**Chapter 7**

**The Caucasian Theme in Leo Tolstoy**

Tolstoy’s stay in the Caucasus and his participation in military actions there constitute an insignificant slice of time (two years and seven months) in the writer’s many yearslong and prolific life. His works created about the Caucasian theme in terms of their volume also occupy a very humble place in his enormous creative legacy. Nonetheless almost all Tolstoy specialists grant a special meaning to Tolstoy’s life and work tied to the Caucasus. Let us give as an example; one of the most famous of Tolstoy specialists, Boris Bursov, regarding this issue, remarks:

Tolstoy’s literary activity began in the Caucasus. The theme of the Caucasus passes through many of his works, right up until the very last ones. In general, the Caucasus left a deep mark on Tolstoy’s personality and talent. Russian writers before Tolstoy had been to the Caucasus, but Tolstoy’s Caucasus is completely special. For Tolstoy the Caucasus is war and freedom, that is, a test of the strength and dignity of the human character on the one hand, and a delight in the life of the Caucasian peoples, not having experienced the oppression of serfdom on the other hand.[[1]](#endnote-2)

Further on the literary scholar constantly emphasizes this “exceptional role” that “the Caucasus played in the establishment and development of Tolstoy’s personality and talent.” Bursov claims that it is precisely in the Caucasus that the writer’s spiritual and creative activity receives “an incomparably great range.”[[2]](#endnote-3)

A similar thought is encountered both in the letters and diary of Tolstoy himself. Characteristic in this regard is his letter to Alexandra Tolstoy in April-May 1859 in which he writes:

I was alone and unhappy, living in the Caucasus. I started to think in the way people have the strength to think only once in their lives…It was a torturous and a good time. Never, either before or since, have I arisen to such a level of thought, have I gazed *there*, as during that time, which lasted two years. And everything that I discovered then will remain my belief forever. I cannot do otherwise. From the two years of mental work, I discovered a simple, old thing, but one which I know as no one else knows it; I discovered that there is immortality, that there is love and that one must live for another in order to be eternally happy.[[3]](#endnote-4)

Still in the Caucasus on December 5, 1852, Tolstoy writes to his brother Sergey Nikolaevich:

I admit that for me it is boring to live here, and I am often sad, but the Caucasus has brought me enormous utility. Even if I would need to live for several years in this school of life, but then, if after it, I will only have just one year to live in freedom, I will be capable to live it well.[[4]](#endnote-5)

Similar opinions of Tolstoy himself and also the fact that his creative activity began in the Caucasus give literary scholars occasion to specially emphasize the meaning of the Caucasus in the “establishment and development of the personality and talent” of Tolstoy.

In his book *Young Tolstoy* (1922), Eikhenbaum also shows the role that the Caucasus play in the development of Tolstoy’s creative talent. Attentively studying Tolstoy’s diaries from 1847 to 1851, Eikhenbaum justly characterizes these years of Tolstoy as an era of “self-analysis,” “self-overcoming,” and “spiritual searches.” But afterward in the middle of 1851, Tolstoy ends up in the Caucasus, and here “the genuine artistic work matures”: “From the school of self-analysis and self-torment, Tolstoy shifts to the school, so to speak, of craft: special technical issues, theoretical reflections on literary approaches emerge.”[[5]](#endnote-6) Another literary scholar asserts that “in the Caucasian period of his life, Tolstoy developed his creative method, which in a significant degree he follows in subsequent literary work; in this period Tolstoy’s general esthetic views also began to form.”[[6]](#endnote-7)

There are also literary scholars who even somewhat idealize the influence of the Caucasus on Tolstoy. Thus, for example, N. N. Ardens (N. Apostolov) in his monograph about Tolstoy states:

The mountains, the Cossack settlements, fields, rivers of the Caucasus and variety of peoples inhabiting the area presented to Tolstoy a new and alluring corner of Russian reality. The grandeur and originality of everything that he saw amazed Tolstoy. Before him new days arose for life’s questions. Here there was something to look at carefully and to think over creatively.[[7]](#endnote-8)

Viktor Shklovsky comes to approximately the same conclusion as Ardens. In his view, the primitive, though strong-willed Cossacks’ and highlanders’ freedom from a life of serfdom is for Tolstoy an original, ideal novelty. In the Caucasus Tolstoy as if finds a society where “everyone was well-fed, calm, proud,” where “the old Cossack traditions were tied to the highlander order of life,” where “there were no exhausted women, glancing around for an overseer; here no one can be ordered to get flogged, and it was even difficult to flatter anyone.”[[8]](#endnote-9)

As these examples show, the Caucasus play a significant role in the formation of early Tolstoy’s worldview and creative direction. Yet in this case, the fact is important that the Caucasian theme in Russian literature acquires a much greater meaning, thanks to Tolstoy’s work written about Caucasian themes.

At the end of the 1840s and the very beginning of the 1850s, Tolstoy lives through a difficult spiritual crisis. Tolstoy’s diaries in this period are full of notes, which reflect a passionate search for the meaning of existence and persistent effort at self-perfection. Eikhenbaum devotes the first chapter of his book *Young Tolstoy* to examine Tolstoy’s spiritual life precisely to this period. And, as Eikhenbaum establishes, at this time Tolstoy does not find satisfaction in anything: neither in regular and intensified reading, nor in university studies, nor in the family circle, nor in episodes of love, nor in the dissipation of worldly life, nor in the attempts to relate to the peasants—none of these give Tolstoy what he was looking for. In order to illustrate this, let us provide several characteristic entries from Tolstoy’s diaries, showing his spiritual condition before leaving for the Caucasus. In the diary entry dated December 29, 1850, there is this passage: “I live completely like an animal, though not in complete dissipation; I have given up almost all my activities and become dispirited.”[[9]](#endnote-10) And here is the entry dated February 28, 1851:

I’ve lost a lot of time. At first I was attracted by worldly pleasures, then I felt empty at heart again; and I’ve given up my activities…For a long time I was tormented by the fact that I do not have a heartfelt thought or feeling to determine the whole direction of my life—I took everything just as it came.[[10]](#endnote-11)

Already on the road to the Caucasus in May 20, 1851, Tolstoy makes the following note: “From April 10, I have still not written in the diary until May 20. I recall, however, this month one day after another. It has been very interesting. My recent time spent in Moscow is interesting in its tendency and contempt for society and constant inner struggle.”[[11]](#endnote-12)

This inner spiritual struggle also becomes likely one of the main reasons that compel Tolstoy to leave for the Caucasus. Many Tolstoy specialists point this out. Thus, for example, Bursov, regarding this issue, remarks:

In the Caucasus either politically undesirable people end up, or those who have some scandalous history in their past, or who have given themselves the goal to make a career and to accumulate a small amount of capital. Tolstoy did not belong to the first, nor the second, nor the third category…The main reason he went lies in his profound inner discord with life. For him the trip to the Caucasus is essentially the next attempt to find connection with it.[[12]](#endnote-13)

Some literary scholars compare Tolstoy with image of his character Olenin in *The Cossacks*. In Shklovsky’s view, Tolstoy portrays Olenin “moving himself aside and looking inside himself.” As an example Shklovsky cites the passage from *The Cossacks* where Tolstoy depicts Olenin as he is leaving for the Caucasus:

Who among us has not been young, who has not loved their friends, who has not loved themself and did not expect from themself what was anxiously waited for? Who in that time of youth has not cast aside an unsuccessful life, not having erased all its old mistakes, not crying them out with tears of repentance, love, and fresh, strong and pure as a dove not thrown themself into a new life, any minute expecting to find satisfaction in everything that seethed in their soul.[[13]](#endnote-14)

But in the novella *The Cossacks* there is another passage where the reasons for Olenin’s departure for the Caucasus are provided, which likely correspond to Tolstoy’s. Olenin goes to the Caucasus

in order to be alone, in order to experience poverty, to experience himself in poverty, in order to experience danger, experience himself in danger, in order to expiate with labor and privation his mistakes, in order to tear himself immediately out of an old routine and to begin everything again—and his life and his happiness. And the war, glory to war, strength, courage! And nature, savage nature![[14]](#endnote-15)

Count Nikolay Nikolaevich, Tolstoy’s older brother served in the Caucasus. At the beginning of 1851, receiving a long leave, he visits Russia to see his family. And when at the end of April 1851 his brother is preparing to return to the Caucasus, Leo Nikolaevich decides to go with him. Leaving at the end of April 1851 from Yasnaya Polyana (the Tolstoy home, estate, and village), the Tolstoy brothers arrive in exactly a month, that is, on May 30, 1851 in the settlement of Starogladkovsk situated on the left bank of the Terek, not far from Kizlyar. The artillery detachment in which Nikolay Nikolaevich serves is located here. This settlement is one of the typical border settlements of the Terek Cossack army placed along the Caucasian Line and essentially constituting the border with the hostile or semi-hostile highlander peoples. In *The Cossacks* Tolstoy calls it Novomlinsk, combining in it features of four different settlements.[[15]](#endnote-16)

One of the literary scholars of Tolstoy’s Caucasian period of life and work describes the originality of these settlements thus:

Entries and exits from the settlement were fortified with obstacles, locked with gates, decorated, like the huts standing next to them…with red and white oblique stripes, and above the gates on four posts rose towers in which guards were on duty around the clock, keenly watching the south in the direction of Great Chechnya, from where attacks were expected to come from constantly. Similar such towers were also built in small forts made from wattle around a cottages or cabins, situated between the settlements. In each fortress five to ten men settled, but there were usually one or two on guard; the remainder hid nearby in bushes, in ditches, behind trees…

Generally calm hovered in the settlements mainly because of the Terek, which found expression in the Cossack saying: the Terek seethes, the Cossack lies, the Terek is silent, the Cossack does not sleep. When the Terek became calm and exposed areas to ford over or froze over…then the Chechens, tying under their armpits *tuluks* (leather sacks) fully armed crossed over the river and conducted attacks.[[16]](#endnote-17)

Many of these facts are artistically represented in Tolstoy’s *The Cossacks*.

