

THE "INDIAN" IN TOLSTOY (Part one)

The ties between Tolstoy and India are well known. They have been elucidated often both in memoirs and in scientific literature. They have been discussed within the framework of his interest in different religious traditions, in the Orient, etc. and in special publications.¹ These ties touch upon different spheres of Indian culture; mainly upon a vast domain of Indian ethical and religious literature. It is hardly possible to find another great writer who mentions so often in his scriptures, diaries, conversations the evidence of this literature - from most ancient cosmological legends to contemporary authors. For several decades he was interested in the main streams of Indian religious life - Brahmanism and Buddhism - by themselves and in connection with other religions and texts (mostly with Christianity and the Gospels). These ties were not confined to classical heritage only as Tolstoy was greatly interested in contemporary Indian national movements as well. He was in correspondence with Gandhi and other Indians who had great respect for him.

Speaking of Tolstoy's interest in India, and of its influence on him one should take into consideration that his ideas and conclusions inevitably reflected his lack of professional knowledge (that cannot be said of some other traditions he studied more thoroughly - of learning Ancient Greek or Hebrew languages, or textual criticism of the New Testament). Moreover, one can observe here a kind of inherent repulsion with respect to the scientific approach - a repulsion so characteristic of him in his last decades.² Discussing Hinduist or Buddhist problems he was inclined on the one hand to stress their more general traits and parallels with other systems, and, on the other - to criticize their ritualism, belief in miracles, the "disastrous" authority of priesthood, the deification of preachers, etc. - all that signified in his opinion degradation and "the obscuring of religious consciousness in Indian people" - a phenomenon marked by him (often in the same context) with respect to Christianity and other religions.³ Speaking thus Tolstoy did not take into consideration the complicated character of these teachings, which combined - beginning in the most ancient texts - certain ethical precepts that greatly impressed him, with ritual and superstition. He often failed to clearly appreciate the complex history of Hinduism and Buddhism that underwent considerable changes within the frameworks of different, sometimes independent, trends and schools for the space of two to three milleniums. His "Brahmanism" ("bramanizm", "braminizm" etc. in his transcription) and "Buddhism" appear as rather idealized notions, based on a popular interpretation by contemporary Western authors. One should

remember nevertheless, that it is in such general meaning that these terms (Hinduism, Brahmanism, Buddhism) were adopted by Western culture in the XIX-XX centuries and influenced its greatest representatives. In this sense they were accepted by Russian culture as well, and by Tolstoy himself. It is important in this connection, that with all erroneous comments and inexactitudes, with all dilettantism of their interests, Tolstoy and many other Western authors saw in "Brahmanism" or "Buddhism" quite definite specific concepts, clearly opposed to other great religions. That is why the use of these terms with necessary reservations seems to be justified in the present exposition.

In this connection one must consider the character of the sources used by Tolstoy. With respect to Russian publications, he disposed of comparatively few second-hand translations from languages other than Indian - like "Buddijskie sutty", "Sutta nipata", etc., kept in his library in Jasnaja Poljana, which contain his numerous notes.⁴ Besides more general works - originals (e.g. those of I.P. Minaeff - see below) or translations - he often resorted to reference books.⁵ He could find much more in foreign publications (in English, French, German), but, as far as we can judge, he usually confined himself to more general, popular sketches - about Krsna, Buddha, etc., to excerpts from different classical texts, to some more popular (in particular theosophical) magazines, like "The Light of India" (Los Angeles), "The Vedic magazine" (Lahore), etc. Unlike his gospel studies, his acquaintance with Indian spiritual culture (similar to Chinese or Muslim) was not so systematic, and depended to a large degree on the choice of books and magazines sent to him by his correspondents and admirers (as a rule, not specialists). Such was the basis of his indological knowledge and respective judgements, that interest us, first and foremost, with respect of the analysis of his own world outlook and his spiritual quest. In this connection the lack of professional approach rather helped him to find here confirmation of his favourite ideas - for example, his tendency to stress common features of all religions. Such generalization was sometimes combined in his writings with contraposition (not always consistent) of certain teachings or authorities. As it was traditional for Western or Russian cultures, he united a number of Oriental religions under the heading "Eastern" religions.⁶ Tolstoy was capable of repeating most unscientific ideas borrowed from different popular sketches,⁷ and of uttering contradictory statements⁸ (about other, non-Indian religions as well).

The above refers to Indian influence on Tolstoy's spiritual interests and on his writings. We know however that the main stimulus of these interests, of his spiritual quest and self-analysis was a tendency to work out the principles of his own behavior, to coordinate his ideas and reflections with his everyday life. This aspiration, reflected already in his early diaries⁹ and displayed by him till his last days in Astapovo, was - without exaggeration - the *idée fixe* of his conscious life.¹⁰ Whatever objections can arise with respect to his ideas, however contradic-

tory and erroneous some of them may appear, they are marked nevertheless by a certain inalienable trait: Tolstoy saw in them "a question of his own life and death".¹¹ He went from reflections to preaching his doctrine and even if it was not possible for him to realize it completely, he made constant efforts to follow the spirit of this doctrine more and more closely. It is not by chance that Tolstoy's person, even during his life time, was associated with some great legendary teachers and righteous men - mostly Indian. "An incarnation of Kṛṣṇa" - he was called by one of his correspondents.¹² Similar comparisons ("Western brahman", "Russian Buddha", etc.) multiply in November 1910.¹³ Associations with Indian spiritual tradition (in particular, with Buddha) remain very stable in later years as well. They emerge now and then in I. Bunin's "The Liberation of Tolstoy" (1937) - the title itself already seems to be characteristic.¹⁴ Tolstoy's life - according to M.M. Bakhtin, "was unusually integral; a model from the points of view of Indian sages".¹⁵ Similar analogies appear in connection with separate details of Tolstoy's teaching: his anti-personalism,¹⁶ non-resistance to evil,¹⁷ etc.; they came to Tolstoy's mind as well, with certain modification (so e.g. he once compared Jasnaja Poljana with India - t. 56, p. 231). The elements of Indian world outlook penetrated thus not only into Tolstoy's thoughts and scriptures, but into his deeds as well, as an important, sometimes decisive component. At the same time the deep personal interest leaves an imprint on his ideas. The material of different (in particular, Indian) teachings serves him in H. Zimmer's words, as a means of attaining the treasure that is "buried in the innermost recess of our own home ... our own being".¹⁸ Thus an alien tradition became an integral, inalienable part of his own path.

We do not intend to repeat here all the evidence that has more than once appeared in different publications. Our aim is to touch upon separate aspects of the theme: the reflection of old Indian ethical and religious values in Tolstoy's spiritual quest and creative work (the character of his evaluations of Hinduism and Buddhism, the evolution of respective interests; the place of different traditions in his writings) and further - in his behavior (including the motifs of leaving the house in his own life and in the lives of his heroes). The main scope of these analogies are supported by direct evidence from different sources. We will, however, pay attention to certain traits of Tolstoy's personality which, though lacking such evidence, and seeming to be quite independent of Indian sources, reveal nonetheless a certain typological affinity with them and thus draw this personality still nearer to Indian spiritual tradition. Most of the sources cited below were published long ago. The only important exceptions are notebooks, "Jasnopoljanskije zapiski" of D.P. Makovicky (JZ) published in 1979-81 and used extensively here.

One can suppose that already in his youth in Kazan in the eighteen forties Tolstoy had become acquainted with some details of Buddhist doctrine.¹⁹

However, the first evidence of his interest in Indian religions appears in the early eighteen seventies. Such is, in particular, his record of 9.I.1873 where he mentions several books on India; among them: H.T. Colebrook, *Essays on the religion and philosophy of the Hindus*. London, 1858.²⁰ From this time, for almost four decades he displays an unwavering interest in India. Friends and correspondents acquaint him with new publications - in 1877 N.N. Strakhov sent him "Indijskie skazki i legendy, sobrannye v Kamajune I.P. Minaevym" (Sanktpeterburg, 1877); in 1886 - F.E. Foucaux, "Lalitavistara" (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. VI, 1886-cf. t. 63, pp. 397-398) - a book that was mentioned by Tolstoy among those that made a tremendous ("ogromnoe") impression upon him at the age of 50-63 years (together with the Gospels, Pascal, Epictetus, Lao-tsze);²¹ in 1888 - "Buddizm. Issledovanija i materialy" I.P. Minaeva (t. I, vyp. 1. Sanktpeterburg 1887),²² etc. "It's a strange thing - wrote Tolstoy in the late eighteen eighties - the books, I always carry about with me, and which I would like to have always, are the unwritten books: the Prophets, the Gospels, Beal's Buddha..."²³ Tolstoy received such books until the end of his life. He did not confine himself to reading these books, but adapted them and used them in his writings. Already in 1871-1875 he includes some fables from Pañcatandra, Hitopadeśa, avadānas in his "Azbuka" ("ABC-book"), and "Russkie knigi dlja čtenija" ("Russian books for reading"). In 1885 he begins his first "indological" work - a sketch on Buddha whose history he had already briefly set forth in his "Confessions" ("Isповed'" - 1879), and to whom he returned later more than once (a sketch written for "Krug čtenija", a foreword to the article of P.A. Boulanger, etc.).²⁴ In 1894 Tolstoy wrote a small Buddhist tale "Karma" (t. 31, pp. 47-56); in 1903 - a legend "Assiriskij car' Asarhadon" ("The Assyrian King Esarheddon" - t. 34, pp. 126-130; cf. t. 90, pp. 11-14) and a dialogue "Èto ty" ("That thou art" - t. 34, pp. 138-140), though not containing Indian reminiscences, it obviously illustrates the famous Vedantic precept (tat tvam asi).²⁵

Until the end of his life (cf. t. 57, p. 84; t. 58, p. 211; Gusev, p. 268, etc.), Tolstoy systematically reads books on Hinduism and Buddhism: he uses Indian texts in his antologies of aphorisms, compiled by him in 1903-1910. His "Letter to a Hindoo" (14. XII. 1900 - t. 37, pp. 245-272) abounds with epigraphs from Vedas, Upanishads, sayings of Kṛṣṇa, Kural. Until his death he was absorbed by plans of publishing books on "Indian religious wisdom".²⁶ On becoming acquainted with some contemporary Vedantic trends (Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Abhedananda), Tolstoy, especially in his last years, corresponded with Indians. "I appreciate very highly all my intercourse with Indian religious men" - he wrote to one of them.²⁷ Among his correspondents (besides those connected with political activities, like Gandhi,²⁸ or with Islam), one can name a pupil of Vivekananda, Baha Premanand Bharati, the editor of the "Vedic magazine", Rama Deva, a philosopher, P.M. Das Sharma, etc.

