in his diary: "and on my side a sinful wish that she should give me occasion to go away" - t.58, p.143; cf. *Dnevnik Sof'i Andreevny Tolstoj*, 1910, p.242 (TD, p.339); S.A. Tolstaja. *Pis'ma k L.N.Tolstomu*, 1862-1910, Moskva-Leningrad, Academia, 1936, p.799. Cf. e.g. t.58, p.132; Gusev, pp.147, 279, 286, etc.
- ¹² Cf. above (note 4) about his desire to leave the house in case of war. Another ground for departure (though the whole family's transmigration was planned then) arose in autumn 1872, when after an accident with a shepherd, Tolstoj had to give a written undertaking not to leave the place, and indignant at the administrative tyranny wanted to leave for England (cf. his letters to A.A. Tolstaja - t.61, pp.314-319). D.P.Makovicky (JZ, IV, p.26) suggests, that when planning to go to Stockholm in 1909, to attend the Peace Congress, Tolstoj intended to use this as a pretext to leave the house never to return, and that S.A.Tolstaja opposed this plan so violently, just because she suspected his hidden intention.
- ¹³ Suxotina-Tolstaja, p.416 (TS, p.234).
- ¹⁴ S.A.Tolstaja. *Pis'ma*, p.800 (cf. TD, p.396).
- ¹⁵ It was called forth by reading the book of Swami Abhedananda; *Vedanta-Philosophie*, Leipzig u. Frankfurt a.M., which impressed him greatly: "You should love in you not yourself, but atman, that is infinite spirit". How happy I am that I begin to understand, to go through it, to feel it not by reasoning, but with all my heart and - first of all - from experience" (t.57, pp.166; cf. 383).
- ¹⁶ *The Principal Upanisads*, transl. by S.Radhakrishnan, London, 1953, pp.195 sq.; 281 sq. S.A.Tolstaja (if we extend to her this analogy) was not devoid of religious interests, which sometimes even brought her closer to her husband's views. "What beautiful and simple truths are found in Buddhism" - she writes in her diary at the end of 1898, impressed by a book on Burmese Buddhism by Filding (*The Soul of a people* - cf. S. Tolstaja, I, p.435; cf. similar impressions that Tolstoj also had - t.71, p.490; t.84, pp.335-336; t.88, p.141). In spring of 1902 reading the same book in Russian translation she adds quite in the spirit of Tolstoj: "How much better Buddhism is compared to our Orthodoxy" (S.Tolstaja, II, p.67). Cf. *ibid.*, p.124; ST, p.193 (about her efforts "to catch up to him spiritually" during the first years of their marriage); ST, p.243 (about her spiritual evolution after Tolstoj's death), etc. At the same time there was enough of "such knowledge as women have" in her and she presented rather a combination of Kätvayani and a more orthodox-minded Maitreyi, though devoid of their submissiveness.
- ¹⁷ Cf. in this connection, OT, 1886-1892, p.79.
- ¹⁸ *The Dharma Nikāya*, ed. by T.W.Rhys Davids and J.E.Carpenter, Vol.I;II, London, 1966; 1975. Cf. C.S.Upasak. *Dictionary of early Buddhist monastic terms*, Varanasi, 1975, s.v.