After arriving in Starogladkovsk, Tolstoy moves into the home of the Cossack *esaul* (captain) Aleksey Sekhin. Tolstoy lives also at the home of Sekhin’s brother, the old man Epifan.

The first impressions of the Caucasus strongly disillusion Tolstoy. In his diary entries made in the first days of his stay in the Caucasus, some dismay and regret in the undertaken trip that had not been thought through to this land is noticeable. Thus, in the diary on June 30, Tolstoy with passion notes, “I am writing on June 30 at 10:00 o’clock at night at the Starogladkovsk settlement. How did I end up here? I don’t know. Why? the same.”[[17]](#endnote-18)

A week after his arrival to Starogladkovsk, Tolstoy is transferred from his unit to the large, peaceful aul Stary Yurt located not far from the Grozny fortress.[[18]](#endnote-19) There are hot springs here to which ill and injured people come to get medical treatment. The battery, which Nikolay Tolstoy commands, is sent here to protect the ill people. Leo Tolstoy follows his brother here. And here Tolstoy’s impressions are initially very off-putting. In his diary entry dated June 11, 1851, we read: “An old yurt, a campsite. Night…Nature, which I had hoped so much from above all else, in my aim of going to the Caucasus, has not presented until this time anything that alluring. The mettle which I thought would develop in me here is also not evident.”[[19]](#endnote-20)

Tolstoy spends two months in Stary Yurt and during this time he makes several trips in the neighboring area: he visits Grozny, Goryachevodsky, and several peaceful auls in this region. Gradually, Tolstoy begins to become accustomed to the new life conditions and the locale. He especially likes the neighboring areas around Stary Yurt. In a letter to Tatiana Ergolskaya dated June 22, 1851, Tolstoy writes:

Here there are marvelous views, beginning with the areas where the hot springs are located: enormous mountains of boulders, crowding one another; others breaking away and form as if caves; others hang at a great height overhead, crossed by streams of hot water, which noisily burst to different places and cover them up…the upper parts of the mountains with white steam…All day the Tatar women come to wash clothes…The majority of the women are beautiful and well formed. Their eastern outfits are charming, though also poor. Picturesque groups of women and the savage beauty of the locale is simply an enchanting scene, and I often enjoy it for hours. And above the mountains, the view is of another order and even more beautiful.[[20]](#endnote-21)

Tolstoy’s stay in Stary Yurt is important for the fact, as we will see later, that precisely here the idea of writing about the Caucasus arises in him. While in Stary Yurt, Tolstoy for the first time in the middle of July 1851 participates as a volunteer in an expedition against the highlanders. In this expedition, organized under the personal command of General Bariatinsky “a large number of sown lands of the Chechens were destroyed. On our side, the toll was the loss of thirteen men killed and injured; the artillery in these battles discharged 318 rounds of shells.”[[21]](#endnote-22)

Tolstoy’s impressions from this expedition are reflected in the short story “The Raid.” And in his diary he writes: “When I went on a raid for the first time, I put on my cap with a big peak and my everyday clothes.”[[22]](#endnote-23) In another diary entry he writes: “I was in a raid. I also behaved badly: unconsciously, I was afraid of Bariatinsky.”[[23]](#endnote-24)

This self-analysis of Tolstoy sometimes turns into a “dialectic of the soul.” Situated on a site of military actions, he ponders over his fate and possible alternatives. In his diary on June 2, 1851, he writes:

How strong do I seem within myself to stand up to everything with a firm conviction that I have nothing to expect here, except death. And just now I think about the fact that I have ordered a saddle on which I will ride to Circassia, and I how I will run after Cossack women and despair that the left side of my mustache is worse than the right, and I will spend two hours adjusting it in the mirror.[[24]](#endnote-25)

And really after some time, Tolstoy feels it is time to leave. At the end of August 1851, he returns from Stary Yurt to Starogladkovsk and

buys two horses—bay and roan—and regularly practices riding and equestrian skills. A Cossack old woman, whose home in Starogladkovsk is situated between Tolstoy’s residence and the battery commander’s home, told a story in 1893 of Tolstoy wearing a black Circassian coat, which suited him, and that he distinguished himself in his boldness.[[25]](#endnote-26)

In regards to dalliances with Cossack women, it is evident that Tolstoy also realized them. Writing about September 1851, he records this diary entry: “I spent September in Starogladkovsk, also with visits to Grozny and Stary Yurt; I went hunting, chased after Cossack women, lived, wrote a bit, and translated.”[[26]](#endnote-27)

As evident from these examples, Tolstoy, initially intensely disillusioned, begins to gradually become accustomed to the distinctive way of life in the Caucasus. Like many young people before him, he finds some romance in this exotic land, as a letter of his also attests. While in Stary Yurt he writes to Tatyana Ergolskaya, “I have firmly resolved to remain and serve in the Caucasus. I don’t know whether in the military or civil service; that will be decided in my visit to Tiflis.”[[27]](#endnote-28) And in another letter written a bit later, Tolstoy expresses himself more concretely: “If I do not enter into military service, I will try to set myself up in civil service, but here, not in Russia…In any case, I will never repent of having come to the Caucasus; this whim that suddenly entered my mind will be a benefit to me.”[[28]](#endnote-29)

In order to formally resolve the issue of Tolstoy entering military service, the Tolstoy brothers depart to Tiflis on October 25, 1851, where they arrive on the first of November. The efforts to enter the army continue until the year’s end. The issue is delayed because to enlist in military service certain documents are needed that Tolstoy did not have on hand. For example, Tolstoy is officially at this time a civil servant in Tula province, and he needs an attestation that he has been released from this service in order to enlist in the army. Seeing that the issue is delayed, Tolstoy’s brother Nikolay on November 9, 1851, leaves for his unit, and Tolstoy decides to remain in Tiflis and wait for the necessary documents to arrive. Only on January 3, 1852 is Tolstoy officially accepted into military service and appointed a *feieverker* (bombardier) in the 4th Battery of the 20th Artillery Brigade, where his brother is serving. On January 14, 1852, he returns to his unit in Starogladkovsk.[[29]](#endnote-30)

Beginning in January 1852 until his departure from the Caucasus in January 1854, Tolstoy actively and regularly participates in campaigns and battles against the highlanders. Moreover he also repeatedly distinguishes himself with his composure and courage. Tolstoy especially distinguishes himself in the winter campaigns in 1852 and 1853 and twice is recommended for an award, but circumstances prevent him from receiving awards. There is a lot of information regarding this in Tolstoy’s letters and diary. In one of his letters to his home, Yasnaya Polyana, he writes: “In battle I had a chance to be awarded the Cross of Saint George, and I could not receive it because of a holdup for a few days of that cursed document.”[[30]](#endnote-31) The issue concerns a document that should have come from Tula province that attests that Tolstoy has been released from service there.

Regarding his fighting incidents, Tolstoy writes in an unsent letter to Prince Bariatinsky the following: “For two years I was in campaigns, and both times I was very lucky. The first year the enemy with a shell knocked out the wheel of a canon I was commanding. In the next year, the opposite occurs, an enemy canon took out the platoon, which I was commanding.”[[31]](#endnote-32)

Of course, Tolstoy is interested not simply in war in the Caucasus, not just participating in and distinguishing himself in it. Tolstoy’s relation to the war and his participation in it fundamentally changes as a result. Already on February 5, 1852, setting out on a campaign, Tolstoy records in his diary his understanding of war as “the possibility of showing youthfulness, courage,” but here he calls this a “childish perspective” and notes that “to maintain it would be strange.”[[32]](#endnote-33)

Continuing to study himself in the conditions of war, young Tolstoy also attentively studies the essence of war itself and the way of life and customs of his and the other side’s participants. With deep interest he observes the manner of life and customs of not only the Russian soldiers and officers, but also the Terek Cossacks and the highlander peoples. New people quickly win him over whom he becomes fond of, and the Cossacks, like Epifan Sekhin, and the highlanders, like Sado Miserbiev and Balty Isaev, become Tolstoy’s “bosom friends.”[[33]](#endnote-34) The way of life and customs, ethnography, and folklore of the Cossacks and highlander peoples become the subject of Tolstoy’s attention. Uncle Epishka’s stories and songs, Sado’s and Balty’s tales and songs are transferred to the pages of his diaries, and from the diaries to his literary works.