In his writings, diaries, conversations, beginning in the eighteen seventies, Tolstoy more and more often mentions Indian religious trends: Brahmanism ("bramanism", "braminism"), Buddhism, together with separate texts (like Vedas) and persons-mythological and historical as well: Brahman (Brama), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha (sometimes as Śākya muni), a.o. We find here some evaluations of doctrines, personalities, books and also brief mentions in different enumerations, where Indian names are found beside Christian, Chinese, Judaic, Muslim, etc. - usually united with them by some mutual characteristic. The evidence of the first kind is certainly more interesting. It was often discussed in scientific and memoir literature, and later we shall touch upon some of its aspects. Nevertheless the analysis of the brief enumerations mentioned above (which, so far, has not been undertaken) seems to be interesting enough. These enumerations are usually based on a favourite idea of Tolstoy's which he repeated so often, - about the basic unity of all religious teachings. Thus Hinduism and Buddhism are mentioned together with Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam; Kṛṣṇa and Buddha - with Confucius, Lao-tsze, Moses, Christ, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius; Vedas, Upanishads - with the Bible, the Gospels, Koran as containing the same essence. The order of these enumerations is deliberate enough; each religion can in principle be named first.²⁹ However, one can observe here certain chronological regularities.

In Tolstoy's works of the late eighteen seventies - nineties - "Confessions" ("Ispoved" - 1879), "Where my belief is" ("V čem moja vera" - 1883), "The Kingdom of God is within you" ("Carstvo božie vnútri nas" - 1890-1893); "The Christian Doctrine" ("Xristianskoe učenie" - 1894-1896), in diaries and letters of this period as well,³⁰ such lists relatively often begin with Indian ("bramins"; - Buddha - cf. t. 23, pp. 34, 437; t. 26, pp. 327, 335; t. 27, p. 85; t. 29, p. 58; t. 53, pp. 61, 112; t. 63, pp. 117, 360; t. 64, p. 114; cf. also memoirs of M.A. and L.I. Polivanov - TV, I, p. 285); Chinese (usually Confucius - t. 26, pp. 399, 575, 590; t. 63, pp. 339; 354; t. 64, p. 61); Judaic (Moses, Solomon, prophets - t. 19, p. 398 - in "Anna Karenina"; t. 28, p. 265; t. 39, p. 153; t. 49, p. 126; t. 64, p. 235) names. Antique (Socrates, Epictetus - t. 23, p. 22; t. 48, p. 68; t. 51, p. 30; t. 63, p. 318) and early Christian names (Christ, the Gospels - t. 69, p. 53; t. 90, p. 262) are found here less often. On the other hand in 1900-1910 (in anthologies of aphorisms, articles and, similarly, in diaries and letters) the specific value of Indian reminiscences in the beginning of such enumerations grows sharply in comparison with other traditions. We often find here "brahmanism" (also "bramins", i.e. brāhmaṇas - t. 36, p. 358; t. 37, p. 349; t. 38, pp. 76, 137, 400, 414, 427; t. 44, p. 27; t. 45, p. 85; t. 55, p. 286; t. 58, p. 65; t. 73, p. 39; t. 79, p. 171; t. 80, p. 83; t. 81, pp. 102, 181; t. 82, pp. 62, 176), Vedas (and "vedantists" - t. 38, pp. 61, 403; t. 54, p. 82; t. 57, p. 158; t. 78, p. 301; t. 79, pp. 20, 119; t. 80, p. 252; t. 81, p. 145; cf. also JZ III, p. 356³¹), Kṛṣṇa (t. 37, p. 356; t. 38, pp. 67,

136; t. 80, p. 2; t. 81, p. 83); Buddha (t. 56, p. 17; t. 74, p. 185; t. 77, p. 223; t. 78, p. 178; t. 82, p. 135; t. 90, p. 88; cf. JZ, II, p. 566; IV, p. 284), sometimes - simply India, Hindu, etc. (t. 38, p. 103; t. 82, p. 135, etc.). Chinese reminiscences appear here less frequently: most often - Confucius; also Lao-tsze,³² "the sages of China", etc. (t. 36, p. 398; t. 37, p. 233; t. 77, p. 118; t. 78, p. 25, 59; t. 80, p. 79; t. 81, p. 15; cf. JZ, IV, p. 17). And we find here very few Judaic (Bible, Moses, Isaiah, prophets - t. 38, p. 68; t. 45, pp. 385, 424; t. 72, p. 528; Gusev, 53), early Christian (the Gospels, Christ - t. 44, p. 37; t. 56, p. 231; t. 82, p. 273; Gusev, 54), antique (cf. Socrates - t. 56, p. 31.; t. 79, p. 55) names in the beginning of these lists.

One can suggest thus, that Indian religious traditions played an important role during the whole period of approximately the last four decades of his life and received in his opinion still greater importance, compared with other traditions, in the last decade. At the same time the high evaluation of Chinese tradition (Confucius, Lao-tsze) was more or less constant while the early Christian, the Gospel tradition, though it appeared rather seldom as the first, was often mentioned in the context of corresponding enumerations as equivalent to other religions (cf. t. 37, p. 356; JZ, IV, p. 284, etc.). On the other hand the specific value of Judaic reminiscences obviously decreased here - we find almost no such cases in the last years.³³

It is interesting to trace this tendency in different didactic books, where Tolstoy used the evidence of different traditions. Already his "Azbuka" (1872), "Novaja Azbuka" (1874-1875) and "Russkie knigi dlja čtenija" (1875) include, as was previously mentioned, some Indian didactic texts. 23 fables in "Azbuka" are marked by him as "Indian" (from Pāricatantra, avadānas); they outnumber considerably all other fables based on oriental sources (4 Arabian fables, 1 Turkish and 1 "oriental"), yielding in this respect only to Aesopian (46 fables). In "Novaja Azbuka" respectively the majority of fables are taken from Aesop, while the only oriental fable is Indian, from avadānas - "The burden" ("Noša" - t. 21, pp. 77-78). In "Russkie knigi dlja čtenija" which repeat "Azbuka" in general, we also find 23 Indian fables, together with 7 other fables (whose sources are not clear) united by Tolstoy in 1873 under the rubric: "Fables translated from Indian and imitations". They similarly outnumber here all other oriental sources and yield only to the 46 fables of Aesop.³⁴

The analysis of Tolstoy's anthologies of aphorisms, compiled in 1903-1910 appears to be more complicated since separate thoughts (their number growing with time) were left unsigned as taken from collections, where they had already been cited anonymously, or as his own thoughts, or those of others changed by him essentially (cf. t. 41, p. 9; t. 43, p. VIII; t. 45, p. 17). The calculation of the specific values of different traditions in the five most important and biggest anthologies³⁵ (we take into consideration all signed thoughts and - beginning with

"Circle of reading" ("Krug čtenija") - those unsigned which contain direct reference to other sources) gives us the following figures (in %):

	Antiquity	Christianity	the West	Russia	Judaism	Islam	India	China (New time)	varia
"Thoughts of wise men for every day" ("Mysli mudryx ljudej na každyj den" - 1903; t. 40, pp. 67-216)	15.0	9.1	31.0	4.0	15.0	0.8	9.3	15.9	-
"Circle of reading" ("Krug čtenija" - 1904 - 1908; tt. 41-42)	11.6	10.3	53.6	2.2	4.5	3.7	6.1	6.5	1.5
"For every day" ("Na každyj den" - 1906-1910; tt. 43-44)	9.0	8.6	55.7	5.4	2.3	5.0	7.0	6.0	1.0
"For the soul" ("Dlja duši" - 1909, t. 40, pp. 363-369)	12.5	12.5	41.0	6.0	3.0	9.5	6.0	9.5	-
"The Path of Life" ("Put' žizni" - 1910, t. 45)	11.0	11.0	50.0	5.5	1.5	5.5	8.0	6.0	1.5

One can observe here an obvious predominance of new western authors (B. Pascal, A. Schopenhauer, J. Ruskin, H. George, G. Mazzini, R.W. Emerson, H.D. Thoreau, H. Amiel and other thinkers who carried him away). This predominance seems to illustrate his own words, included in the same anthologies: "One can find many good things in the Koran, in Buddhist and Confucian books, in Stoics' writings, in the Bible, in Upanishads, in the Gospels, but the most necessary and clear is exposed by contemporary religious thinkers" (t. 42, p. 155; t. 45, p. 424). Then follow in approximately equal proportion antique (as a rule Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius) and Christian (the Gospels, the Fathers of the Church) aphorisms. One sees the sharp decrease (ten times!) of Judaic citations (Old Testament, Talmud), which corresponds to some characteristic traits of the lists mentioned above, and to some of Tolstoy's views, expressed during these years.³⁶ On the other hand the specific value of Muslim citations increases here (in particular, Tolstoy highly appreciated an anthology of aphorisms ascribed to Mohammed, compiled and sent to him by Abdullah Al Suravardi in 1907).³⁷ This calculation also confirms to a certain degree the observations made above with respect to Indian (Brahmanic and Buddhist) tradition - its specific value increases here in comparison with other oriental sources. At first it yields to Chinese and Judaic citations, but already in "Krug čtenija" lit is approximately equal to Chinese citations and later even outnumbers these latter³⁸ (cf. note 34 about a certain deviation from this tendency in "Dlja duši"), taking first place among other oriental traditions.³⁹

This trend in Tolstoy's indological evaluations could to a certain degree be unpremeditated, according to our observations. One should notice a certain mechanical feel to such enumerations appearing in stereotypic fashion in his didactic works. This mechanical approach however was accompanied by quite conscious and well-considered references to Indian tradition - alone and with respect to other religions as well. Tolstoy often gave a high general appraisal of it, emphasizing in particular its philosophical profundity. Indian "religion is very old and very profound in its metaphysical definition of the relation of man to the spiritual All - the Atman" (letter to A. Ramaseshan, of 25. VII. 1901 - t. 73, p. 103; cf. t. 45, p. 188). Here are some of his opinions expressed in his later years: "I love Indian philosophy" (JZ, IV, p. 77); "Hindus are ahead of us in developing the science of metaphysics" (JZ, IV, p. 327); "I have a great veneration for the sages of India and although I know something of them, I still wish to learn more and more" (t. 81, p. 253).