- pabbajā, pp.137-138; S.Dutt. *Early Buddhist monasticism*, Bombay 1960; P.Olivelle. *The origin and the early development of Buddhist monachism*, Colombo, 1974, etc. (cf. analogous details in *Father Sergius* (TW, v.16, p.332).
- ¹⁹ Cf. e.g. his impressions of Crimea in 1885 (GT, 1881-1885, p.396).
- ²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p.524 (Paris or America); S.Tolstaja, II, p.124 (Paris, Yalta, Odoev); JZ, IV, p.287 (Caucasus, Crimea, etc.).
- ²¹ E.g.: "to renounce all the privileges ... and to perform that ordinary work of peasants, that is almost of all people" (Aleksiev, p.263). Cf. also about his intention to live in a village, "in a peasant-house, among the working people, working together with them, as far as my strength and capacities permit" - t.85, pp.223-224 (cf. GT, 1881-1885, p.414). Several days before his departure Tolstoj makes arrangements with M.P.Novikov about renting a peasant-house in the village Borovkovo, and after his leaving, on 30 X, he tries to do the same in Shamordino (JZ, IV, pp.390; 408; cf. S.Tolstoj, p.269, etc.).
- ²² Cf. A.Ksjunin, *Poslednie dni Tolstogo v monastyre* - *Novoe Vremja*, 24 XI 1910; *idem*, *Uxod Tolstogo*, p.81; Kodasevič, pp.116 sq.; 121; Bunin, pp.19-22; Nabokov, p.187. Cf. Mejlas, pp.266 sq.; N.A.Pavlovič. *Optina pustyn'. Počemu tuda ezdili velikie?* - *Prometej*, 12, pp.90-91.
- ²³ Concerning the last attempts to reconcile Tolstoj with the Orthodox church there are noteworthy words spoken in those days by the bishop of Tomsk and the Altai Makarij: "One must know where he has gone to - to Orthodoxy or to Buddhism" - *Poslednie dni L'va Nikolaeviča Tolstogo*, Spb, izd. Voskresenie, p.30.
- ²⁴ Pavlovič, pp.88 sq.; cf. *Memoirs of S.P.Arbusov* (TV, I, pp.293 sq.); Gusev, p.72.
- ²⁵ Mejlas, p.262.
- ²⁶ GT, 1870-1884, p.597 (in the exposition of the unpublished religious-philosophical work, written at the end of 1879 and not included in the "jubilee edition").
- ²⁷ Cf. V.V.Veresev. *Xudožnik žizni (o L've Tolstom)* - *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, t.8, Moskva, izd. Nedra, 1929, p.149; S.N.Durylin, *U Tolstogo i o Tolstom* - *Prometej*, 12, pp.225-226, etc.
- ²⁸ Cf. for example: H.Oldenbergh, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, Göttingen, 1923, §.31 sq.; 165 sq.; F. Edgerton. *The Upanishads: What do they seek and why?* - *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol.49, 1929, pp.102 sq.; 107 sq.; B.Mal. *The religion of Buddha and its relation to Upanishadic thought*, Hoshiapur, 1958; A. Ja.Syrkin, *Nekotorye problemy izučeniya upanišad*. Moskva, Nauka, 1971, pp.123 sq.; 148 sq.; etc.
- ²⁹ Cf. the evidence of his reaction to the Orthodox ritualism in *Ispoved'* (t.23, pp.50 sq.), *Issledovanie dogmatičeskogo bogoslovija* (t.23, pp.248 sq.); in *Memoirs of S.A.Tolstaja* (about receiving the eucharist with wine - S.Tolstaja II, p.14), of E.I.Sytina (concerning the chime - *Vospominanija E.I.Sytinaj*; LN, t.37/38, II, pp.410-411); of A.B.Goldenveiser (on a public prayer performed before the army - *Goldenevzejer*, I, p.156). One can add that the reaction against certain public conventions (with respect to etiquette, to clothes, etc.) was displayed by him already in his young years. Cf. GT 1828-1855, pp.198-199; GT, 1855-1869, pp.327-328; GT, 1870-1881, pp.491-492. This attitude did not exclude of course the opposite feelings especially in the first half of his life - a young

man's tribute to vogue, a temporary animation in 1876-1877 for the Church rituals, etc. (see below; cf. t.23, pp.49-50; S.Tolstaja I, p.507; Suxotin, pp.190-191, etc.).