This close familiarity with the new to him peoples and cultures sharply changes Tolstoy’s attitude to military service and toward war in general. Though he continues to regard the war as a means of testing an individual’s character, nonetheless he condemns it as “an unjust phenomenon.” Participating in several campaigns and witnessing senseless sacrifices and destruction, in his diary in January 1853, Tolstoy records that “the war is such an unjust and stupid thing that whoever fights strives to silence in themself the voice of conscience.”[[34]](#endnote-35) Almost the same thing is said in the drafts for “The Raid” where the author-volunteer observing the southern night becomes pensive: “How could people in the midst of nature here not find peace and happiness? I thought. War? What an incomprehensible phenomenon in humankind. When one’s reason asks ‘Is it just, is it necessary?’ an inner voice always replies ‘No’.”[[35]](#endnote-36)

Tolstoy includes a much harsher condemnation of war in Olenin’s reflections in *The Cossacks*:

It is difficult to convey how Olenin explained to himself the cause of his journey to the Caucasus. The war in his conception was generally the last activity that a noble individual could picture, especially a war in the Caucasus with the unfortunate, chivalrous highlander peoples defending their independence.[[36]](#endnote-37)

With the passage of time, Tolstoy’s love and interest in the Caucasus and its people become stronger. In his diary in 1854, he writes about his “strong love” and remarks: “fine is that savage land in which so strangely and poetically the most contradictory things combine: war and freedom.”[[37]](#endnote-38) This impression is preserved in Tolstoy’s mind for his entire life, and in the course of his life, he continues to be interested in events in the Caucasus, its peoples’ culture, way of life, and customs. In the 1870s with rapture, he studies the national poetry of the highlander peoples, naming them “treasures of poetry that are extraordinary.”[[38]](#endnote-39)

This interest, even this fondness and respect for the native peoples of the Caucasus should be explained as the reason for that deep humanistic thinking, which is observed in all of Tolstoy’s works dedicated to the Caucasian theme, beginning with the short stories about war right up to *Khadzhi-Murat*.

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Up to this point we have tried to show all the main moments in Tolstoy’s stay in the Caucasus, his participation in and relation to the war, and also his ties and relations to the peoples of this land. These biographical details are unusually important, since to some degree they are reflected in Tolstoy’s works dedicated to the Caucasian themes, which give many literary scholars occasion to point out the autobiographical quality of all these works with the exception of *Hadzhi-Murat*.

The history of Tolstoy’s creative work on Caucasian themes can be divided into three periods. In the first should be included those literary works that Tolstoy begins to write in the Caucasus under the direct impression of his observations and experiences in this land; they include “The Raid” (1852), “The Cutting of the Forest” (1855), “The Demoted Officer” (1856), and *The Cossacks* (1863).

The literary work included in second period is the short story “The Prisoner of the Caucasus” (1872), which is interesting for the fact that it is created in a period of Tolstoy’s pedagogical activity when the writer is occupied with simplifying his language and literary style, and he is conducting a war against the intelligentsia and traditional literary language.[[39]](#endnote-40) Therefore this short story has a special stylistic and artistic interest. To this period also belongs an entire cycle of very short stories about Bulka and Milton (*The Primer*, 1872) whose actions occur in the Caucasus.

And finally the third period is the time of writing *Hadzhi-Murat* from 1896 to 1904, which is important on account of the fact that it coincides with the creative direction of the late Tolstoy.

In order to correctly understand and evaluate some qualities of Tolstoy’s work related with the Caucasian theme it is necessary to turn attention to one brief fragment dedicated to this theme and written much earlier than the other work. This fragment is titled “Notes about the Caucasus” with the subtitle “The Journey to Mamakay Yurt” written in the summer of 1852 and appeared in print only after Tolstoy’s death. Usually this fragment remains for some reason beyond the bounds of literary scholars’ attention, yet it is precisely in this fragment that Tolstoy sets out the foundations of his methodology and principles of artistic development of the Caucasian theme. Let us provide a few examples. Tolstoy begins the fragment showing the difference between the Caucasus which exists in his imagination prior to his trip there and with what he finds in reality: “The Caucasus were so little known to me that having permitted its readers a form a certain perspective, which I held at the time, I decidedly ended up in an impasse, and I see the complete impossibility of forming a description of what struck me.”[[40]](#endnote-41)

In order to describe what struck him, he again turns to his readers: “I hope that my readers either do not have any conception of the Caucasus, or that the conception is at least somewhat reliable; in the opposite case, we will in no way understand one another.”[[41]](#endnote-42) Then Tolstoy shows the sources of his envisioned Caucasus:

At some time in childhood or early adolescence I read Marlinsky, and naturally with delight; I read with no less pleasure Lermontov’s works. Here are all the sources that I had to learn about the Caucasus, and I fear that the majority of readers were in the same situation as me. But this was so long ago that I only recall the poetic feeling which I experienced while reading and the poetic images that arise of martial Circassians, blue-eyed Circassian women, mountains, cliffs, snow, fast streams, sycamores…The *burka*, dagger, and saber held far from a peripheral place in my mind. These images took shape in my imagination I an extraordinarily poetic way, being embellished upon each recollection.[[42]](#endnote-43)

Tolstoy in the “Notes on the Caucasus” also compares the foundation of his fantastic conception of the Caucasus with a reading of a beautiful poem “in a partly-known language”:

without catching the meaning of every phrase, you continue to read, and from those words which you understand there springs into your head some totally different meaning, not at all clear, to be sure—some foggy meaning that cannot be expressed in words but is all the more beautiful and poetic for that reason. For a long time the Caucasus for me was that poem in an unknown language; and when I delved into its actual significance, I regretted the loss of the invented poem in many respects, while in many other ways I became convinced that the reality was better than what I had imagined.[[43]](#endnote-44)

Describing the transformation of his conception of the Caucasus, that is, setting forth his shift from imagination to genuine knowledge, Tolstoy points out a characteristic trait of many generations, who based their conceptions of the Caucasus exclusively on romantic literary works. Even many of those readers who ended up in the Caucasus did not manage to break free of these commonly accepted conventional conceptions. And here Tolstoy undertakes to destroy these false and invented conceptions of the Caucasus and all those splendid and fantastic images and scenes, which were created by romantic tradition. This is what Tolstoy states about this issue:

I will try to convey a thought in both poems. The representation is always far away from the word…The word is far from being able to convey what is imagined, but to express reality is even harder. A reliable transmission of reality is a stumbling block of the word. Perhaps the reader’s imagination can complete the inadequacy of the author’s expression…In order to put the reader’s imagination on the level with which we can understand one another, I will begin with the fact that there are no Circassians. There are Chechens, Kumyks, Abazins, and others, but there are no Circassians. There are no sycamore trees; there are beeches, a well- known Russian tree. There are no blue-eyed Circassian women (if one even under the term Circassian understands it as a collective name of Asian peoples), and there is lot more that is not there. You will need to reject many still loud words and poetic images, if you will read my short stories. I would hope that for you as well as for me, for an exchange of dead for newly emerging images, which would be closer to reality and no less poetic.[[44]](#endnote-45)

As we see, Tolstoy fully pushes away from romantic tradition. Having destroyed in the reader’s imagination old and false conceptions and images, he strives to show them the real, genuine Caucasus, though he knows that to attain a depiction of reality is difficult. Tolstoy seeks beauty not in invented images and forms, not in a splendid style, but in simplicity, in truth, in reality. In fact, this is Tolstoy’s main creative principle, which he maintains in all his works written with Caucasian themes.

In his book *Young Tolstoy*, Eikhenbaum very aptly names its third chapter “The Struggle with romanticism.” In this chapter he analyzes the thematic-artistic content of Tolstoy’s works, like “The Raid,” “The Cutting of the Forest,” *The Cossacks*, and he holds that these work’s underlying idea is provoked by “Tolstoy’s striving to overcome romantic traditions.” Eikhenbaum comes to the following conclusion:

The Caucasus is one of the most stable themes in Russian romantic literature. In Marlinsky’s collected works, two volumes are even called “Caucasian sketches,” one of which is made up of the novella *Mulla-Nur* mentioned in “The Raid.” Marlinsky’s and Lermontov’s Caucasus is just what Tolstoy wants to retreat from. Martial romanticism is traditionally tied to this literary Caucasus, depicting insane, daredevils, displaying wonders of courage, as well as gloomy Byronic figures, living with a sense of contempt or vengeance. All this together creates that romantic cliché against which Tolstoy struggles against.[[45]](#endnote-46)

Tolstoy’s short stories the “The Raid” and “The Cutting of the Forest” possess thematic and artistic structural distinctiveness, and they have some common features. Both short stories depict war on the one hand, and on the other, a test takes place of an individual’s inner strength of character who ends up in difficult life circumstances. Their second common feature is the similarity of their narrators. The narrator of “The Raid” is a volunteer, and “The Cutting of the Forest” is a junker; in both short stories the narrator participates in the described actions, but participates in them mainly as an observer, vividly perceiving everything that occurs. He sometimes states his judgements of people, yet nonetheless remains somehow in the shadows; from his perspective the heroes’ psychological character is recreated, showing them in a variety of life situations; their range of interests are sketched and thoughts and feelings conveyed. The center of gravity of both short stories shifts toward depicting and comparing a variety of characters. But this is not done mainly as an end in itself, but for a definite creative task: this literary perspective either destroys certain romantic images and concepts or offers an answer, for example, to such questions as, What is courage?