Within the framework of this tradition Tolstoy speaks of the Vedic religion "as one of the most ancient and profound" which must be the subject of the first book in the series of sketches, dedicated to world religions, planned by him (t. 80, p. 155). "The liberation of religious truth from all that conceals it began in the most ancient times ... Earlier than in other known religions, this new, more sublime

comprehension of religion was witnessed in books of Veda in India" (letter of 13-16. III. 1909 - t. 79, p. 119; cf. JZ, IV, p. 196).

Tolstoy often compared Hinduism to Christianity, whose basic principle (first of all the law of Love) he discovered in all religions: "Indian, Chinese religions and ethical teachings teach the same thing as Christian" (JZ, II, p. 353; cf. III, p. 250, etc., cf. Gusev, I, p. 225). Of course his evaluation of Indian (resp. Chinese a.o.) spiritual values was essentially different from that of Christianity, and he was conscious of this. "I would like to study Brahmanism. I have read in Brockhaus dictionary (about Brahmanism) - it is not sufficient but at the same time it is difficult - as it would be to a Bramin reading our sacred books" (JZ, II, p. 440). Another conversation (of 22. VI. 1910) is still more characteristic: "*Tchertkoff*: I think that our attitude to the Gospels originates in what we became accustomed to as children... *L.N.*: The essence of the Gospels remains very dear to me. If I read Vedas and find rubbish together with the sublime, I throw this rubbish away without scruples; in the Gospels, however, I ascribe important meaning to each word" (JZ, IV, p. 284). Thus Tolstoy himself states here the basic difference between his approach to non-Christian (here - Vedic) and Christian traditions (respectively - to cultures, brought from "outside" and from "inside"). His words touch upon an important tendency of every ideological system: to absorb as completely as possible the elements of internal religious experience (here, that of the Gospels), reconciling its contradictions, which in a certain sense prove to be imaginary (cf. the immense work of reinterpreting the Gospels' texts, which he undertook in the beginning of his spiritual turning-point) and assimilating the material coming "from outside" (i.e. from a strange language, a strange culture, etc.) in as much as this is possible. One should take into consideration this methodologically important circumstance in order to appreciate more correctly Tolstoy's "comparative religion" which is so significant for his own ideology.

Such comparisons sometimes mention Hinduism (Brahmanism) and Christianity as religions which occupy quite an exceptional place in the spiritual history of mankind. Tolstoy's writings and conversations in his later years often enumerate Indian and Gospel texts only (cf. JZ, III, 450, a.o.). In Vedas, similar to the Gospels, Tolstoy finds the teaching of non-resistance to evil (JZ, IV, p. 269); "religions of peoples have their source in Christianity and Bramanism" (JZ, II, p. 545). One of his last letters (of 24. X. 1910 - t. 82, p. 205) tells of "the law of Love ... proclaimed by all the greatest men of the world from Bramins to Christ". Sometimes the Indian tradition is even more highly esteemed by him than the Christian. The notion of God "is higher among ancient Indians, while among Christians it sank down" (JZ, IV, p. 197).

Speaking of Hinduism, Tolstoy often mentions Kṛṣṇa as one of the most ancient teachers, without whom "our notion of God could not exist" (JZ, IV, p. 196). Reading the book of Baha Bharati ("Shree Krishna, the Lord of Love", New

York, 1904) Tolstoy finds the precept of love, similar to that in Christianity (t. 77, p. 37); he also sees this teaching as a completion of the Gospels (t. 77, p. 149). The legend of Kṛṣṇa is in his opinion similar to the legend of Christ; Kṛṣṇa himself is the Indian Christ (JZ, III, p. 364; cf. his letter of 5. VI. 1909 - t. 79, p. 217; Gusev, pp. 243-244). At the same time he draws together the teachings of Kṛṣṇa and the Gospel according to John (JZ, II, p. 443; IV, p. 121).⁴⁰ Similar analogies were called forth by his contemporary, Ramakrishna Paramahansa (1835-1886) whose saying "He, who shall not exterminate his own "Self", is deprived of God". Tolstoy compares with the famous words about the man "losing his life" (Mt. 10, 39; cf. JZ, II, p. 64).

Tolstoy's tribute to Buddhism was perhaps still greater. More than once he tried to describe Buddha's life and doctrine which impressed him so much (see above). Buddha was for him not only the founder of a great religious and ethical system, but an ideal personality as well, an example of practical behavior. Moreover, he touched upon the sphere of Tolstoy's artistic ideas.⁴¹ Like Brahmanism, perhaps even more often, Buddhism was compared by him with Christianity; Buddha - with Christ;⁴² again - due to his favorite idea of the basic similarity of their ethical teachings. He calls Buddha and Christ "the ideal perfections, we cannot imagine anything higher" (a diary of 9. V. 1890 - t. 51, p. 41). "Buddha, Christ preached the truth which is the same 6000 years ago and now" (JZ, IV, p. 36). Tolstoy often repeated similar assertions in his diaries, letters, conversations (cf. t. 50, p. 49; t. 57, p. 8; t. 64, p. 100, JZ, II, p. 203; III, pp. 49, 393; IV, p. 85, etc.; cf. testimonies of V.A. Posse in TV, II, pp. 253 ("The teaching of Buddha is even higher than the teaching of Christ"); 263; cf. *ibid.*, p. 463). Some comparisons were borrowed from other authors, but it is typical that coming upon such analogies he approved of them (cf. JZ, II, pp. 572-573; t. 77, p. 240). Tolstoy drew similar parallels with respect to certain details of these doctrines - e.g. concerning the approach to the human body and to the material "Self" as to an illusion; the teaching about Love,⁴³ etc. The relation of Buddhism to Brahmanism was compared by him with that of the New Testament to the Old (cf. JZ, II, p. 396). At the same time he placed Buddhism below Christianity in some respects (displaying thus a definite non-acceptance of some basic Buddhist principles): "Buddhism is the negation of life, deliverance from suffering, annihilation ... Christianity is higher and more positive: besides humility it includes the establishment of the Kingdom of God on the earth" (JZ, I, p. 318; cf. II, p. 548). The non-acceptance of this principle was constant in him: "I have read about the teaching of Buddhism. Wonderful ... The only mistake is in removing oneself completely from life" - he writes in a diary of autumn 1884 (t. 49, p. 121), and in the end of 1906 repeats that Buddhism is not right in denying "the purpose and the sense of this life" (t. 55, p. 274; cf. t. 63, pp. 313-314).⁴⁴ One can find also some ad hoc comparisons, irrespective of any similarity between the two

religions. So the hero of his play "The light shines in darkness" (1896-1897; 1900) says, while arguing with an orthodox priest: "Why should I believe you rather than a Buddhist Lama? Only because I happened to be born in your faith?" (TW, v. 17, p. 330). The abundance of Indo-Christian parallels is especially obvious in comparison with similar analogies dealing with other oriental religions that also interested him. There are very few such comparisons (e.g. Chinese-Christian, or Muslim-Christian).

At the same time a considerable part of Indian reminiscences (like reminiscences of Christian or other religions) contain the censure of ritualism, of rites, prayers, etc., including certain prescriptions of behavior (e.g. like those of yoga). Tolstoy disapproved of traditional beliefs, of myths and legends connected with the personalities of great teachers, like Buddha or Christ, ascribing to them miraculous, supernatural abilities. All these inalienable attributes of religion testify in his opinion to a degradation of the originally pure, unspoiled religious conscience. He saw in them something superfluous, senseless, impeding the manifestation of the essence of religion as he understood it - that is as a relationship "established by man between himself and the eternal, endless world or its beginning and original cause", as "an answer to the question 'For what do I live?'" ("Religion and morality" - "Religija i npravstvennost", t. 39, pp. 7, 8, 16, etc; cf. t. 35, pp. 162 sq.); a relationship "from which results the guiding principle of all actions" (t. 58, p. 114). Such an attitude goes back to Tolstoy's youth when he dreamed in the eighteen fifties of founding "a new religion ... a religion of Christ but purified of faith and mystery" (a record of 4. III. 1855 - t. 47, p. 37 sq.).⁴⁵ "To go to church, to stand there and listen to unintelligible and incomprehensible prayers and watch the priest... that I *absolutely cannot* do" - so he wrote to A.A. Tolstaja on 15. IV. 1859 (t. 60, p. 287 - TL, I, p. 124).⁴⁶ This non-conformity, rejecting a number of traditional cultural establishments and sometimes reaching the level of paradox, appears here as quite a pragmatic approach. As we know, this approach was not confined by Tolstoy to the sphere of religion, but affected, especially in his last decades, his views on different social institutions, on art (as the transmission of sublime feelings, leading to fraternal unity), on science (defined by him as an idle play of mind - cf. t. 38, p. 141). All these views are often considered contradictory to Tolstoy's artistic activity (partly due to his condemnation of his own best works), but behind external contradictions one can find a deep inner consistency. Tolstoy's attitude has its roots in some peculiar qualities which mark his art of seeing the world and which were displayed fully in his artistic fiction - not only the later (like e.g. the scene of the Church service in "Resurrection" - "Voskresen'e") but in the earlier as well (e.g. the senselessness of opera as seen through Natasha's eyes in "War and Peace" ("Vojna i Mir" - t. 10, p. 326). This art of seeing can be called "overcoming" the everyday universally accepted establishments and values, by making them senseless, and

this "overcoming" (we shall return to it later) contains a deep religious significance, that helps us to perceive the consistency of Tolstoy's way. Through the eyes of his favourite heroes (Bolkonskij, Levin, etc.) he apparently makes senseless and throws away these institutions and conventions (in religious ritual, etiquette, theatre, etc.). The hero's manner of seeing can be called that of common sense, of a child, of an enlightened person, but the result is the same: "overcoming" as a landmark in transition to a new level. As we see, it spread with necessary modifications to new spheres of culture, to new genres of creative activity. But even its extreme manifestations were basically inseparable not only from Tolstoy's spiritual quest, but from his best artistic works as well.