- 30 Cf. I.Kovalevskij, *Jurodstvo o Xriste i Xrista radi jurodivye*, Moskva, 1900; Aleksij (Kuznecov), *Jurodstvo i stolpničestvo. Religiozno-psichologičeskoe issledovanie*, Spb. 1913; P.Hauptmann, *Die "Narren um Christi willen" in der Ostkirche - Kirche im Osten*, 2, 1959, S.27-49; G.P.Fedotov, *Svjatye drevnej Rusi (X-XVII st.)*, New York, 1960, pp.191 sq.; A.Syrkin, *On the behavior of the "Fool for Christ's Sake" - History of Religions*, vol.22, N.2, 1982, pp.151-171 (ibid., p.160, n.50 - a parallel with ancient Indian tradition of paśūpata - cf. D.Ingalls, *Cynics and Pāśūpata: the seeking of dishonor* - Harvard Theological Review, v.55, N.3, 1962, pp.281 sq.).
- 31 Bunin, p.35; cf. Eixenbaum, *O proze*, pp.53 sq.; Durylin, p.225. Cf. ST, 225, Kuzminskaja, p.197 (KT, 174: "Leo Nikolaevich honestly loved these "God's folk": the feeble-minded, the half insane, the wanderers, religious pilgrims"). Cf. t.41, p.331, and another variant in: *Krug čtenija*, t.I, Posrednik, izd.3, Moskva, 1910, p.338; Cf. Gusev, pp.174, 207, etc.
- 32 GT, 1870-1881, p.616; cf. A.Tolstaja, II, p.70 ("to always be ready to see my work abused and myself - put to shame"); Bunin, pp.82,163, etc. Cf. similar behavior of a famous byzantine jurodivyj Symeon, of ancient cynics, and (though impelled by different purposes) of Indian paśūpata (Syrkin, *On the behavior*, pp.156, 166 sq.).
- 33 "Only when he had perished irrevocably in the eyes of men, he learned what it means to rely upon God" (t.52, p.39; cf. t.65, p.268; t.87, p.71). It is characteristic of Tolstoy that he stresses the denouncing of mundane glory as the main purpose. Another note to *Otec Sergij*, also of 1891, runs: "He must fight the pride ... and only after his fall and shame should he feel that he has escaped from this vicious circle and can be humble indeed" (t.52, pp.57-58). Cf. t.41, p.331; t.52, p.82. By the way, this last period of Father Sergij's life, which remind us of some "jurodivyj's" traits (see below), has been also interpreted in the sense of "un nihilismo buddista, una religione del Nirvana". Cf. R.Przybylski, *Un senzadio cercatore di Dio: Padre Sergij di L.N.Tolstoj - Tolstoj oggi*. Firenze. 1980., pp.98 sq. (with reference to D.Merežkovskij's essay on Tolstoj: D.Merežkovskij, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, t.11, Moskva, 1914, pp.91 sq. a.o.
- 34 So he advised his biographer P.I.Brukhoff to consider his artistic works biographical material (V. Šklovskij, *Lev Tolstoj*, Moskva, Molodaja Gvardija, 1963, p.690). Cf. respective remarks of Anna Akhmatova in: I.Berlin, *Personal impressions*, London, Hogarth press, 1980, p.196.
- 35 I.A.Bunin (pp.33-34) speaks of the "obsession with monotony" in Tolstoy's "late writings and records, which reminds one of the monotony typical of ancient sacred books..." Cf. above on Tolstoy's great appreciation of Indian legends from the artistic points of view (t.30, pp.109, 382 etc.).
- 36 We shall dwell only on separate details, that can be connected (though in most cases - indirectly) with the analogy that interests us here. Cf. in this respect: Eixenbaum, *O proze*, p.59; Mejlaš, pp.254 sq.; K.Kedrov, *"Uxod" i "voskresenie" geroev Tolstogo - V mire Tolstogo*. Sbornik statej. M. Sovetskij pisatel', 1978, str.248-273; etc. The subject of *Otec Sergij* is close to Tolstoy's unfinished sketch about the hieromonk ("ieromonax") Iliodor - a duke Ivan Tverskoj, a retired colonel, who took monastic vows but continued to torment himself with his doubts (t.37, pp.288-290; 379-380; 452-453), and to another sketch about father Aleksej (1909). Cf. V.S.Mi'in, *Načalo nezaveršennogo rasskaza "Zapiski*

svjaščennika", LN, t.69, kn.1, pp.443-444; V.A.Ždanov, *Poslednie knigi L.N.Tolstogo. Zamyaly i sveršenija* - Moskva, izd. Kniga, 1971, pp.45-47. Cf. above, n.98.