In “The Raid” Tolstoy depicts people in a dangerous situation of warfare, demanding great self-control and strength of spirit. The author makes the nature of an individual, their purpose, the subject of his analysis. For this point of departure also a central theme, a question is posed: What is courage? Furthermore around this question, the author concentrates several minor themes, which are included in his creative program.

First of all, the question of courage gives the author the possibility to depict war in the Caucasus, to show its essence, the methods by which it is conducted. Second, this question gives the author the possibility to create a parody of the traditional romantic battle scene, and in this scene he parodies the traditional romantic “daring *dzhigits*” (Colonel Rosenkrants’ image), and alongside them he depicts the simple, humble, but solid nature of the Russian warrior (Captain Khlopov). Third, the question of courage inevitably compels the author to develop a second psychological question, Why do people kill one another without apparent necessity? Fourth, the same question about courage puts before the author the question, On whose side is there a feeling of self-preservation in this war? and consequently, On whose side is justice?

This final question in the final edition of “The Raid” is significantly weakened, virtually removed in all likelihood on account of censorship. For in earlier versions of the short story, it is one of the main themes. All these themes to some degree are closely tied among one another, but there is no doubt that in Tolstoy’s creative plan each of them has its own significance.

Let us briefly try showing how Tolstoy resolves or set out to resolve these questions in “The Raid.” The question of courage begins to preoccupy Tolstoy in the very first days of his arrival to the Caucasus. On June 12, 1851, that is, twelve days after his arrival in the Caucasus, Tolstoy in his diary records

I have been struck by three things: 1) the officers’ discussion about courage. When they start to talk about anyone, is he courageous? Yes, and how. Everyone is courageous. This sort of conception of courage can be explained thus: courage is such a state of the soul in which the soul’s parts act individually, in no matter what sort of circumstances, or in the intense activity when consciousness of danger is lost.[[46]](#endnote-47)

For this reason in the draft versions of “The Raid” the theme of courage becomes one of the leading themes. But after long reflection, evaluation, and discussion of this theme, the author comes to the following definition of courage: “it seems to me…that in every dangerous situation there is always a choice; and the choice made under the influence of noble feelings is called courage, but the choice made under influence of base feelings is called cowardice.”[[47]](#endnote-48)

Tolstoy probably fully realizes the tenuousness of this definition of courage, for the concept of nobility and lack of nobility, good and evil can have for different people and different situations different meanings. Therefore, in order to avoid contradictions, Tolstoy resorts to an indefinite, yet in its own fashion, clear formulation of the conception of courage expressed by Captain Khlopov: “He who does what he ought to do is brave.”[[48]](#endnote-49) And in order to show how this type of courage appears in practice, the author creates the image of Captain Khlopov.

In his external appearance Captain Khlopov is not distinguished in any manner: he is ordinary, and his commonplace “unpretentiousness” is repeatedly emphasized. This is how Khlopov appears during an attack: “He wore an old threadbare coat without epaulettes, wide Caucasian trousers, a white sheepskin cap the wool of which had grown yellow and limp, and had a shabby Asiatic sword strapped around his shoulder.”[[49]](#endnote-50)

Despite his external appearance, Khlopov, a man of strong character, great self-control, remains true to his firm nature even during mortal danger. Not striving to be courageous, Khlopov in battle shows genuine valor and bravery:

There was nothing at all martial about the captain’s appearance, but there was something so sincere and simple in it that I was unusually struck by it. ‘It is he who is really brave,’ I involuntarily said to myself. He was just the same as I had always seen him: the same calm movements, the same guileless expression on his plain but frank face, only his eyes, which were brighter than usual, showed the concentration of one quietly engaged in his duties.[[50]](#endnote-51)

The contradiction between the external simplicity and the spiritual strength in Khlopov’s image is emphasized here in order to contrast his image with Colonel Rozenkrants’ image which essentially has different qualities. In contrast to Khlopov, Rozenkrants’ external appearance is very imposing, immediately calling attention to itself. However, the hero’s imposing quality is combined with spiritual emptiness and a petty character. In the regiment he is famous “as a desperate daredevil,” but his bravery is showy, parade-like, just like his clothing:

He wore a black tunic trimmed with gold braid, leggings to match, soft closely fitting gold-braided shoes, a yellow coat and a tall sheepskin cap pushed back from his forehead. Fastened to the silver strap that lay across his chest and back, he carried a powder-flask and a pistol behind him. Another pistol and a silver-mounted dagger hung from his girdle.[[51]](#endnote-52)

Rosenkrants wants to convince himself and others that he possesses genuine courage, and in order to create this impression with those around him, he conducts himself absurdly. The parody of Rosenkrants’ image is emphasized by the author’s following words:

He was one of our young officers, daredevil braves who shape their lives on Lermontov’s and Marlinsky’s heroes. These officers see the Caucasus only through the prism of such books as *A Hero of our time*, and *Mulla-Nur*, and are guided in their actions not by their own inclinations but by the examples of their models.[[52]](#endnote-53)

Describing thus the external appearance of his hero’s antipode, the author creates a battlefield situation in which people collide face-to-face with death, and thus also reveal these heroes’ spiritual-moral character.

In a draft version of “The Cutting of the Forest” Tolstoy gives the following information about the character of the war in the Caucasus:

In the Caucasus there exist three types of war: raids, sieges of fortresses, or more accurately fortified auls, and the construction of fortresses in enemy territory. Raids are conducted with a goal: either to ruin, burn down, and destroy enemy dwellings, or to seize the enemy’s weapons or their most important leaders. And this is undertaken only in those lands of the Caucasus, where the enemy, according to an accepted custom because of the layout of their auls, does not defend themself from within them.[[53]](#endnote-54)

And the author of “The Raid” artistically sketches one such raid. Moreover not only is the war itself depicted, but mainly, its people are, who are participating in this war. A general’s image is created, a parody of the traditional romantic general-conqueror of the Caucasus. When an artillery shell explodes near him, the general looking in the opposite direction, is saying something funny to the colonel. And when he rides up to a conquered aul, then the general demonstratively with carelessness gives an order: “‘Well, how about it, Colonel?’ said the general. ‘Let them loot. I see they are terribly anxious to,’ he added with a smile, pointing to the Cossacks.”[[54]](#endnote-55)

Ruining the aul serves as a background to make additional sketches showing the moral nature in the main heroes’ portraits, Captain Khlopov and Colonel Rosenkrants. Rosenkrants’ “daring” is especially strongly manifested during the destruction of the aul and in his attitude to the defenseless people, which is described thus:

The tall figure of Lieutenant Rosenkranz flitted here and there in the village. He gave orders unceasingly and appeared exceedingly engrossed in his task. I saw him with a triumphant air emerge from a hut followed by two soldiers leading an old Tartar. The old man whose only clothing consisted of a mottled tunic all in rages and patchwork trousers, was so frail that his arms, tightly bound behind his back, seemed scarcely to hold onto his shoulders, and he could scarcely drag his bare crooked legs along.[[55]](#endnote-56)

Just what does Captain Khlopov do during this time? In earlier versions of the short story, there is an episode showing the captain’s activity in the aul, but in the final version it is removed, likely again because of censorship considerations. But we will provide it from the draft version. When the destruction of the aul begins, the captain and the narrator-volunteer ride off to the side and watch “the destruction of the labor of so many people.” And suddenly they hear a shot and look: “About 180 feet from us, a woman with a sack and child was fleeing out of the aul toward the ravine…Following her, running still faster than her were several infantry soldiers. One young carbineer in a tunic with a rifle in his hand caught up to and almost caught her.”[[56]](#endnote-57)

Seeing this scene Captain Khlopov shouts, “Don’t touch her!” and races to save the woman, but before he gallops up to her, the soldier “took hold of the rifle with both hands and with all his might struck the woman in the spine”:

She fell, blood appeared on her shirt, and the child screamed. The captain threw his fur cap on the ground, silently seized hold of the soldier by the hair and began to beat him so hard that I thought he would kill him. Then he walked up to the woman, turned her over, and when he saw the bare-headed child’s tear-ridden face and the charming pale face of the eighteen year-old woman from whose mouth blood flowed, he ran off to his horse, jumped in the saddle, and galloped away. I saw that there were tears in his eyes.[[57]](#endnote-58)

Thus is Captain Khlopov’s inner world and moral character revealed. The contrasting image of Rosenkrants continues to be shown in the description of leaving the aul. In the short story’s first version, Captain Khlopov replaces the injured battalion commander, calmly and courageously continues to fulfill his duty, but Colonel Rosenkrants (“he was a bit pale”) avoids direct confrontation with the enemy, stating, “My unit does not have ammunition (he lied).”