Tolstoy's attacks on certain forms of religious behavior are consistent. There are numerous examples. Such are his notes on the salutary influence of teachers (like Buddha, Christ, etc.) and the disastrous influence of priests (cf. his record of 25. V. 1886 - t. 49, p. 126; t. 25, p. 541); on the distortion of truth and the idolizing of teachers (t. 39, p. 153; cf. t. 79, p. 119; JZ, IV, p. 121, etc.), on "violence" and "temptation" contained in preaching "miracles of Buddha, Mohammed, Christ" (t. 53, p. 61; cf. t. 79, p. 165). We find here also some more particular comments on different dogmata, rules, legends of Hinduism and Buddhism. So the rules of yoga, connected with certain body exercises, are called by him "unimaginable rubbish" which is combined with "deepest wisdom" in Indian philosophy.⁴⁷ He censures the caste rules. The Indian religion "was maimed in its moral, i.e. practical application to life, by the existence of caste" (in the letter to A. Ramaseshan of 1901, already cited above - t. 73, p. 102). His attitude towards the idea of rebirth is also negative: "I have never believed in it and have never understood that fear of metempsychosis, by which Buddha was guided", he wrote to N.N. Strakhoff at the end of 1885 (t. 63, p. 314). "This assumption is as arbitrary as the hell, the paradise, as all the religious superstitions" (t. 74, p. 170; t. 80, p. 111).⁴⁸ Preaching love combined with killing enemies in the legend of Kṛṣṇa makes him indignant: "How disgusting are eloquent discourses on love in the history of Kṛṣṇa - he beats everybody, kills and inculcates love unto all, so that they should pass to the other world with love. The same goes on with us" (a record of 2. V. 1908 - t. 56, p. 340). It is interesting, that in his opinion the belief in miracles and other superstitions was more striking in India because "the religious doctrine of Hindus was especially abstract, metaphysical and profound ... The same happened with Christianity ... with Buddhism; and this happened most sharply with Hindu religions as the oldest one" (in a letter to B. Narain of 24. IX. 1909 - t. 80, p. 108; cf. JZ, III, p. 166; Gusev, pp. 136, 151 etc.)

An interest in Indian spiritual tradition together with a tendency to realize the teaching preached by him in everyday behavior, naturally led to the direct influence of this tradition on Tolstoy's life. This influence was partly observed by

him, partly displayed in unconscious but scarcely accidental correspondences between his behavior and some Indian canons. Both of these aspects have evidently been reflected in the principle of dividing life into periods which presents another interesting evidence of Tolstoy's ties with India.

The teaching about the periods of life (*āśrama*) includes in its completed phase four such periods: 1) A pupil (*brahmācārin*), leading a modest and restricted life, learning the Vedas in his teacher's house and performing different work for him; 2) A householder (*gṛhastha*) - a head of the family performing traditional religious, social, family duties; 3) A recluse, who has retired to the forest (*vānaprastha*), where he leads a solitary, pious life; 4) A wandering ascetic (*saṃnyāsin*), who renounces the world and lives on charity. This institution took shape over a long time span; all four *āśramas* appear evidently towards the last centuries B.C. We find this evidence in the "Laws of Manu" (*Mānavadharmasāstra*), III, 78; VI, 87 sq.; *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, XXVIII sq.; LVIII sq.; XCIV sq., and other books of laws: *Apastamba* II, 21; *Gautama*, III sq.; *Vasiṣṭha*, VII sq.; *Baudhayana*, III; etc. (cf. also evidence of *Arthaśāstra*, *Mahābhārata*, etc.). Earlier sources (Vedic hymns and *brāhmaṇas*) do not mention yet this complex; its elements appear first in early *upaniṣads* - *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, etc., written evidently not later than the middle of the 1st millenium B.C. The institution of *āśrama* is not yet completed here (in particular, there is no distinct border between the third and the fourth *āśramas*), though one can observe here obvious semantic contrapositions between pupil and householder on the one hand, and between householder and a recluse, leaving his house - on the other.⁴⁹

We should remember, however, that in later periods as well (in fact, up to new time), numerous rules concerning *āśramas* were not carried out literally. There existed certain modifications and variants for different castes to whom these rules were pertinent (that is - *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*). So, e.g. *brahmana* had to begin studies in his 8th year; *kṣatriya* - in his 11th; *vaiśya* - in his 12th. The time of learning could last up to 36 years (that is twelve years for each of the three Vedas), or 18 or 9 years, or till the complete mastering (*Mānavadharmasāstra*, III, 1). Thus it could be varied within rather broad limits (otherwise the first marriage should often take place only in the 44th year, or still later). Leaving one's family also was not regulated so strictly. According to the "Laws of Manu", VI, 1-3, the householder had to go to the forest when he "sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) grey, and the sons of his sons" - that is at about 40 years of age or later, up to old age. One could leave his wife in the charge of sons or, with her consent, go with her. The transition to the last stages allowed for still more variations. According to the "Laws of Manu", VI, 86 sq. the state of a householder is the source of all other *āśramas* and contains in itself great potential merit: fulfilling in this State the "tenfold" *dharma* (constancy, indulgence, etc.) a householder can become a *saṃnyāsin* immediately, bypassing the third stage (the "Laws of Manu",

VI, 94). Moreover, he can reach the highest enlightenment without wandering, staying at home in the charge of his son (*ibid.*, 95). Thus the traditional scheme of four āśramas seems to be rather idealized and does not predetermine exactly the sequence and the duration of definite stages in the life of every Hindu. It is still less reasonable to look for its exact correspondences in the life of Tolstoy. And nevertheless the presence of some of these correspondences in his life is noteworthy enough.

The institution of āśramas was often mentioned in Indological literature, both special and popular, and Tolstoy doubtless knew about it (anyhow, by 1897 - see his letter to S.A. Tolstaja of 8. VII. 1897, t. 84, p. 288; cf. below). The "Laws of Manu" in particular were also familiar to him in his later years; some passages from them were included in "Krug čtenija" and "Na každyj den" (cf. JZ, III, p. 384; t. 57, pp. 46-47, 207). At the same time one can suppose that even before his acquaintance with Indian tradition (and certainly during the years preceding its influence), the life of Tolstoy was marked by certain traits of this institution. We have already cited the words of M.M. Bakhtin about Tolstoy's life as "a model from the point of view of Indian sages". M.M. Bakhtin meant here the sequence of definite periods in Tolstoy's life, and though the analogies mentioned by him are not precise,⁵⁰ his life indeed corresponds in some respects to the traditional notion of path in Indian religion (that is following definite precepts in an attempt to achieve perfection).⁵¹ It was previously stated that from his early years Tolstoy strived persistently to carry out certain principles of behavior. In this respect one can speak not so much of precise adherence to the order of āśramas by Tolstoy, as of his constant tendency to realize some essential principles of these stages (naturally modified by other cultural surroundings).

The principle of striving for perfection, of following definite examples marked Tolstoy's behavior all his life, from his adolescence - "my only real faith ... was a belief in perfecting myself" - thus he writes about his young years in "Isповед" (TW, v. 11, p. 6). As a boy of 15 he began to work out his first plans for life (cf. t. 47, p. 45)⁵² and from then regularly formulated his rules of behavior - cf. records of early 1847: "The rules for development of will", "The rules of life", etc. (t. 46, pp. 262-272), specifying abstinence, plain living, being useful to society, domination of desires, including lust, etc.⁵³ A little later in spring 1847 he makes a list of sciences necessary for study (t. 46, p. 31 sq.). These tendencies assumed sometimes a more superficial or utilitarian character; so on 17. I. 1851 (t. 46, p. 45), seeing that it was impossible to carry out a number of his projects, he strove for more real, practical goals - games, the high society, marriage, service⁵⁴ (cf. below - about analogous combination of different purposes in Hinduism). Nevertheless the general tendency to regulate his life according to certain moral principles remains unchanged. It is characteristic that such principles are applied

by him even to most vain aspirations (cf. e.g., his principle of gambling: "to play only with people whose fortune is bigger than mine").

Much later, in his "Memoirs" ("Vospominaniia", 1903-1906, t. 34, p. 347), Tolstoy himself divided his life into four periods according to his attitude towards different moral values: "Remembering my life, that is examining it with respect to good and evil done by me, I saw, that my life divides into four periods: ... the innocent period of childhood before 14 ...; the second terrible 20-year-long period of rude licentiousness, succumbing to ambition ... lust ...; the third 18-year-long period from marriage until my spiritual rebirth, which could be called moral form the mundane point of view, but which was aimed entirely at egoistical care about family, at increasing my fortune ... at all kinds of pleasure. And at last the fourth period, lasting 20 years, in which I live now and in which I hope to die". He speaks here of the ages 1-14, 14-34 (before his marriage), 34-52 (before his spiritual turning-point in the late eighteen seventies - the early eighteen eighties) and from the age of 52 years. M.M. Bakhtin evidently refers to the same divisions when referring to the corresponding Indian stages. Here one should have some substantial reservations (besides those already made in note 50). The Indian time of learning can be chronologically correlated here to "innocent childhood" and to "rude licentiousness" that is to the first two periods, which strictly speaking have almost nothing in common with the stage of brahmacārin in the exact meaning of the term. His years at school and (very brief) university study were not of an especially religious character and beginning with his adolescent years were by no means characterized by abstinence. In this sense we can speak rather of his regular efforts to approach the brahmacārin state in some respects (cf. above on his "Rules" of 1847 and other years, including subjugation of physical desires). Such efforts became perhaps the most stable element of brahmacārya in his life (he often, especially in his later years, spoke about the importance of continuous efforts that bring us closer to the ideal, though unattainable perfection). Some other elements of brahmacārya can also be traced in the spiritual interests of the youth - such are his philosophical studies (independent of school and university): "I began to be occupied with philosophy when I was 16 years old" (t. 23, p. 490; cf. t. 56, p. 337). We know that at about this time he made attempts to write something on this subject.⁵⁵ One can speak thus of separate analogies with brahmacārin in young Tolstoy's behavior; they were displayed however against a background of quite a mundane, dissipated way of life and could not change essentially its character (even if one does not agree with the older Tolstoy's annihilating criticism of his second period).

In 1862 the 34-year-old Tolstoy enters the stage of a householder - he marries and becomes the head of family (though concerning some economic duties, this period began for him much earlier - in 1846-1847 when he was carried away by economic activity on his estate).⁵⁶ This stage lasted in fact until he left home, that

is almost until his death, and on his path this stage became indeed an "initial point, a focus" of the three other āśramas (cf. the "Laws of Manu", VI, 87 sq.). In this respect Tolstoy's family life seems to have been quite outstanding. It is not a mere tribute to certain occupations or religious interests which often accompany the "householder" life of many people, but a constant vast activity, that was aimed at the achievement of perfection and coincided with the performance of the householder's duties (though in the course of time Tolstoy more and more saw these duties as a burden and tried to abandon them).