- 37 Cf. Ždanov, pp.26-30; see also A.Tolstaja, II, p.285; *Tainstvennyj starec Feodor Kuz'mič v Sibiri i imperator Aleksandr I* Jordanville, N.Y., 1972; N. von Sementowski-Kurilo. *Der Tote von Taganrog* - Damals, Hf.10, Oct.1976, S.879-892; P.N.Krupenskij. *Taina imperatora*. Orange, Conn., Antiquary, 1986, etc.
- 38 Ždanov, pp.60-95.
- 39 Cf. S.L.Tolstoy. *Ob otrazhenii žizni v "Anne Kareninoj"* - LN, t.37/38, L.N. Tolstoj, II, pp.566-590 (cf. KT, p.239).
- 40 Ibid., pp.571-572 ("One can find in Kity many traits that remind one of young Sofia Andreewna"). So already in November 1862 she records: "He disgusts me with his People. I feel, he ought to choose between me, i.e. the representative of the family and his beloved People" (S.Tolstaya I, p.43; cf. *The Diary of Tolstoy's wife*, 1860-1891, p.90). In the beginning of 1863 Tolstoy writes in his Diary: "I am afraid that she, being young, does not understand and does not like many things in me" (t.48, p.51). Cf. Suxotina-Tolstaja, pp.375 sq. (ST, pp.190 sq.); A.Tolstaja, I, pp.252 sq.; GT, 1855-1869, pp.381 sq.; T.Polner, *Tolstoy and his wife*, London, 1946, pp.62 sq.; 83 sq.
- 41 Cf. GT, 1870-1881, pp.25 sq.; 505 sq.; Polner, pp.105 sq.
- 42 Cf. above, note 18. The idea of finding the highest spiritual values in one's own self was very dear to Tolstoy. Cf. the title of one of his most important religious works: *The Kingdom of God is within us* (*Carstvo božie vnútri nas* - 1890-1893, t.28); it is reflected in a number of thoughts (taken from different sources, or his own) which he inserted in his anthologies (cf. t.43, p.67; t.44, p.110, etc.).
- 43 See e.g. his correspondence with Gandhi (LN, t.37/38, II, pp.339 sq.; Markovich, pp.25 sq.).
- 44 In this connection it is interesting to note his tendency to introduce classifications into respective rules, descriptions etc. (cf. e.g. the division of rules into the "positive and negative", "moral" and "practical" with subsequent division of each into the "constant" and the "accidental", etc. - cf. t.46, pp.264 sq.; 290, etc.). Cf. also the division of his own life into periods in *Vospominanija* (t.34, p.347; Bunin, p.17 sq. - see above). Similar tendency is often displayed by him with respect to different objects and notions. Thus speaking about Jews he often divided them into different types (four types in JZ, I, p.139; three - in JZ, II, p.104; two - ibid., p.317; a.o.); cf. also about the three kinds of vice (JZ, II, p.593), etc. This trait is also characteristic of Indian culture with its classifying approach to different phenomena. Cf. B.Heimann. *Studien für Eigenart Indischen Denkens*, Tübingen, 1930, S.185 sq.; A.Syrkin, *K sistematizacii*, pp.146-164.
- 45 Cf. about the attitude of his heroes to death: V.V.Veresev, *Da zdravstvuet ves' mir! (O L'v'e Tolstom)* - *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, t.VII, Moskva, izd. Nedra, 1929, pp.145 sq. See respective pages of *War and Peace*, *The death of Ivan Ilyich*, *Hadji-Murad* (e.g. in the scene of his death: "all these images passed through his mind without evoking any feeling within him - neither pity nor anger nor any kind of desire: everything seemed so insignificant in comparison with what was beginning, or had already begun within him" - TW, vol.15, p.383).