Tolstoy does not provide a detailed description of events, but an analysis of them. Individual moments taken from the battle actions, and also from the acts and behavior of its participants that give a general characterization of both the war and the heroes.

The figure of Captain Khlopov is drawn in the most detail of all; a definition of courage is given in his words, and his behavior demonstrates what genuine courage should look like. Thus is the final answer given to the question, what is courage? This also constitutes the basis of the short story.

Simultaneously with the analysis of courage, an analysis occurs of the essence of war in “The Raid”: “War always interested me” states the author of “The Raid,” “not war in the sense of maneuvers devised by great generals—my imagination refused to follow such immense movements, I did not understand them—but the reality of war, the actual killing.”[[58]](#endnote-59) Tolstoy thus tries to find an answer to one of the most important questions he poses: why do people try to kill one another?

Before the attack the narrator-volunteer meets a young officer in the general’s headquarters. This officer becomes passionately indignant that he is not allowed to join the attack. The author with amazement discusses him:

Intently as I watched the expression of his face and listened to the sound of his voice, I could not help feeling convinced that he was not pretending but was genuinely filled with indignation and grief at not being allowed to go and shoot Circassians and expose himself to their fire. He was grieving like a child who has been unjustly birched…I could make nothing at all of it.[[59]](#endnote-60)

Seeking to explain this inexplicable phenomenon compels the volunteer to participate in a raid. In the short story’s second version, the volunteer explains his reason for desiring to go on the attack: “I want to see how an individual, who does not have any malice against another individual, sets out and kills him and for what?”[[60]](#endnote-61)

And really not a single character in “The Raid” has genuine “malice” or hatred for the highlanders. They also do not have any patriotic spirit, which is so often met with in romantic heroes. For example, Captain Khlopov in response to the author’s direct question, why does he serve in the Caucasus, answers: “One has to serve….And besides the double pay we get here also means something to a poor man.”[[61]](#endnote-62)

It seems that the captain should have repeated some romantic cliché such as, I serve the fatherland, the tsar, and God, or about, the need to fight against the savage peoples. But there is nothing of the sort in the short story. Tolstoy intentionally devalues all these clichés. Khlopov does not bear any malice or hatred at all against the highlanders. On the contrary, he with indignation observes the destruction of the aul, desperately tries to save a woman who becomes a senseless victim of the war, severely beats a soldier, and tears appear in his eyes. Nonetheless the captain is compelled to fight against the highlanders and subject himself to dangers: “he had been injured severely four times” in actions against the highlanders.

The young lieutenant Alanin does not have any enmity against the highlanders, as his behavior attests during the destruction of the aul. He with “his comely face flushed and frightened” throws himself at the circle of Cossacks and frees from their hands a kid (young goat), believing that they “were killing a child.”[[62]](#endnote-63) But despite the absence of a feeling of hatred for the highlanders, Alanin throws himself into an unnecessary attack and dies. Neither enmity, nor hatred of the enemy draws Alanin into the attack, but the striving to distinguish himself, show his daring.

Rosenkrants’ behavior is based on similar such false conceptions and conditions, and he is a parody of the gloomy Byronic heroes about whom the author writes:

He sincerely believed that he had enemies. To persuade himself that he must avenge himself on someone and wash away some insult with blood was his greatest enjoyment. He was convinced that hatred, vengeance, and contempt for the human race were the noblest and most poetic of emotions.[[63]](#endnote-64)

However, despite this apparent contempt for all of humanity, even in Rosenkrants there is not genuine hatred for the highlanders. He “has thousands of *kunaks* not only in all the peaceful auls, but also even highlands.”[[64]](#endnote-65) Once, for example, after injuring and capturing a hostile Chechen, the lieutenant in the course of seven weeks himself “attended to him and nursed him as he would have nursed his dearest friend, and when the Chechen recovered he gave him presents and set him free.”[[65]](#endnote-66) Later during one expedition, Rosenkrants again meets his *kunak* in the enemy ranks. When the exchange of fire of both sides ends, meeting in between the two camps, they amiably shake hands with one another. But these chivalrous actions and the absence of hatred toward the enemy do not at all prevent Rosenkrants to go “to the hills at night to lie in ambush by the roadside to watch for passing hostile Tartars and kill them; and though his heart told him more than once that there was nothing valiant in this.”[[66]](#endnote-67) He also shows unusual cruelty during military operations and frequently subjects himself to dangers, though all of Rosenkrants’ actions are dictated not by enmity toward the highlanders, but the tendency to seem to be a “daredevil *dzhigit*.”

All this combined makes the war for Tolstoy’s volunteer “an incomprehensible phenomenon” full of contradictions and paradoxes. He intensely observes all that passes, the behavior of individual participants in the war, rationally analyzes his impressions and understands nothing. Thus, is the condemnation of war justified, which is regarded as not only incomprehensible, but also as an unjust phenomenon.

The theme of condemnation of the war is observed in all the draft versions of “The Raid.” In the short story’s third version, the author comes to the conclusion that only the “feeling of self-preservation” makes the war “just,” and here he poses a question: On whose side is there a sense of self-preservation in this war, on the side of the Russians or the highlanders? The answer to this question is served by an episode with the highlander Dzhemi, which was removed by censorship in the final copy. Let us provide some passages from this episode:

On whose side is there a feeling of self-preservation and consequently of justice. Is it on the side of this ragamuffin—Dzhemi or other—who hearing of the approach of the Russians snatches down his old gun from the wall, puts three or four charges (which he will only reluctantly discharge) in his pouch and runs to meet the giaours, and on seeing that the Russians still advance, approaching the fields he has sown which they will tread down and his hut which they will burn, and the ravine where his mother, wife, children have hidden themselves, shaking with fear—seeing that he will be deprived of all that constitutes his happiness—in impotent anger and with a cry of despair tears off his tattered jacket, flings down his gun, and drawing his sheepskin cap over his eyes sings his death-song and flings himself headlong onto the Russian bayonets with only a dagger in his hand?[[67]](#endnote-68)

Tolstoy contrasts this highlander to three officers from the general’s retinue and asks:

Is justice on his side or on that of this officer on the general’s staff who is singing French chansonettes so well just as he rides past us? He has a family in Russia, relations, friends, serfs, and obligations towards them, but has no reason or desire to be at enmity with the hillsmen, and has come to the Caucasus just by chance and to show his courage. Or is it on the side of my acquaintance the adjutant, who only wishes to obtain captaincy and a comfortable position as soon as possible and for that reason has become the hillsmen’s enemy? Or is it on the side of this young German…What devil has brought him from his fatherland and set him down in this distant region? Why should this Saxon, Kaspar Lavrentich, mix himself up in our bloodthirsty conflict with these turbulent neighbors?[[68]](#endnote-69)

For the romantic poetics of war, the Caucasus serves, as noted earlier, as material for heroic scenes. Departing from such poetics, Tolstoy takes the same material, but develops it differently. The war, like all other life phenomena, can be described with the most varied approaches. The work of art is created and perceived not on the background of life, but on the background of other customary methods of artistic representation. Tolstoy uses new artistic approaches. He places the newcomer, the volunteer, in the center of battle, who presents the war to himself not with the usual romantic clichés, not as a heroic, elevated battle with the enemy, but as something superfluous, reprehensible. Observing the attack of the calvary, for example, the volunteer comments:

The spectacle was truly magnificent. The one thing that spoilt the general impression for me—who took no part in the affair and was unaccustomed to it— was that this movement and the animation and the shouting appeared unnecessary. The comparison involuntarily suggested itself to me of a man swinging his arms vigorously to cut the air with an axe.[[69]](#endnote-70)

The volunteer is interested neither in theatrical heroism, nor in epic heroic deeds, but in the moral basis of the war. He seeks the moral truth of phenomena, and in searching for these truths, becomes immersed in an inner monologue, in a dialectic of the soul. It is precisely through the narrator-volunteer’s inner monologue that the condemnation of war is conveyed in “The Raid.”

Before the Sevastopol short stories, Tolstoy wrote the short story “The Cutting of the Forest”; work began on it in the Caucasus in 1853, and it was finished in Crimea in June 1855. Here, as in “The Raid,” the short story is conducted in the first person, and as in “The Raid,” the narrator-junker sooner plays the role of an observer rather than an active participant.