We can speak here also of Tolstoy's apparent tribute to the complex of the four principles of behavior (caturvarga, puruṣārtha, etc.), proclaimed by ancient Indian ethics: dharma - a set of religious, family, social duties; artha - acquisition and proper use of material values, in a broader sense - a system of sensible, pragmatic behavior; kama - sensual pleasures; and mokṣa - release from the bonds of existence, attainment of highest bliss. One can say that with respect to this institution, providing, in particular, learning and some elements of artha in youth, the combination of the first three principles in maturity and dedication to mokṣa in old age,⁵⁷ the life of Tolstoy appears somewhat "Hinduist" as well. A tendency to attempt to balance the respective principles can be observed already in his early "Rules" (see above). While a householder he presents a rare example of an intense combination of all these principles, displayed during almost all of the first four decades of his family life, when he strove more and more for mokṣa, though paying tribute to the three other principles. This is especially clear during the period following his spiritual turning-point (that is the eighteen eighties and nineties) - cf. e.g. an example of his artha activities: his concern about author's emoluments for "Voskresen'e" and their proper use - for the support of the "duxobory" sect (cf. also JZ, IV; p. 404 about his attitude to expenses). At the same time his not completely consistent attempts to distance himself from property relations already in the eighteen eighties, witness the constant increase of mokṣa's specific value, which becomes especially significant as compared to other principles in his last decade. Before this decade he pays tribute to sensual love as well, and if we include the sensual pleasures of aesthetic character (e.g. those of music) in the concept of kāma - what does not contradict its meaning in Hinduist tradition - one can say that in fact he combined all the four principles until his death.

Living as a householder, Tolstoy as if makes up for gaps in his student years. Like a brāhmaṇa, who did not complete his Vedic studies in due time, he resumes learning some subjects which are important for his spiritual quest. His diligent and quick mastering of new languages, admired by his biographers, is also a tribute to such striving for perfection. "He studies and teaches all through his life - is it a common passion? Is not it a passion (or duty) of biblical prophets, of Buddha, of brahmans?"⁵⁸ Shortly before his death he includes in his "Path of Life" ("Put'

zizni" - t. 45, p. 409) an unsigned, that is his own, thought: "Consider yourself always a schoolboy, a pupil. Do not think that you are too old to learn, that your soul is already perfect and cannot be better. For a reasonable man no course can be accomplished; he is a pupil till death". In December 1870 he begins to study ancient Greek and already at the beginning of 1871 is able to read the classics.⁵⁹ This knowledge is used by him in the late eighteen seventies and early eighteen eighties to interpret the Gospels ("Combination and translation of the four Gospels" - "Soedinienie i perevod četyrex Evangelij", 1880-1884); in connection with this work he studied special literature, the textual criticism, etc. (cf. t. 24, p. 973 sq.). In October-November 1882 he began to study Hebrew under the guidance of rabbi S.A. Minor, read the Bible in the original, and displayed interest in Talmud. His progress in interpreting the texts was so great, "that sometimes during the debates the learned rabbi had to agree with his pupil's opinions".⁶⁰

Ancient Indian texts describe not only young pupils, but also householders that "approach like pupils" the preceptor (like e.g. Chandogya upanisad, V, 11 - about five householders-brahmanas who become pupils of the wise king). As we see, Tolstoy also "approaches like a pupil" authorities in different religions. In 1883 he meets with a prominent Indologist I.P. Minaeff.⁶¹ In the next year he is absorbed in reading Confucius, Lao-tsze, a.o.⁶² Numerous contacts of his last decades are aimed at deeper understanding of different religious traditions - Indian, Chinese, Muslim, etc. which he studies again and again, "till death" indeed. At the same time he constantly studies different philosophers - ancient and modern.⁶³ One can also consider his attempts to learn certain trades, to perform (instead of servants) some housework - as one more quality bringing him nearer to brahmacharin.

There is also another tendency which he displays more and more in his family life - an inclination to teach, to sermonize. As we know, this function is also typical of many householders in Indian tradition. The upanishadic evidence speaks of such wise men, who accept and instruct pupils (Haridrumata Gautama, Satyakama Jabala, a.o. - cf. Chandogya up. IV, 4.3; 10, 1-3, etc.). Tolstoy's striving to teach appears to be quite extraordinary when compared with similar tendencies of other writers. It is displayed on quite a professional level, even before his marriage. Such is his pedagogical activity in Jasnaja Poljana, when in the eighteen seventies he compiled special text-books ("Azbuka", "Russkie knigi dlja čtenija" which, in particular, contained rich Indian material). Direct preaching of his views - to relatives, friends, correspondents and at last - to the general public - was very typical of him. Beginning in the eighteen eighties he more and more often uses the genres of parables, confessions, interpretation of sacred texts, articles-sermons. It is precisely this activity that was a genuine goal and justification for writing in his last decades. By the way, in this respect as well Tolstoy was very close to ancient Indian tradition, which stressed the didactic, educating function of literature, regarding not only Vedic or Law books but also

such genres as epics, drama, lyric poetry, etc. as preaching certain standards of behavior. So the monk Haribhadra (VIII cent. A.D.) classified the narrative literature as related to certain principles, mentioned above, i.e. as teaching law and morality (dharma), acquisition of property and sensible behavior (artha), or love (kāma). One must say that not only later didactic writing of Tolstoy but his best works of art as well answer this purpose - they are usually marked by strong didactical tendencies and contain a motif of striving for perfection as their essential element. Such are his works created long before his spiritual turning-point - one can recall heroes' images in "Anna Karenina", "War and Peace" and so on, up to the first autobiographical spiritual quest in "Adolescence" ("Otročestvo"). Tolstoy was always true to this didactic principle, and though his creative activity from the eighteen fifties to the seventies was sharply denounced by him later, one can say that it is exactly in that period that this principle was realized by him more convincingly than at any time afterwards.⁶⁴

The growing tendency to preach is displayed e.g. in his record of 2. VI. 1878; "O, God, grant me this (belief-A.S.) and grant me the ability to help others to grasp it" (t. 48, p. 190; cf. his letter to N.N. Strakhov of the end of 1879 - t. 62, pp. 502-503; cf. TL, I, p. 336).⁶⁵ Tolstoy acts according to this need in numerous articles and parables, in his vast correspondence and in everyday conversations - with friends, guests, in his family circle. In this connection one is reminded of his correspondence for the "letter-box of Jasnaja Poljana". In the eighteen seventies-eighties, to amuse themselves, members of his family wrote their own tales, verses, riddles, etc., then opened the letter-box once a week and read its contents aloud. Tolstoy often used this amusement for didactic purposes. Once (in summer 1884) in his humorous notes "A mournful list of lunatics from Jasnaja Poljana ambulance" ("Skorbnj list duševnobil'nyx jasnopoljanskogo gospiťalja" - t. 25, pp. 514 sq), he gave among others his own characteristic: "The sick man is obsessed by a mania which is called "Weltverbesserungswahn" by German psychiatrists. The point of insanity is that the sick man believes that it is possible to change other people's lives by mere words".⁶⁶ It is interesting that this German definition was not invented by him. Tolstoy recalled that 24 years earlier in Southern France (Hyères) in autumn 1860 a German acquaintance called him "Weltverbesserer" (JZ, II, pp. 262-263).

In the stage of the householder, Tolstoy had to fulfil a number of duties which in the course of time oppressed him more and more (especially those connected with property relations). At the same time, staying at home, he could not escape from them completely and, as was previously stated, till his last years was giving tribute to the whole complex of caturvarga (including that of artha). Meanwhile, the desire to leave his home, to accomplish the ideal of liberation, though performed by him at an advanced age, on the eve of death, took hold of him more and more during his last decades and perhaps in this desire the impact on him of Indian spiritual values was manifested most distinctly.

- 1 Cf. *Tolstoj und der Orient. Briefe und sonstige Zeugnisse über Tolstois Beziehungen zu den Vertretern Orientalischer Religionen*, v. P. Birukoff, Rotapfel Verlag, Zürich und Leipzig, 1925; Bulgakov, *Knigi*; Zajdenšnur, *Fol'klor*; Šifman; E.P. Čelyšev. *Lev Tolstoj i literaturny Vostok* - *Izvestija AN SSSR*, Serija literaturny i jazyka, t. 38, N. 1, 1979, pp. 36-41; G. Pomeranc. *Tolstoj i vostok*, - "Sintaksis", N. 4, 1979, pp. 56-71; A. Pjatigorskij. *L'interpretazione tolstoiana del buddismo* - "Tolstoj oggi", Firenze, Sansoni ed., 1980, pp. 237-242; etc.
- 2 Cf. his "Religion and science" ("Religija i nauka", 1908, t. 37, pp. 360-362); "About science" ("O nauke", 1909, t. 38, pp. 132-149); etc. On 15-16 VII 1886 he writes to V.G. Tchertkoff; "There are big works - Vedas, that are translated; they are not necessary. Is there some account of the moral teaching from the Vedic selections?" (t. 85, p. 368). In 1907, reading with interest the book of G. Oldenberg (*Budda, ego žizn', učenje i obščina*, Moskva, 1905), "he censures it for scientific style, for references to special literature, that is by whom, on what page, in what work, when and what was said... - I do not understand how it is possible to speak in such a manner about the most important questions of human life" (Gol'denveizer, I, p. 202). In 1909, taking for examination the Russian translation of F. Max Muller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (a valuable indological work of a famous scholar), Tolstoy observes: "I shall read, I shall certainly read it though he is a scholar to my grief. Ah, these scholars!..." (S.N. Durylin. *U Tolstogo i o Tolstom*. - "Prometej", t. 12, Moskva. "Molodaja gvardija", 1980, p. 213; later, returning to it again, he calls it in his record of 23. IX. 1910 "an idle ("pustaja") book" - cf. t. 58, p. 106). On 2. XII. 1909 D.P. Makovicky makes a record; "Boulanger said to Lev Nikolaevič that he wants to study Brahmanism and Buddhism thoroughly so that the critics should not reproach him with ignorance. L.N.: Only, do not be carried away by a scientific style. One should give up criticism as a bad job" (JZ, IV, p. 121; cf. *ibid.*, p. 255, a.o.). Cf. A. Tolstaja, II, p. 116 - on his desire to distort the text of Lao-tse (translated by competent specialist) because of a certain ideological prejudice; Gusev, pp. 70, 72, 147, 182-183, 191-192, 272-273.
- 3 See e.g. t. 49, p. 126 (a diary of 25. V. 1886); t. 53, p. 61 (12. X. 1895); "Xristianskoe učenje". 35 (1894-1896; t. 39, p. 153); t. 80, p. 108 (a letter to Bishen Narain of 24. IX. 1909); records in JZ, III, pp. 166 (of 13. VIII. 1908); 444 (of 18. VI. 1909), etc.
- 4 E.g. *Sutta-nipata*, Sbornik besed i poučenij... perevod s pali na angl. jazyk Dr. Fausböll'em. Russkij perevod N.I. Gerasimova, Moskva, 1899; *Buddijskie Suty*, v perevode s pali prof. Ris-Dèvidsa.. Russkij perevod N.I. Gerasimova, Moskva, 1900, etc. See: *Biblioteka*, t. I, č. 1, pp. 123-126; č. 2, pp. 288-290, etc.; Bulgakov, *Knigi*, pp. 45 sq.
- 5 So for example in November 1909 Tolstoy wanted to learn about the "little known" upanishads, obviously forgotten by him (he doubtless was acquainted