- ⁴⁶ See some examples of such overcoming: *Laws of Manu*, VI, 45; Brhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad, III, 5.1; IV, 3.22; Kauṣītaki upaniṣad I, 4, etc. Cf. Syrkin, *K sistematizacii*, pp.151 sq.
- ^{46a} *Dialogues of the Buddha*, transl. from the Pāli by T.W.Rhys Davids, Oxford, pt.I, 1923, pp.254-255.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. the evidence of *Laws of Manu* on the dharma of different people with respect to their estate: II, 89; VIII, 41, 335; X, 77 sq.; etc. (especially: X.97 - "it is better to discharge one's own (appointed) duty incompletely, than to perform completely that of another" - cf. *The Laws*, p.433 and note to X.97).
- ⁴⁸ Suxotina-Tolstaja, p.440 (TS, p.164); P.I.Birjukov, *Biografija L'va Nikolaeviča Tolstogo*, t.4, Moskva - Petrograd, 1923, p.107. Cf. a record in JZ, I, p.126.
- ⁴⁹ Cf. L.A.Sulerzhicky (cf. Bunin, p.71; TV t.II, p.481). "Tolstoy liked the war not without reason, and he hardly restrained this passion on himself" (Eixenbaum, *O proze*, p.85). Cf. Tolstoy's memoirs of military bearing in his Diary of 28 VI 1904 (t.55, pp.60; 469-470). See also S.S.Dorošenko. *Lev Tolstoj vojn-i patriot. Voennaja služba i voennaja dejatel'-nost'* - Moskva, Sovetskij pisatel', 1966, pp.285 sq., in particular, about his enthusiasm on reading the description of the regiment review in the *Duel* (*Poedinok*) of A.I. Kuprin.
- ⁵⁰ It was also connected, in particular, with the Russian-Japanese war. See t.55, p.111; JZ, I, pp.156, 301, 378, 390-391; III, 138 ("L.N. wondered how Tatjana L'vovna remained indifferent to the defeat of the Russians in the Japanese war: "Is it possible, that you have no patriotic feeling?" Tatiana L'vovna answered that she was quite devoid of it. - "You have annihilated it in us, while it has been preserved in yourself"); IV, p.192, etc. Cf. also Suxotin, p.180 ("He says that the old patriotic mettle stays in him"). In this connection one can naturally find some earlier patriotic manifestations of Tolstoy's (and, respectively, his negative approach to other peoples - cf. above, pt. 1, note 36). Such were e.g. his "slavjanofilic" and anti-Turkish feelings that little by little were taking hold of him during the Turkish-Bulgarian war of 1877. These feelings were rather far from his favourite hero's (Levin's) views (see the respective discussion in the end of *Anna Karenina*) and stood much closer to those of F.M.Dostoevskij (see his polemics with Levin - resp. Tolstoy - in *Dnevnik pisatelja*, 1877, July-August, ch.3). Dostoevsky, however, could fully repeat following Tolstoy's words directed to his children's young tutor: "You have met on your way a lot of young men going ... to defend their brothers, Balkan Slavs ... If I had your aspirations ... your young age, I would go without hesitation to defend my kinsfolk ... What! Do you want muslims to reign over Christians ... Do you want Turks to mock at Armenians and Slavs?" (Aleksiev, p.248; cf. GT, 1870-1881, pp.433-434). Cf. more details in: Dorošenko. At the same time there was no lack of contrary (and mostly - public) statements. So in his article *Change your mind* (*Odumajtes'* - 1904) he writes: "the case of my life has nothing to do with recognizing Chinese, Japanese or Russian claims to Port-Arthur" (t.36, pp.129-130). Cf. also JZ, III, p.350 (censuring N.V.Gogol for his Russian nationalism); Suxotin, p.200 etc. In his *What my belief is* (*V čem moja vera* - 1883) he says: "if I am able now in the moment of oblivion to help a Russian more than a stranger, to wish success to the Russian State or people, I am not able, however, in the moment of soberness to serve the temptation, that ruins me and other people" (t.23, p.461).
- ⁵¹ Cf. evidence of V.G.Bulgakoff, E.M.Lopatina, S.Samarina, about his interest in traditional estate and family ties, about his fear of *mésalliance* for his daughters, about the military service of his son Ilya, etc. (Bunin, pp.82-86). Cf. t.68, p.230; a record of 31 XII 1904 about his personal, family and even aristocratic egoism (t.55, p.111); Suxotin, p.200; KT,