The main moral theme Tolstoy continues developing in “The Cutting of the Forest” and later in his Sevastopol short stories is an analysis of what is genuine and false in human character that reveals the moral character of individuals. For Tolstoy the war becomes a means to determine people’s virtues and shortcomings and to classify their characters. In “The Cutting of the Forest” there is no central hero, but instead Tolstoy creates a whole gallery of images of colorful soldiers and officers. Special attention is allocated to types of soldiers:

In Russia there are three prevailing types of soldiers, among which may be classed the soldiers of all the armies: of the Caucasus, the army, the guards, the infantry, the cavalry, the artillery, and so forth. These three types, capable of many subdivisions and blendings, are the following: (1)The submissive. (2) The commanding. (3) The desperate.[[70]](#endnote-71)

In creating images of his heroes, Tolstoy uses a significant number of artistic details. Such details as facial features, gestures, and movements of individual soldiers, their manner of behaving and speech peculiarities are thoroughly written out in detail. A young recruit’s red cap, for example, is repeatedly mentioned and so are Velenchuk’s and Maksimov’s pipes, which fulfill a definite artistic function, just like Captain Khlopov’s pipe in “The Raid.” All these details convey a special lively genuineness to the heroes’ images, facilitating the revelation of their spiritual-psychological character.

In “The Cutting of the Forest,” Tolstoy continues his polemic directed against romantic tradition of depicting the Caucasus. Tolstoy’s thoughts about the two Caucasus—the Caucasus imagined and the actual Caucasus—are set forth with more fiery expressiveness in “The Cutting of the Forest” by Captain Bolkhov than in his “Notes about the Caucasus”:

In Russia they imagine the Caucasus as something majestic, with eternal virgin snows, torrents, daggers, cloaks, Circassian maidens—all this is terrifying, but, really, there is nothing jolly in it. If they only knew that you never are in the virgin snows, and that there is no special pleasure in being there, and that the Caucasus is divided into Governments, Stavropol, Tiflis, and so forth.[[71]](#endnote-72)

Confirming Bolkhov’s opinion, the narrator observes: “ʽYes,’ I said, laughing, ‘in Russia we take an entirely different view of the Caucasus from what we do here. Have you not experienced this? when you read poetry in a language that you do not know very well, you imagine it to be much better than it really is.’”[[72]](#endnote-73) This is how the romantic aureole of the Caucasus is destroyed. In the short story’s fourth chapter, the amusing Chikin creates a clear parody of the multitude of romantic Caucasian stories. Chikin, who went on a leave to Russia, and the soldiers gathered around a bonfire and the junker listen to how Chikin “set the tone on leave,” that is, how he told the peasants in the countryside nonsense about the Caucasus and its inhabitants. The peasants ask about the Circassians and Chikin explains to them:

Says I: “Dear man, there is not one kind of Circassians down there, but many different Circassians there are. There are some mountaineers who live in stone mountains, and who eat stone instead of bread. They are big,” says I, “a big log in size; they have one eye in the middle of the forehead, and they wear red caps that glow.”[[73]](#endnote-74)

In the midst of the general laughter of those gathered, Chikin continues:

“Then there are the Boobies,” continued Chikin, with a jerk of his head drawing his cap back on his forehead, “these are twins, wee little twins, about this size. They always run in pairs, holding each other's hands,” says I, “and they run so fast that you can't catch them on horse-back.”

“Are those Boobies,” says one, “born with clasped hands, my dear fellow?” Chikin spoke in a guttural bass, as though imitating a peasant.

“Yes,” says I, “dear man, he is such by nature. If you tear their hands apart, blood will ooze out, just as from a Chinaman; if you take off their caps, blood will flow.”   
 “Now tell me, good fellow, how do they carry on war?” says he.

“Like this,” says I, “if they catch you, they slit open your belly, and begin to wind your guts about your arms. They wind them, but you laugh and laugh, until you give up the ghost.”[[74]](#endnote-75)

To Maximov’s question, “Well, did they believe you, Chikin?”, he replies:

“They are such strange people, Fedor Maksimych. They believe everything, upon my word, they do. But when I began to tell them about Mount Kazbek, telling them that the snow did not melt all summer there, they ridiculed me.”

“Don't tell such fibs, good fellow,” they said. “Who has ever heard such a thing: a big mountain, and the snow not melting on it! Why, even with us the snow melts on the mounds long before it has melted in the hollows.”

“So, go and explain matters to them,” concluded Chikin, winking.[[75]](#endnote-76)

Gathered together at a booth, the officers speak on the same theme. The battalion commander, Major Kirsanov, who has also been on leave also tells tales about his campaigns:

When I was in Tambov in ‘52, I was everywhere received like an aid-de-camp. Will you believe me, at the governor's ball, when I entered, don't you know, I was beautifully received. The wife of the governor, you know, talked with me and asked me about the Caucasus, and all—really I did not know—They looked at my gold sabre as at a rarity, and they asked me what I got the sabre for, and for what the Anna cross, and for what the Vladimir cross, and I told them.

“What? This is what the Caucasus is good for, Nikolay Fedorovich!”

He continued, not waiting for an answer. There they look at us, Caucasus officers, very well. Young man, you know, a staff-officer with an Anna and a Vladimir cross that means a great deal in Russia. What?

“I suppose you did a little bragging, Abram Ilich?” said Bolkhov.

“He-he!” he laughed his stupid smile. “You know one must do that. And I did feast during those two months!”[[76]](#endnote-77)

The parody of Chikin’s and Major Kirsanov’s tales are introduced in order to show how myths were created about the Caucasus, how a conventionally romantic image of the Caucasus emerges not only in literature, but also in the people’s imagination.

In the battle scenes of “The Cutting of the Forest,” Tolstoy develops the same artistic approaches, which we observed in “The Raid.” In this short story courage is put at the center of attention: the romantic conception of martial heroism and daring is demolished. In “The Cutting of the Forest” there are no daredevils. On the one hand, there are soldiers, who calmly fulfil their duty under fire, on the other, Commander Bolkhov, who complains about the absence of courage: “I cannot endure danger…I am simply not brave.” Nonetheless the parody of Captain Kraft, who narrates absurdly about his courage, to some degree makes one recall Rosenkrants, and the old Cossack Trosenko, makes one recall a man of calm courage, Khlopov.

The overview of “The Raid” and “The Cutting of the Forest” can be concluded with Eikhenbaum’s statement regarding these short stories in which he aptly remarks:

Tolstoy knew precisely that he is following in the trail of the romantics in order to logically demolish their poetics. He ends up in the Caucasus, as if intentionally in order to set up a personal confrontation with Marlinsky and Lermontov, and to catch them in “falsehood,” liquidating their romantic enterprise.[[77]](#endnote-78)

The same conclusion can be made about the novella *The Cossacks* in which Tolstoy continues the struggle against romanticism.

*The Cossacks* is conceived by Tolstoy in 1852, but the novella is finished only ten years later. In those ten years, Tolstoy repeatedly returns to the novella, thinking it over and changing its thematic-artistic content. As the existing, preserved versions of it show, initially the main hero is not entirely clear. In the version under the title *Deserter*, for example, a Russian officer is depicted, a Gubkov (Dubkov), who falls in love with a married Cossack woman Mariana, whose husband, Gurka, is on a campaign. However, neither the hero’s image, nor this fragment’s plot evidently satisfied Tolstoy's thematic-artistic demands. In the novella’s final versions, Tolstoy concentrates his attention around two creative tasks: first, to concretely delineate the character and the main hero’s spiritual-psychological character; second, to develop the plot, to clearly show the interrelations of the hero with Cossack society’s new social sphere. In the novella’s final version, it is precisely these two elements that advance to the forefront.

In *The Cossacks* Tolstoy takes a traditional romantic situation—a European among savages—with the customary for the situation collisions and characters: Olenin, Mariana, Lukasha. Involuntarily, one recalls Lermontov’s heroes: Pechorin, Bela, Kazbich, or in Pushkin’s “The Gypsies,” Aleko, Zemfira, and the gypsy. But in this situation, Tolstoy subverts all the customary relations by parodying the romantic tradition. In Tolstoy not the European rejects primeval society, becoming convinced that the civilized individual cannot return to an imagined golden age, but the opposite: the primeval society does not accept the European. For Mariana is no naïve savage, who throws herself into the European’s arms, prepared to sacrifice herself for the sake of love. Mariana simply cannot do that, and she does not want to understand Olenin, sensing his lack of balance, and she herself declares judgement on Olenin: “Get out, creep!”[[78]](#endnote-79)

In romantic literature conflict is resolved in favor of civilization, rejecting Rousseau’s theory of an ideal state of nature before civilization. In *The Cossacks* this romantic tradition is destroyed to the benefit of Rousseauism. In general, Rousseauistic themes constantly accompany the main hero’s reflection and dialectics of the soul through whom the author often expresses them. Thus in one of the draft versions of the novella, the author discusses his hero:

The disorder of Russian social life and its lack of compatibility with the needs of the mind and heart is something he regarded as the eternal inadequacy of education, and he came to hate civilization and above all else began to love what is natural, simple, pristine. This was the main reason that compelled him to quit service in Petersburg and leave for the Caucasus. The daily life of the Cossacks with its bellicosity and freedom strongly affected him.[[79]](#endnote-80)

In another version of the novella, Olenin’s student years are discussed when “he discovered that our entire civil order is nonsense, that religion is insanity, that science, as its taught in the university is savage, that the powerful in the world are idiots or bastards, despite the fact that they are in authority.”[[80]](#endnote-81)

Not only while working on The Cossacks, but in the course of his entire life, Tolstoy very likely acknowledges his closeness to Rousseau. In his diary on June 6, 1905, for example, he records in his diary:

I am compared to Rousseau. I owe a lot to Rousseau and love him, but there is a big difference between us. The difference is that Rousseau negates any civilization; I just negate a false-Christian one. What is called civilization is the growth of humanity, whether it is a good or not. There is life in that, as there is in a tree’s growth. But the bough or the powers of life, growing from the bough, are wrong, harmful, if they consume all the growth’s power. This is the case with our false civilization.[[81]](#endnote-82)

This characteristic for Tolstoy negation of “false civilization” appears in the poetic stance of the main hero of *The Cossacks*. Abandoning civilization, Olenin heads for the Caucasus. Gradually a poeticization of the Cossack way of life and Caucasian nature develops, as conceptualized by the hero; they comes closer toward a norm, toward an ideal of human existence.