- with them before; cf. e.g. JZ, II, p. 478). One can suppose that he read the Russian translation of Upanishadic selections sent to him in the beginning of 1896 by the translator V. Johnston - cf. t. 69, p. 232; though a copy of the magazine "Voprosy filosofii i psixologii", č. VII, kn. 1 (31), of January 1896, containing on pp. 1-34 V. Johnston's *Otryvki iz upanišad* was not cut (that is not read) by him - *Biblioteka*, t. 2, 1978, p. 30. However there was another book in his library: Ch. Johnston. *From the Upanishads*, Dublin, 1896 containing translations from Katha, Praśna and Chandogya; of its 65 pages the first 25 are cut - cf. Bulgakov, *Knigi*, p. 49). He used for this purpose *The Russian Encyclopaedic dictionary of Brokhaus* (kn. 68, the article of S. Bulič - see JZ, IV, pp. 102; 193); he used the same edition for inquiries about Brahmanism (JZ, II, p. 440), Kṛṣṇa (JZ, IV, p. 121), etc.
- 6 Cf. a record of 15. VIII. 1909, in JZ, IV, p. 46: "We (Slavs, Russians) find ourselves much nearer to Oriental religion and philosophy of India, China, even of Persia - that to those of the West". See analogous evidence in: Gol'denveizer, I, p. 295.
 - 7 E.g. on Indian religious tradition (like that of Kṛṣṇa) as the source of "Assyrian" (sic!) and, by ways of this latter, - of Hebrew and Christian doctrines (a record of 10. III. 1910 in JZ, IV, p. 196).
 - 8 Such, for example, is his unexpectedly low estimation of Buddhism in comparison to Brahmanism (13. III. 1910 in JZ, IV, p. 197), his views on Saṃkara (t. 88, p. 18; t. 58, p. 142; cf. Šifman, pp. 126-127), on Schopenhauer (usually most revered by him - see t. 57, p. 158; t. 61, p. 219; JZ, IV, pp. 284, 423; cf. TV, II, p. 177, etc., but also censured for his "idle thoughts and mere words" - see a diary of 20. III. 1890 - t. 51, p. 30). Cf. about this trait: Suxotin, p. 209; Bunin, pp. 71, 85-86.
 - 9 Cf. GT, 1828-1855, pp. 175 sq., 196 sq., 214 sq., etc.
 - 10 And not conscious only. According to his sister-in-law's evidence, while being operated on, under chloroform (on 28. XI. 1864, after a trauma caused by hunting) he suddenly jumped up from his seat and cried: "My friends, we cannot live like this.. I think... I've decided..." (KT, p. 288).
 - 11 G. Pomeranc. *Tolstoj i Vostok*, p. 61.
 - 12 A Hindu S.R. Chitale in his letter written evidently in the end of 1907 (t. 78, p. 33). Cf. "Meždunarodnyj Tolstovskij al'manax", Moskva, izd. "Kniga", 1909, p. 331.
 - 13 See e.g. the newspaper "Russkoe Slovo", 8. (21) XI. 1910, N. 257, p. 4; cf. *Poslednie dni L'va Nikolaeviča Tolstogo*, Spg., "Voskresenie", (no date), pp. 135, 197; L.R. Lanskoj. *Uxod i smert' Tolstogo v otklikax inostrannoj pečati* - LN, t. 75, kn. 2, 1965, pp. 371, 408, etc.
 - 14 Bunin, pp. 16, 34, 47 sq.; 121, 124, 125, etc. Cf. also about Tolstoy's religion as "a neutral blend between a kind of Hindu Nirvana and the New Testament" (Nabokov, p. 140).

- 15 *Konspekty lekcii M.M. Baxtina* - "Prometej", t. 12, p. 261. Cf. other analogies in: *Tolstovskie dni 1960 goda v Moskve* - LN, t. 75, kn. 1, 1965, pp. 237 (in a speech by K. Kripalani), 194 (B. Chaturvedi); *Mir otmečaeť p'jatisjatiletie so dnja smerti Tolstogo* - ibid., kn. 2, p. 544 (cf. "Cultural news from Asia". - Tolstoi Seminar number. New Delhi 1960).
- 16 Such an attitude appears to be closer to the "Hinduist world outlook" than to the Christian (V. Nikitin, "*Bogoiskatel'stvo*" i *bogoborčestvo Tolstogo* - "Prometej", t. 12, p. 127); cf. Gol'denvejzer, I, p. 182 - a record of 12 II 1906).
- 17 A noteworthy example - still more interesting since it is presented in a poetical text - is an apology of resistance in J. Brodskij's "A speech about the spilled milk" ("Reč' o prolitom moloke", 1967); "I am thinking almost of a riot! I did not swear an oath to the squint-eyed Buddha ... Let it be shut.. the bread-slicing store (the almshouse) of Jasnaja Poljana!" (Iosif Brodskij. *Konec prekrasnoj ėpoxi*. Ann Arbor, izd. "Ardis", 1977, p. 15).
- 18 See H. Zimmer. *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization*, Princeton, 1974, pp. 217-221 (on a parable about a Czech captain who has shown a Cracow rabbi a treasure hidden in his house; cf. A. Syrkin. *About one Hassidic parable* - "Darshana International", vol. XIX, Jan. 1979, N. 1, pp. 43-47).
- 19 It is not possible (though not confirmed by positive evidence) that Tolstoy could have heard about Buddhism in the late eighteen fifties as well, when he more than once met in Moscow with O.A. Kireeva and A.N. Chicherina - young but well educated, who were according to E.I. Sytina "among girls who courted him" and were both "devoting much attention to the questions of Buddhism" - cf. *Vospominanija E.I. Sytinoj* (*Čixačevoj*) - LN, t. 37/38, L.N. Tolstoj, II, 1939, p. 404; Šifman, pp. 115-116.
- 20 T. 48, pp. 101, 503; cf. Šifman, pp. 116 sq.
- 21 See a list of works, that have impressed him during his life, in Tolstoy's letter to M.M. Lederle of 15. X. 1891 (t. 66, p. 68).
- 22 At this time (6. IV. 1888) N.N. Strakhoff wrote to him: "I am sending to you the *Buddhism* of I.P. Minayeff, our famous Sanskritologist. He is the greatest admirer of yours and he asked me to send you the book" (*Perepiska L.N. Tolstogo s N.N. Straxovym*, Spb. 1913, p. 370). Cf. about Tolstoy's acquaintance with Minayeff: GT, 1881-1885, pp. 217-218.
- 23 In his letter to G.A. Rusanov o f 12 III 1889 (TL, II, p. 442).
- 24 T. 23, pp. 25-26 ("Ispoved'"); t. 25, pp. 540-543, 659, 887-890 ("Siddarta, prozvanij Buddoj, t.e. svjatym, žizn' i učenje ego"); t. 41, pp. 96-101 ("Krug čtenija"); cf. about the importance of similar biographies for Tolstoy in his

letter to V.A. Posse of 24 II 1910 (t. 90, pp. 82-89). See Zajdenšnur. *Fol'klor*, pp. 35 sq.; OT, 1886-1892, pp. 79-80.

- 25 Tolstoy did not know perhaps (and anyhow did not mention) the Sanskrit Hinduist source of these words (Chandogya upanisad, VI, 8, 7 sq.), which he took from the German magazine "Theosophischer Wegweiser", N. 5, 1905 (*Das bist du*). Cf. t. 34, p. 555; T.N. Arxangel'skaja. *Tolstoj i Solom-Alejskem* - JS, 1960, pp. 156 sq. In works about Tolstoy this saying is sometimes called erroneously "Buddhist" (Gol'denvejzer, I, p. 130; cf. Šifman, p. 123, 499).
- 26 See his letter to N.O. Einhorn of 2. IV. 1909 (t. 79, pp. 142-143); Šifman, pp. 261 sq.
- 27 To S.R. Chitale of 3. II. 1908 (t. 78, p. 32). Cf. e.g. on his admiration for Vivekananda - t. 78, pp. 84-85; Gusev, p. 119.
- 28 Cf. *Perepiska Tolstogo s M.K. Gandi* - LN, t. 37-38, 1939, pp. 339-352; J. Lavrin. *Tolstoy and Gandhi* - "Russian review", vol. 19, 1960, N. 2, pp. 132-139; M. Markovich. *Tolstoi et Gandhi*, Genève, 1972.
- 29 It refers e.g. to Islam of Zarathustrism which he mentioned relatively seldom. Cf. "Koran" in the beginning of a list in "Krug čtenija" (t. 42, p. 155; the order is changed in favour of the Bible in a similar saying in "Put' žizni" - t. 45, p. 424); "Zoroastrism" in t. 38, p. 423, etc.
- 30 The examples adduced here, though not exhaustive, embrace the great majority of these enumerations and thus reflect approximately the correlation of respective evidence.
- 31 In the present case the reliability of JZ is certainly not so great: stenographic records of D.P. Makovicky, deciphered by him later, could not necessarily preserve the exact order of Tolstoy's words.
- 32 Tolstoy often varied the transcription of this name (Lao-tze, Laodzy, Lao-si, etc.).
- 33 Some of these cases were called forth by Jewish correspondents who drew his attention to similar examples (as in his letter to Ė.Z. Cyfrinovič of 28. IV. 1909 - t. 79, p. 171).
- 34 The following editions were used by him: *Contes et fables indiennes de Bidpai*, in: Panthéon Littéraire. Littérature Orientale, Paris, 1839; *Les avadan, contes et apologues indiens, inconnus jusqu'à ce jour*, tt. 1-3, Paris, 1859; cf. Zajdenšnur, *Fol'klor*, pp. 27 sq.; eadem, *Poslovicy i pogovorki v proizvedenijax, dnevnikax i pis'max Tolstogo* - LN, 69, kn. 1, p. 629 (NN 1091-1093); GT, 1870-1881, p. 57 sq.; t. 21, pp. 547 sq.