- 207, etc. One can naturally draw similar examples from his earlier years. Cf. V.N. Nazar'jev's memoirs about Tolstoy's student years (TV I, pp.22 sq.); t.34, p.399 (attitude to clothes in his youth; cf. KT, p.416); t.61, p.315 (a letter to A.A.Tolstaja of 5 IX 1872 about the importance of the aristocratic circle for educating children); t.62, p.134 (to his brother-in-law A.A.Bers in the beginning of 1875 on the occasion of his marriage - about the importance of breeding).
- ⁵² E.g. to hunting, which had been his favourite amusement for a long time, remained so in the eighteen eighties (cf. t.83, 394), and was naturally denounced by him in later years (cf. his foreword to V.G.Tchertkoff's article *A cruel amusement - Zlaja zabava*, t.27, pp.290, 554, 710-712). Cf. D.D. Obolenskij (in TV, I, pp.194 sq.); A.L.Tolstoj. *O moem otce - JS*, 1965, p.133; JZ, I, 165 (an example of hunting the hare, drawn above); 171 (another example - also on the occasion of the Russian-Japanese war: "hunting is stupid and evil, but if you go hunting you should not miss a fox").
- ⁵³ Cf. also: X.N.Abrikosov, *Dvenadcat' let okolo Tolstogo* - Gos. Literaturnyj Muzej. Letopisi, kn.12, L.N.Tolstoj, t.II, p.379 (advice not to change the external conditions of one's life until these conditions become unbearable). Cf. on his conservatism: KT, pp.235-236. See above, n.9.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. above, note 52 (about hunting). Another example - funny but characteristic - his relation to drinking bouts. I.Bunin recalls how on hearing his words about organizing the society against drinking, Tolstoy replied: "That is, when people gather in order not to drink vodka? Rubbish. To abstain from drinking, one need not gather. And if people gather, they should drink" (Bunin, p.60). "The whole of Tolstoy is reflected here" notes his secretary about this story (V.F.Bulgakov. *Lev Tolstoj, ego družja i blizkie*, Tula, 1970, p.37). Cf. also about his love for drunk men - KT, p.174; JZ, III, p.57; IV, p.384; Gusev, pp.69, 142, 229.
- ⁵⁵ We have already said that Tolstoy was deeply interested in the image of Kṛṣṇa and in Bhagavadgītā. In the beginning of 1908 he writes to S.R.Chitale that he quite agrees "with the fundamental principle of the Bhagavad-Gita that man should direct all his spiritual force only to his duty" (t.78, p.32). Two months later he reads Bhagavadgītā, in particular, paying attention to its idea that "the work is not the most important thing; the work is good when you do not think about results" (JZ, III, p.32; cf. IV, p.102). In 1909 reading the Petersburg magazine *Vestnik Teosofii* he again pays attention to translation from Bhagavadgītā, published there (t.57, p.385; cf. JZ, IV, pp.105, 446). Cf. Šifman, p.135.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. *The Bhagavad Gītā*. Translated and interpreted by F.Edgerton, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, p.12. One can refer also to the image of another great teacher - the Buddha (kṣatriya by birth!) who sometimes "faced the fact of fighting ... however strange this may seem, by expressing a certain admiration for the soldier ... there are several similes which are military in nature, their point usually being to encourage monks to be steadfast in endeavour as soldiers are steadfast in battle and to wage spiritual battles as they wage armed ones ..." (I.B.Horner, *Early Buddhism and the taking of life*. Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1967, pp.16 sq.).
- ⁵⁷ Cf. above on the noteworthy connection between Tolstoy's and Kṛṣṇa's images in the lost letter of S.R.Chitale ("He writes that Lev Nikolaevich is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa" - t.78, p.33; see pt.1, note 12).
- ⁵⁸ One can observe in this connection, that dreams played a prominent role in Tolstoy's personal life and creative activity. His own dreams were more than once embodied in his

works (cf. *Ispoved'*, XVI; *Tri dnja v derevne*; *Čto ja videl vo sne*; *Son*, etc.), and were reflected in his artistic plans. A hero's dream, having an important semantic function, is often introduced by him in the narration (as e.g. in *War and Peace*, *Otec Sergij*, etc.).

⁵⁹ Cf. Tolstoj o literature i iskusstve. Zapisi V.G. Čertkova i P.A. Sergeenko - LN, t.37/38, L.N.Tolstoj, II, p.530. Cf. Gusev, p.92.

⁶⁰ One can suggest that this experience, motivated by a certain ambivalence of the Christ image, reflects in a peculiar manner the character of the Gospel's tradition. This ambivalence is displayed in the combination of Christ's attributes (cf., in particular, the motif of a sword, appearing in the dream, as well: "I have not come to bring peace, but a sword" - Matthew 10, 35) and in the attitudes of those surrounding Christ. Cf. C.G.Jung, *Answer to Job*, London, 1955, pp.89 sq.; 127 (Christ as a "wrathful lamb"); A.Ja.Syrkin. *K karakteristike induistkogo panteona* - Učenyje Zapiski Tartuskogo Gos. Universiteta, Vyp.309, Trudy po vostokovedeniju, II, 1, Tartu, 1973, pp.165 sq.

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Biblioteka - *Biblioteka L.N. Tolstogo v Jasnoj Poljane. Bibliografičeskoe opisanie*. t. I. č. 1; 2, t. II, Moskva, Kniga 1972-1978.