The hero passionately wants to enter into a “simple, powerful world of nature,” in which Mariana “constitutes such a lively and beautiful part, like a cloud and grass and a tree.”[[82]](#endnote-83) Yet with her whole existence, he soon understands that he “has not matured for the simple and straightforward relations to her.” He even more strongly feels “his weakness, his brokenness.” A complicated and “non-harmonious, ugly past” stubbornly interferes with his aspiration.[[83]](#endnote-84) Therein also lies the inner conflict for both the novella and its hero. The novella’s thematic content also flows from this conflict. Bursov is completely correct in describing *The Cossack’s* thematic content, remarking:

Olenin’s main goal in the Cossack settlement and his main obstacle against which all his efforts are dashed is the unification of *spirituality*, that is, the attainments of all of humanity’s thought, with *beauty*; in the given instance with an integrity that is not oppressed by anything and with an individual’s nature which does not depend on anyone else…In regards to Olenin, aside from Mariana’s rejection of all of his advance, one needs to keep in mind his impossibility in overcoming the contradictions of his own inner world.[[84]](#endnote-85)

The theme of the Caucasus develops in *The Cossacks* in correspondence to Tolstoy’s creative principles set forth by him in “Notes about the Caucasus” with a sharp division between the imaginary Caucasus and the real Caucasus. In the initial chapters of the novella, Olenin is depicted as a typical romantic hero, who heads to the Caucasus in search of poetry and adventures. His conception of this land is conventional and bookish; it formed in a Bestuzhev-Marlinsky manner. The romantic Caucasus is conveyed through Olenin’s imagination and parodied. This is what he dreams of while on the road to the Caucasus:

His imagination was now turned to the future: to the Caucasus. All his dreams of the future were mingled with pictures of Amalat-Beks, Circassian women, mountains, precipices, terrible torrents, and perils. All these things were vague and dim, but the love of fame and the danger of death furnished the interest of that future. Now, with unprecedented courage and a strength that amazed everyone, he slew and subdued an innumerable host of hillsmen; now he was himself a hillsman and with them was maintaining their independence against the Russians….One other vision, the sweetest of them all, mingled with the young man’s every thought of the future—the vision of a woman. And there, among the mountains, she appeared to his imagination as a Circassian slave, a fine figure with a long plait of hair and deep submissive eyes.[[85]](#endnote-86)

Here all the epithets, attributes, and images of romantic poetry and tales are listed. But all these clichés are definitively ridiculed in the plot’s further development. Continuing to dream of a Circassian woman, Olenin believes: “She is enchanting, but uneducated, wild, and rough.” Then he envisions how he will educate her, how she will learn languages, read French novels, how she will sing “simply, strongly, and passionately.” But the entire chain of thought is suddenly broken by two parodic phrases: “‘Oh, what nonsense!’ said he to himself. But here they reached a post-station and he had to change into another sledge and give some tips.”[[86]](#endnote-87)

But Tolstoy does not limit himself to parodying the romanticized Caucasus. Destroying or rejecting these traditional clichés for depicting the Caucasus, he creates his Caucasus that is “closer to reality and no less poetic.” In other words, he creates a new method of depiction. In this relation, the description of the mountains is interesting considered as a process of Olenin’s process of perceiving them. Initially the romantic cliché is parodied:

“So this is where it begins!” thought Olenin, and kept expecting to see the snowy mountains of which mention was so often made. Once, towards evening, the Nogay driver pointed with his whip to the mountains shrouded in clouds. Olenin looked eagerly, but it was dull and the mountains were almost hidden by the clouds. Olenin made out something grey and white and fleecy, but try as he would he could find nothing beautiful in the mountains of which he had so often read and heard. The mountains and the clouds appeared to him quite alike, and he thought the special beauty of the snow peaks, of which he had so often been told, was as much an invention as Bach’s music and the love of women, in which he did not believe. So he gave up looking forward to seeing the mountains.[[87]](#endnote-88)

Thus is the romantic myth initially destroyed about the beauty of the mountains, a myth, which existed in Olenin’s imagination (the Caucasus “about which he had read and heard so much”). But then the mountains are described through Olenin’s perception, and here Tolstoy adds his new literary perspective. Not the mountains are in fact described, but the impression they make. Under the influence of the mountains, a transformation takes place in the hero’s inner world and of everything that is around him, which occupies his thoughts and feelings; it receives a new character:

From that moment all he saw, all he thought, and all he felt, acquired for him a new character, sternly majestic like the mountains! All his Moscow reminiscences, shame, and repentance, and his trivial dreams about the Caucasus, vanished and did not return. ‘Now it has begun,’ a solemn voice seemed to say to him. The road and the Terek, just becoming visible in the distance, and the Cossack villages and the people, all no longer appeared to him as a joke.[[88]](#endnote-89)

The mountains become as if a border between the world that Olenin abandons and the one in which he ends up in, and also between the imagined and real Caucasus. Arriving in the Caucasus, Olenin becomes closely familiar with the natives’ simple and original way of life and customs, and he passionately loves this new world. The contrast of these two worlds and two Caucasus often occurs as the hero’s inner dialogue, a dialectic of the soul. And every time it does so, an emphasized polemic is sensed directed against the romantics:

Olenin had entered into the life of the Cossack village so fully that his past seemed quite foreign to him. As to the future, especially a future outside the world in which he was now living, it did not interest him at all….Here he felt freer and freer every day and more and more of a man. The Caucasus now appeared entirely different to what his imagination had painted it.[[89]](#endnote-90)

Then Tolstoy definitively destroys romantic tradition, again relying on his hero’s thoughts and convictions:

He had found nothing at all like his dreams, nor like the descriptions of the Caucasus he had heard and read. ‘There are none of all those chestnut steeds, precipices, Amalet Beks, heroes or villains,’ thought he. ‘The people live as nature lives: they die, are born, unite, and more are born—they fight, eat and drink, rejoice and die, without any restrictions but those that nature imposes on sun and grass, on animal and tree. They have no other laws.’ Therefore these people, compared to himself, appeared to him beautiful, strong, and free, and the sight of them made him feel ashamed and sorry for himself.[[90]](#endnote-91)

The examples provided suffice to become convinced that one of the main literary tasks which Tolstoy set before himself in the Caucasus is destruction of old literary perspectives. In their place Tolstoy creates his creative norms, his method of perceiving and depicting reality. And the theme of the Caucasus serves Tolstoy also, as it did many before him, as a background for new artistic experiments.

Tolstoy dedicates this same experimental treatment to his short story “Prisoner of the Caucasus” (1872). Just the short story’s title itself indicates that its focus concerns an old romantic theme: a Russian captive of the highlanders. The plot, the place of action, the themes, images are all almost just the same as those in the poems and short stories of Pushkin, Marlinsky, Lermontov and many others writing on this theme. Yet again, Tolstoy gives all this an entirely new character.

“The Prisoner of the Caucasus” is written while Tolstoy is working on his *A New Primer* and *Russian books to read*, as he is intensely occupied with simplifying the literary language and its approaches. At this time Tolstoy writes about himself:

I have changed the instruments in my writing and language, but, I repeat, not because I decided that it is necessary. And since even Pushkin is laughable, not to mention our writers who elucubrate [work with great effort], so I am fond of the language in which the people speak and in which there are sounds for expressing everything that a poet may want to say…I simply love what is definite, clear and beautiful and moderate, and I find all this is in folk poetry and language and life and the opposite in what is ours.[[91]](#endnote-92)

Under “ours” Tolstoy has in mind the intelligentsia’s language or the literary language that had become established at the time.