- 35 Among these anthologies, "Dlja duši. Izrečenija myslitelej raznyx stran i raznyx vekov" (1909; t. 40, pp. 363-395) seems to be less representative due to its relatively small size (with a considerable quantity of unsigned sayings). Nonetheless its evidence in all corresponds to certain regularities testified to here (predominance of the new Western tradition, approximately equal quantity of antique and Christian sayings, a considerable prevalence of all oriental traditions over Judaism).
- 36 As we know, Tolstoy highly appreciated separate Talmudic sayings which he first encountered in the extracts of the treatise "Pirkei Avot" (*Mirovozzrenie talmudistov*, t. I-III, Spb. 1874-1876) which he cited often (cf. Biblioteka, I, č. 2, pp. 29-36; I.B. Teneromo, *L.N. Tolstoj o evrejax*, Spb., "Vremja", 1908, pp. 37 sq.; JZ, II, p. 9, etc.). However after his acquaintance with the complete Russian translation (*Talmud, Mušna i Tosefta*. Kričeskij perevod N. Pereferkoviča, tt. 1-7, Spb. 1900-1905), brought to him by P.A. Sergeenko in spring 1906, Tolstoy experienced a disappointment due to the essentially ritualistic character of the text (his similar reaction is often testified to with respect to Hinduist, Christian, a.o. rituals). Tolstoy calls this text "rubbish", "poor in thought", etc. (JZ, II, pp. 157, 169, 333, 335). In the beginning of 1910 he sums up: "In the Talmud narrow-minded nationalistic doctrine is found beside the greatest truths. And certainly, there is a great deal of the former, while the later are but few" (JZ, IV, p. 156, cf. 200). However, the matter was not confined to the re-evaluation of the Talmud alone. At the end of 1907 Tolstoy observes: "Jews have no religious feeling. The Old Testament and Spinoza's philosophy are both without religion. I could choose for "Krug čtenija" only one of Spinoza's sayings and even this one is average" (JZ, II, p. 593; cf. other remarks about the absence of great thinkers among Jews - a record of 21. IV. 1907 in JZ, II, p. 418; the lack of religiosity among Jewish prophets - JZ, IV, p. 121). These words, obviously inaccurate (cf. "Krug čtenija": t. 41, pp. 151-153, 237, 382, 437, 515, 531; t. 42, pp. 357, 435, 564), can perhaps be explained by forgetfulness. The other possible reason is the prejudice of D.P. Makovicky, who was inclined to antisemitism ("If you have not experienced it, you should have been a saint" - Tolstoy once said to him - JZ, III, p. 226; cf. JZ, II, p. 375; III, pp. 174, 280; IV, p. 378). The context of this remark shows that it was evidently connected with Tolstoy's interest in 1906-1907 in the works of H.S. Chamberlain (*Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, München, 1907); *Evrei, ix proisxoždenie i pričiny ix vlijanija v Evrope*, Spb., 1906). One can suppose that this interest corresponded to some of Tolstoy's own ideas (cf. his talk with F.A. Strakhoff in 1905 - JZ, I, pp. 351-352) and that it could call forth a certain re-evaluation of Judaic and partly early Christian values on Tolstoy's part. So he repeats after Chamberlain that "Christ was not a Jew by his race", he says that Paul introduced the Jewish spirit into Christianity (belief in salvation, resistance), that his Epistles are "enthusiastic ravings of a barbarous superstitious Jew" and so on (t. 77, p. 258; cf. t. 55, pp. 239, 557; JZ, II, pp. 202, 275, 307, 371, a.o.). These ideas were set forth in an article: "Why Christian peoples in general and the Russians in particular, now find themselves in a disastrous situation" (Počemu xristianskie narody voobšče i v osobennosti russkij

naxodjatsja teper' v bedstvennom položenii; May 1907 - t. 37, pp. 348-359; cf. JZ, II, p. 440). The racial motivation is somewhat smoothed down here; however the traditional Church belief, that has been for centuries confessed as Christian, is characterized here as a "very coarse Jewish sect". These ideas, paradoxically bringing Tolstoy together with some widespread racial theories of the XXth century go along with his own numerous and well known statements against antisemitism - not only within the framework of social, legal or personal relations, but - in obvious contradiction to the views cited above - in the sphere of religion or national psychology. Thus on 19. X. 1906 he makes a remark concerning Chamberlain's book "Evrei": "What a weak argument... How wrong... To discuss the psychology of races in such a manner, to cast aspersions on the whole people!" (JZ, II, p. 275; cf. Gusev, pp. 82, 165 sq., 236). According to M. Gorkij's evidence, Tolstoy objected once to a priest who thought that Christ was not a Jew (TV, II, p. 463; cf. ibid., p. 488; "there are no unbelieving Jews"). Another noteworthy opinion concerns the words of H. Thoreau about the religion and philosophy of the Jews as more barbarous and coarse than the religion of the Hindus (*New scraps from Thoreau* - "Review of Reviews", vol. XXXI, N. 183, March 1905, pp. 192-193 - "Hindooism versus Judaism"): "Are you of the same opinion as Thoreau?" - I asked him. - "Yes. But we know the whole Jewish Bible, while he selects from Vedanta only the most sublime. If one takes all, then it appears that in the latter it is also mixed with superstition similar to the books of the Jews. And meanwhile the teaching of the Prophets is sublime" (JZ, I, p. 216; cf. IV, p. 378 - one of the last records of 11. X. 1910; "Jews have great intellects and religious feeling"; cf. Tolstoy's letters to F.B. Getz, I.B. Fainerman, etc. - t. 65, pp. 45, 191; t. 69, p. 53; Gusev, p. 66, etc.). As we know, Tolstoy often contradicted himself (cf. above, note 8), however in separate cases one may suggest a definite tribute to some prejudices (not only class, but national as well - cf. his confessions of dislike for Poles in his youth, of love for the French, etc. - JZ, II, p. 599; IV, p. 94; TV, II, p. 502; Gusev, pp. 138, 180, a.o.) from which he did not free himself until the end of his life (see below). One can suggest that Tolstoy's relation to Jews, who began to play on the boundary of XIX-XX centuries, a far greater role in Russian social and cultural life, than during the first 50-60 years of his life, was marked by a certain inertia of "asemitism". The latter permits us to better understand some of his reactions, e.g. specific and rather irritated estimation of the Dreyfus case (irrespective of the question of culpability) as an exaggerated, unnecessary racket (cf. e.g. "O Šekspire i o drame" - t. 35, pp. 260-261; A.I. Faresov. *Moe znakomstvo s L.N. Tolstym* - "Gos. Literaturnyj muzej. Letopisi, kn. 2. L.N. Tolstoj, Moskva, 1938, p. 443; JZ, I, p. 171; *Interv'ju i besedy s L'vom tolstym* M. "Sovremennik", 1987, str. 121-122, 134; etc.).

Another interesting piece of evidence - his answer to the appeal to express his opinion about the Kishinev massacre. His natural blame is anticipated by a number of general phrases, the sense of which is an obvious unwillingness to speak out, while the end of the letter contains advice, which sounds natural for Tolstoy, but is scarcely appropriate in the present situation: the Jews should not participate in violence themselves (a letter to E.G. Linetskij of 24 IV 1903 - t. 74, pp. 106-108). A similar confession of the lack of interest is found in an

earlier letter to F.B. Getz of 25.-26. V. 1890 (t. 65, pp. 98-99). In the beginning of 1908, besieged with letters of È.R. Stamo who was seeking Tolstoy's sympathy for her antisemitic sentiments, he said: "I shall not answer her. I want to be left in peace. I am neither for Jews nor against them" (JZ, III, p. 17). In another similar letter which summoned him to compile a book against "kikes drawing the gold out of Christians", he makes a note in summer 1910: "to answer that the kike is within yourself" (t. 82, p. 250). In one of his last letters on 21. X. 1910 he answers to S.A. Treiger: "I cannot express my opinion neither for nor against Zionism since this question does not interest me" (t. 82, p. 200; cf. however an obviously negative attitude in his letter to I.B. Fainerman of 15. IV. 1893 - t. 66, p. 311; cf. also t. 72, p. 45; JZ, III, p. 87, etc.). Thus the censure of antisemitism varies here with his unwillingness to be engaged in respective problems. At the same time we see that his "asemitism" suffered certain modifications, sometimes taking a negative approach. Notwithstanding Tolstoy's numerous statements in the spirit of "there is no question here of Greek and Jew" (Colossians 3.11) his judgements were marked as a rule: whether good or bad, a Jew was perceived by him as a Jew (cf. t. 49, p. 68 sq.; JZ, II, pp. 150, 422; TV, II, p. 502; etc.). At the same time in conformity with his doctrine, Tolstoy naturally tried to get the better of his own negative emotions and one can trace such efforts in some of his remarks. Here is a highly characteristic example, to a certain degree summing up the problem - a talk in the spring of 1908: "L.N. corrected someone who had said "kike" ("žid"), asking him to say "Jew" ("evrej")... L.N. I am fighting the evil feeling to Jews... Aleksandra L'vovna. As it is to me, I have not such feeling at all. L.N. It is good". (JZ, III, p. 73; cf. p. 42). See also: F. Goetz, *L. Tolstoj und das Judentum*, Riga (O.J.); A.G. Bazac, *Tolstoj i evrei*, Monte Carlo, 1961, etc.

- 37 *The sayings of Mahomet by Abdullah Al Suravardi* - cf. t. 40, pp. 343-349 ("Izrečenija Magometa ne vošedšie v Koran"), 499. Cf. his high evaluation of Islam in a letter to E.B. Vekilova of 13.-16. III. 1909 - t. 79, pp. 118-120; Gusev, p. 196.
- 38 "Confucianism is contained ("pokryvaetsja") in Brahmanism" (a remark of 27 X 1907 in JZ, II, p. 545).
- 39 This rise of Indian tradition parallel to the lowering of Judaism in Tolstoy's estimation can be compared to the idea of H. Thoreau, which Tolstoy accepted, though with substantial reservations (cf. above note 36). Another comparison (despite all the differences of doctrines and characters) can be made with a philosopher who interested him greatly - A. Schopenhauer - cf. the latter's enthusiastic words about Upanishads, where "aus jeder Seite treten uns tiefe, ursprüngliche, erhabene Gedanken entgegen... Und o, wie wird hier der Geist rein geworden von allem ihm früh eingeimpften jüdischen Aberglauben und aller diesem fröhnenden Philosophie!" (*Parerga*, II, § 185 - A. Schopenhauers sämtliche Werke, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, Bd. 6, 1922, S. 426).