Bulgakov. *Knigi* - V.E. Bulgakov. *Knigi ob Indii v biblioteko L.N. Tolstogo* - "Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia AN SSSR", XXX, Moskva, 1959, pp. 45-56.

Bunin - I.A. Bunin. *Osvoboždenie Tolstogo - Sobranie sočinenij*, t. 9, Moskva, Izd. Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1967, pp. 7-165.

Gol'denvejzer I; II - A.B. Gol'denvejzer. *Vblizi Tolstogo*, Moskva, Gos. Izd. Xudož. lit., 1959; *Vblizi Tolstogo*, tom II, Moskva - Petrograd, Kooperativnoe izdatel'stvo, 1923 (memoirs of A.B. Goldenweiser).

Gusev - N.N. Gusev. *Dva goda s Tolstym*. Moskva. Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1973.

GT 1828-1855; 1855-1869; 1870-1881; 1881-1885 - N.N. Gusev. *Lev Nikolaevič Tolstoj. Materialy k biografii s 1828 po 1855 god*, Moskva, Izd. AN SSSR, 1954; idem - *s 1855 po 1869 god*, 1957; idem - *s 1870 po 1881 god*, 1963, idem - *s 1881 po 1885 god*, izd. Nauka, 1970.

JS - Jasnopoljanskij sbornik, Tula.

JZ - *U Tolstogo. 1904-1910. "Jasnopoljanskije Zapiski" D.P. Makovickogo*, kn. 1-4; Ukazateli - LN, t. 90, Moskva, Nauka, 1979-1981 (diaries of D.P. Makovicky).

Kuzminskaja - T.A. Kuzminskaja. *Moja žizn' doma i v Jasnoj Poljane. Vospominanija*. Tula, 1959 (memoirs of T.A. Kuzminskaja).

KT - Tatyana A. Kuzminskaya. *Tolstoj as I knew him. My life at home and at Yasnaya Polyana*. N.Y. The Macmillan company 1948.

LN - Literaturnoe Nasledstvo, Moskva, Izd. ANSSSR; Nauka.

- Nabokov - V. Nabokov. *Leo Tolstoy* - in: *Lectures on Russian Literature*. London. Pan books Ltd., 1983, pp. 173-243.
- OT 1886-1892 - L.D. Opuľ'skaja. *Lev Nikolaevič Tolstoj. Materialy k biografii s 1886 po 1892 god*. Moskva, Nauka, 1979.
- Suxotin - M.S. Suxotin. *Tolstoj v poslednee desjatiletie svoej žizni* - LN, t. 69, kn. 2, 1961, p. 141-236 (memoirs of M.S. Sukhotin).
- Suxotina-Tolstaja - T.L. Suxotina-Tolstaya. *Vospominanija*. Moskva, Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1976 (memoirs of T.L. Suxotina).
- ST - Tatiana Tolstoy. *Tolstoy remembered*, tr. by D. Coltman, London, Michael Joseph, 1972.
- Šifman - A.I. Šifman. *Lev Tolstoj i Vostok*. Moskva, Izd. Nauka, 2nd ed. 1971.
- A. Tolstaja I; II - A.L. Tolstaja. *Otec*, t. I-II, New York, Izd. imeni Čexova, 1953 (memoirs of A.L. Tolstaja).
- S. Tolstaja I; II - S.A. Tolstaja. *Dnevnik*, t. I-II, Moskva, Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1978. (diaries of S.A. Tolstaja).
- S. Tolstoj - S.L. Tolstoj. *Očerki bylogo*. Tula, 1965. (memoirs of S.L. Tolstoy)
- TD - *The final struggle, being countess Tolstoy's diary for 1910*, transl. with an introd. by A. Maude, London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1936.
- TL, I; II - *Tolstoy's letters*, vol. I-II, selected, ed. and transl. by R.F. Christian, New York, Ch. Scribners' sons, 1978.
- TV, I; II - *Tolstoj v vospominanijax sovremennikov*, tt. I-II, Moskva, Xudožestvennaja literatura, 1978.
- TW - (The works of Leo Tolstoy) *Tolstoy - centenary edition*, vol. 1-21 Oxford, London, 1928-1937.
- Zajdenšnur. Fol'klor - È.E. Zajdenšnur. *Fol'klor narodov Vostoka v tvorčestve L.N. Tolstogo* - JS, god 1960-j, pp. 19-39.