Regarding the artistic particularities of “The Prisoner of the Caucasus” and other short stories in his *A Primer*, Tolstoy writes: “If there is any merit in the primer essays, it lies in their simplicity and clarity of the images that are drawn, that is, the language.”[[92]](#endnote-93)

And in fact the short story “The Prisoner of the Caucasus” distinguishes itself in its simplicity and clarity of its drawings, the clarity and elementary quality of its plot. It is constructed on the events themselves, on its plot without adornment and refinement. Instead of a romantic captive fleeing from civilization, there is the simple soldier Zhilin, dreaming of returning to his mother in Russia. Instead of a mysterious Circassian maiden, burning with passion, there is the maiden Dina, who does not have any feelings for the captive. Instead of an agitated, spirited romantic narrator, the narrator uses calm, concise language. Yet despite such simplification of the form and content, the short story contains an abundance of ethnographic material. The highlanders’ way of life and customs are described with a special artistic mastery; the heroes’ images are very distinct, expressive, and truthful.

The novella *Khadzhi-Murat* (1904) is the final and likely Tolstoy’s most significant literary work dedicated to the Caucasus in terms of its thematic content. Precisely in this novella, Tolstoy’s realist method of depicting the Caucasus attains the height of its development. *Khadzhi-Murat* as if finishes and completes a purely artistic perception and development of the Caucasian theme, for everything that had been created after it (there are a significant number of artistic works written in the twentieth century on this theme) does not have any special esthetic value as literary art.

*Khadzhi-Murat* belongs to one of the most closely studied of Tolstoy’s works. A large number of critical and research studies are dedicated to an analysis of this novella. But the results of these studies are so contradictory that in the framework of this study it is unusually difficult to draw a general conclusion from everything that has been written about it. We will, however, point out the most important aspects of these studies, the particularities, which literary scholars and critics repeatedly emphasize.

In *Khadzhi-Murat* Tolstoy’s late worldview is reflected in all its complexity and contradictoriness. The novella’s plot completely corresponds to real historic events. But together with that Tolstoy expresses himself as a spokesperson of the peasantry’s patriarchal ideology: “The natural life of the highlanders, its wholeness, closeness to nature, Tolstoy’s pure morality sharply contrasts to the lies, hypocrisy, cynicism and degeneration of ‘civilized’ society.”[[93]](#endnote-94)

What differentiates *Khadzhi-Murat* from late Tolstoy’s other works lies in the idea of adamant struggle to the last that resounds in the novella as its main theme, objectively rejecting the gospel of nonresistance of evil, a rejection of violence to resist.

Literary critics often emphasize the novella’s artistic distinctiveness, its laconicism, the finish of its characteristics, and the narrator’s lyrical excitement. Doubtlessly, the novella’s content and artistic form is influenced by Tolstoy’s demands from art formulated in his tractate *What is Art?* written shortly before *Khadzhi-Murat* is published. In this tractate Tolstoy asserts that critics of art should be all people, and therefore its form should be accessible and understandable to the people. “Brevity, clarity and simplicity in expression”—these are without fail Tolstoy’s demands for genuine art, which is reflected in the perfection of the novella’s form, and the lack of artifice of its poetry in the its straightforwardness of its narration.

Thanks to these properties of the novella, we find that *Khadzhi-Murat* is one of the most remarkable models of realism and of a genuine artistic development of the Caucasian theme. Finally, thanks to Tolstoy’s literary works, the Caucasian theme becomes one of the most popular realist themes in Russian artistic literature.

1. B. I. Bursov, *L. N. Tolstoy. Seminars* [in Russian] (Leningrad: Uchpedgiz, 1963, 221. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
2. Bursov, *Tolstoy,* 221. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
3. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 60:293. The translation is from a citation in Donna Tussing Orwin, *Tolstoy’s Art and Thought, 1847–1880* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 40. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
4. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:217–8. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
5. B. Eikhenbaum, *Young Tolstoy* [in Russian] (Petersburg-Berlin, 1922), 30, 32. This book has been reissued by Dmytro Chyzhevsky in Munich in 1968. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
6. A. I. Opul’skyii, *L. N. Tolstoy in the Caucasus* [in Russian] (Ordzhonikidze: Severo-osetinskoe kn. izdatel’stvo, 1960), 174. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
7. N. N. Ardens (N. Apostolov), *The Creative path of L. N. Tolstoy* [in Russian] (Moscow: Akademiia nauk, 1962), 36. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
8. V. Shklovsky, *Leo Tolstoy* [in Russian], Seriia Zhizn’ zamechatel’nykh liudei (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1967), 95, 98, 99. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
9. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:43. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
10. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:45–6. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
11. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:60. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
12. V. Bursov, *Leo Tolstoy. In search of ideas and a creative method* [in Russian] (Moscow: Akademiia nauk, 1960), 178. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
13. V. Shklovsky, *Leo Tolstoy*, 93. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
14. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:250. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
15. V. Shklovsky, *Leo Tolstoy*, 93. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
16. A. Opul’skyi, *L. N. Tolstoy in the Caucasus* [in Russian] (Ordzhonikidze, 1960), 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
17. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:60. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
18. Today this aul is named the village of Tolstoy-yurt. “In recognition of Tolstoy’s stay in Stary Yurt here in August 1859 a memorial plaque is installed.” A. Opul’skyi, *Tolstoy*, 22. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
19. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:60–1. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
20. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:105. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
21. S. Doroshenko, *Leo Tolstoy—warrior and patriot* [in Russian] (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel’, 1966), 61. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
22. Doroshenko, *Leo Tolstoy*, 63. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
23. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:65. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
24. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:65. Trans. note. The phrase “dialectic of the soul” is Nikolai Chernyshevsky’s: “In an 1856 article about Tolstoy’s early stories Chernyshevsky coined the phrase “*dialetika dushi*” (“dialectic of the soul”) to refer to Tolstoy’s representation of the inner world of his characters.” See Andrew D. Kaufmann, "Microcosm and Macrocosm in War and Peace: The Interrelationship of Poetics and Metaphysics," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 43, no. 3 (1999), 495. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
25. Opul’skyii, *Tolstoy in the Caucasus*, 30. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
26. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:93. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
27. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:113. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
28. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:118–9. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
29. For more details see Doroshenko, Leo Tolstoy, 52–115, Opul’skyii, *Tolstoy in the Caucasus*, 175, K. Chernyi, *U istoka podviga—Tolstoy na Kavkaze* (Stavropol’, 1960), 88, Shklovsky, *Leo Tolstoy*, 84–135. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
30. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:191–2. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
31. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:237. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
32. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:83. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
33. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 59:150. The letter is dated January 6, 1852. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
34. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:155. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
35. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:234. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid and Other Stories*, by Leo Tolstoy, The World’s Classics (London: Oxford University Press, 1982), 16. Trans. note. The first sentence of this translation is mine. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
36. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:250. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
37. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 47:10. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
38. See Tolstoy’s letter cited earlier in this chapter. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
39. For details see B. Eikhenbaum, *Leo Tolstoy, the seventies* [in Russian] (Leningrad, 1960), 74–86. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
40. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:215. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
41. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:215. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
42. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:215. Trans. note. The translated passaged is cited in and translated by Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 239. The first three sentences of this translated passage are mine. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
43. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:215–6. Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, 240. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
44. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:216. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
45. Eikhenbaum, *Young Tolstoy*, 92–3. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
46. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 46:63–4. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
47. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:228. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
48. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
49. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:19. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
50. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:37. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 25. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
51. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:21. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
52. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:232. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 8. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
53. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:221. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
54. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:221. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 22. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
55. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:34. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 22. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
56. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:221. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
57. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:222. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
58. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:228. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
59. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:27. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 14. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
60. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:227. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
61. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:18. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
62. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:35. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 24. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
63. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:22. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
64. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:232. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
65. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:23. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
66. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:22. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 9. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
67. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:234–5. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 16–17. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
68. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:235. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 17. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
69. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:43. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans., *The Raid*, 21. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
70. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:54. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest: The Story of a Yunker,” Wikisource, free online library, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\_Cutting\_of\_the\_Forest. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
71. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:54. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest.” [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
72. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:54. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest.” [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
73. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:50. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest.” [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
74. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:50–51. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest.” Trans. note. I have modified the format of the translation, so the text for each represented speaker begins on a new line. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
75. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:50–51. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest.” [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
76. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 3:65. Leo Wiener, trans. “The Cutting of the Forest.” [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
77. Eikhenbaum, *Young Tolstoy*, 108. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
78. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:146. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
79. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:189. [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
80. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:247. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
81. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 55:145. [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
82. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:165. [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
83. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:122. [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
84. Bursov, *Leo Tolstoy*, 302. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
85. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:11. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans. *The Cossacks, A Tale of 1852*, by Leo Tolstoy, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4761.bibrec.mobile, 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
86. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:12. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans. *The Cossacks,*11. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
87. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:13. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans. *The Cossacks,*12–13. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
88. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:14. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans. *The Cossacks,*14. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
89. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:101. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans. *The Cossacks,* 99. [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
90. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 6:101–2. Louise and Aylmer Maude, trans. *The Cossacks,* 99. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
91. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 61:277–8. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
92. Tolstoy, *Complete collected works*, 61:274. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
93. I. Rodionov, Preface, *Complete collected works in thirty-five volumes*, vol. 335, by Leo Tolstoy (Moscow, 1950), 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)