- 40 Numerous comparisons between Kṛṣṇa and Christ were often suggested at that time and are still made today. One can speak here of reasonable typological parallels (persecution of a divine child, an image of a pastor - saviour, etc.), however the suggestions about genetic dependency (e.g. about activities of early Christian communities in India, of Christ's or evangelist John's acquaintance with the teachings of Kṛṣṇa - as e.g. in the talk cited above - JZ, IV, p. 121; or attempts to bring together respective etymologies) are obviously devoid of scientific importance. Cf. J. Kennedy, *The Child Krishna, Christianity and the Gujars* - "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society", 1907, pp. 951-991; A. Keith, *The Child Krishna*, - ibi., 1908, pp. 169-175; R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 201 sq.; E.W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg, 1915, p. 216, n. 1; E.V. Hayes, *Krishna and Christ* - "The Aryan Path", vol. 35, Oct. 1964, n. 20, p. 466; E.G. Suhr, *Krishna and Mithra as Messias* - "Folklore", vol. 77, 1966, pp. 205 sq. etc.
- 41 In his article "What the art is" ("Čto takoe iskusstvo", 1897-1898) Tolstoy mentions the history of Buddha (Sakia muni) among the most deep and touching subjects, accessible and clear to all (t. 30, p. 109; cf. a record of 20 X 1896 - t. 53, p. 112). Tolstoy more than once used respective comparisons. So in his memoirs ("Vospominaniya", 1903-1906) he alludes to a certain legend about Buddha's charity comparing the care which his "aunty" ("teten'ka") T.A. Ergol'skaja took of him, and his brothers with Buddha's care of a wounded swan (t. 34, p. 365). He called his son-in-law's household: "samsara". Cf. TV, II, pp. 289, 488, etc.
- 42 There are also numerous attempts at a Buddha-Christ comparative study. Similar to the parallel mentioned above (note 40) the typological affinities (the history of birth, temptation, etc.) do not justify the establishing of genetic relations. Among the works of the last decades cf. A. Osborn, *Buddhism and Christianity in the light of Hinduism*, London 1959; W.L. King, *Buddhism and Christianity. Some bridges of understanding*, London, 1962; I.A. Sparks, *Buddha and Christ: a functional analysis* - "Numen", vol. 13, 1966, pp. 190-204; H. Nakamura, *Pure land Buddhism and Western Christianity compared: a quest for common roots of their universality* - "Journal for philosophy of religion", vol. 1, N. 2, 1970, pp. 77-96; H. Röhr, *Buddhismus und Christentum* - "Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte", 1973, Bd. 25, H. 4, S. 289-303; J.W. Boyd, *Satan and Mara. Christian and Buddhist symbols of Evil*. Leiden 1975; R. Stehly, *Bouddhisme et Nouveau Testament* - "Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses", 1977, 57 an., N. 4, p. 433-437, etc. In Tolstoy's library there was a book of O. Veeck: *Buddha and Christus*, Berlin 1893 (See Bulgakov, *Knigi*, p. 48).
- 43 Cf. Gol'denveizer I, p. 202; Bulgakov, *Knigi*, p. 46 (Tolstoy's specific remarks about the lack of essential difference between Buddhism and genuine Christianity: "Both preach the God of Love and deny the personal God").
- 44 With respect to Tolstoy's non-acceptance of Buddhist illusionism and his rationalistic, "protestant" interpretation of Buddhism (in confirmity with his

definitions of religion - t. 35, pp. 162 sq.; t. 39, pp. 7 sq., etc. - see below) cf. Pjatigorskij, pp. 237 sq.; *ibid.* pp. 298-299 (a résumé by S. Graciotti). See also: Gol'denvejzer, I, p. 182.

45 Cf. GT, 1828-1855, p. 533.

46 GT, 1855-1869, pp. 327-329. Cf. evidence of his attitude to Easter celebrations in the eighteen eighties: "I shall kiss dear Misha Sukhotin with pleasure, but I cannot understand what it has to do with Christ; and I understand still less how he could rise from the dead" (Suxotin, p. 204).

47 Gol'denvejzer, I, p. 221. Cf. his remark on miracles performed by contemporary yogis: "I am sorry that an element of the supernatural is present in this sublime Indian doctrine" (JZ, III, p. 444).

48 Tolstoy's attitude to this problem was nevertheless not quite consistent. Cf. his more positive opinion after reading the book of G. Oldenberg (*Budda, ego žizn', učenje i obščina* Moskva, 1905 - a record of 10. IV. 1907 in JZ, II, p. 311); a talk with T.A. Kuzminskaja in the same year ("I think that all of us have lived before" - Suxotin, p. 197); cf. Bunin, p. 85.

49 See respectively: *The Laws of Manu*, tr. by G. Bühler, Delhi, a.o., 1967, *The Institutes of Vishnu*, tr. by J. Jolly, Delhi, a.o., 1977; *Sacred Laws of the Aryas*, tr. by G. Bühler, Delhi, a.o., pt. I-II, 1975. Cf. more details about aśramas in: M. Winternitz, *Zur Lehre von der Aśramas* - "Festgabe H. Jacobi", Bonn, 1926, S. 215-227; F. Weinreich, *Entwicklung und Theorie der Aśrama - Lehre im Umriß* - "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft", Bd. 27, 1929, S. 77-92; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, p. 2, Poona, 1941, pp. 1917 sq.; L. Skurzak, *Études sur l'origine de l'ascétisme indien*, Wrocław, 1948; L. Dumont, *World renunciation in Indian religions* - "Contributions to Indian sociology", N. 4, April 1960, pp. 44 sq; A. Syrkin, *Nekotorye oboznačeniia aśram v upaniśadax* - "Księga pamiątkowa ku czci E. Szuszkiewicza", Warszawa, 1974, pp. 229-233, etc.

50 M.M. Bakhtin continues (*Konspekty*, p. 261): "He dedicated his youth to science. In the following years he gave himself over to orgies and revelries. At the age of 35 he married and began to acquire wealth and glory. In his declining years he renounced the mundane vanity and dedicated himself to serving God". We should note here, in particular, that Tolstoy's school and student years corresponded very little to brahmacharin's pious studies. There is no special state in Indian tradition which should be correlated to "orgies and revelries". The last stages of his life seem to be more characteristic, though there are substantial reservations with respect to these latter as well. Some of their specific traits, however, call forth other analogies with India (see below).

51 Cf. on the character of respective terminology (in particular, on notions of patha, marga, etc. as metaphorical designations of the way, leading to liberation, of the capacity for such progress, and so on): J. Gonda. "Ways" in *Indian religions* - "Selected studies", vol. IV, Leiden, 1975, pp. 317-336.

- 52 Cf. GT, 1828-1855, pp. 175 sq.; 234 sq.; memoirs of A.A. Tolstaya (TV, I, p. 94), etc.
- 53 GT, 1828-1855, pp. 214 sq.; cf. T.L. Suxotina-Tolstaja, *O smerti moego otca i ob otdalennyx pričinax ego uxoda* - in: Suxotina-Tolstaya, pp. 371 sq. (ST, pp. 188 sq.); B. Eixenbaum. "Tolstoj - student" - in: *Lev Tolstoj. Semidesjatyje gody*, Leningrad. Izd. "Xudožestvennaja literatura", 1974, pp. 203, 212 sq.; idem. "O protivorečijax L'va Tolstogo" - in: *O proze*, Leningrad, Izd. "Xudožestvennaja literatura", 1969, pp. 29 sq.
- 54 So e.g. he works out certain rules of gambling, of behavior in society, etc. (cf. GT, 1828-1855, pp. 272 sq.).
- 55 Ibid., p. 170 sq.; A. Tolstaja, I, pp. 59 sq., TV, I, p. 35.
- 56 GT, 1828-1855, p. 236.
- 57 See e.g. Kamasutra, 2.2.; cf. A. Daniélou. *Les quatre sens de la vie et la structure sociale de l'Inde traditionnelle*, Paris, 1963; U. Tähtinen, *Indian philosophy of value*, Turku, 1968; L. Dumont. *World renunciation*; A. Syrkin, *K sistematizacii nekotoryx ponjatij v sanskrite* - "Semiotika i vostočnye jazyki", Moskva, 1967, str. 146 sq.; Ch. Malamoud, *On the rhetoric and semantics of puruṣārtha* - "Contributions to Indian Sociology", New Series, vol. 15, N. 1-2, 1981, pp. 33-54; A. Sharma, *The Puruṣārthas: A study in Hindu axiology*, Michigan 1982.
- 58 Bunin, p. 121. Cf. Gusev, p. 77.
- 59 GT, 1870-1881, pp. 23 sq.; cf. A. Tolstaja, I, pp. 306 sq.; JZ, II, p. 345. One can add that at the end of 1900 Tolstoj began to learn Dutch and in 2-3 months could read it rather well (Gol'denvejzer, I, p. 81).
- 60 GT, 1881-1885, pp. 164-165.
- 61 Ibid., pp. 217-218.
- 62 Ibid., pp. 283 sq.
- 63 For example, A. Schopenhauer; G. Hegel in summer 1870 (cf. S. Tolstaja, I, p. 495, etc.).
- 64 It was more than once observed by Tolstoj's contemporaries, who witnessed his evolution. Cf. a letter, sent to him by poet A.N. Apukhtin on 31. X. 1891: "For us, who have studied you since our childhood, this propagation contains nothing new. Your basic ideas are scattered about all your works, even the earliest ones". Apukhtin explains the interest in Tolstoj's preaching by his classical writings ("the preaching will disappear, but those great immortal creations, which you renounce, will remain. Regardless of you, they will

comfort people and perfect their morality for a long time" - LN, t. 37/38, L.N. Tolstoj, II, pp. 441-442). Tolstoj, however, was aware of this ("War and Peace" played the role of a bait without which they perhaps would not have made acquaintance with Tolstoj" (i.e. with his preaching) - Suxotin, p. 212; cf. Gusev, p. 260). "It is rather difficult to separate Tolstoj the preacher from Tolstoj the artist" (Nabokov, p. 140, cf. *ibid.*, p. 202 - on Tolstoj's device of 'the functional ethical comparison').

- 65 GT, 1870-1881, p. 606; cf. also S. Tolstaja I, p. 189 (a record of 3. VI. 1891). Some of Tolstoj's remarks show that sometimes he felt a certain contradiction between his propagation and one of his convictions (to abstain from temptation to arrange the life of other people) - cf. e.g. his words to son Lev L'ovič: "I answer those questions which people ask me. And if I give way to a wish to teach others, then I behave badly" (Suxotin, p. 209); Cf. t. 63, p. 200; Gusev, pp. 105, 122; etc.
- 66 Cf. S. Tolstoj. pp. 420 sq., 426; A. Tolstaja, I, pp. 410 sq.; GT, 1881-1885, pp. 335 sq.

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- 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).
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- 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.