# Saints' Lives in the Publications of Tolstoy: The Logic behind his Choice of Narrative Structures'


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**Tolstoy's attitude toward hagiographic texts is complex and barely studied. In the famous 1891 letter from Tolstoy to M. M. Lederle** *(PSS* **66: 66-68) with its list of his favourite books, the** *byliny* **[Russian epic tales][2] are mentioned twice as having profoundly influenced him. Neither the** *Reading Menaion (Chet*ī *Mine'if* **nor the** *Prolog* **(henceforth,** *Pro)* **nor a single saint's Life are on the list. Tolstoy did not include any saints' Lives in** *A Circle of Reading* **(henceforth** *CR***) (1904-1905, 1907-1908), his personal regimen of daily reading for the soul, which in genre was oriented precisely around the** *Reading Menaion* **and** *Pro.*

**In 1882, having learned that Tolstoy was studying hagiography, his fellow author N. S. Leskov hoped that it would become a literary resource for him.**

> The Lives have drawn the attention of many great writers and people of the most contradictory modes of thought and persuasions, and everyone who came to know these tales found in them a host of material for inspiration. Pushkin, Herzen (Iskander), Kostomarov and Dostoevsky read the Lives in this way, and it is rumoured that they are being studied now with greater ardor than all the aforementioned by Count Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. If this is true, one can expect a lot to come of it. [...] A person with such talents and views as L. Tolstoy can draw the most living and life-giving stream from the fountain stone of those old sacred stories. [...] As we know, the "Irodiad" and "The Temptation of St. Anthony" meet in the story of Flaubert. This literally injected new life into the old moss-covered stone. [...] What could be done of that nature by Lev N. Tolstoy, under whose pen the comparatively poorer and more poetically inflated story "Prisoner of the Caucasus," freed of all its romantic outer layering, could reveal its captivating strength, liveliness, and simple, majestic beauty. The Lives could give just as much, full of all their "spiritual beauty," especially with the chance for a comparison of all their redactions to get at the features from which the artist can draw the truest *image of saintliness.* (39-40; italics Leskov's)

**Leskov's hopes were not realized, and yet saints' Lives did indeed become important to Tolstoy. His attitude toward hagiographical literature changed radically over the last thirty years of his life. In the early 1870s, while he was working on his** *Primer,* **he "discovered" the hagiographical texts for himself. In March 1871, S. A. Tolstaia wrote in her diary, "He dreams of writing from medieval Russian life. He is reading the** *Menaion,* **the Lives of the Saints, and says it is our real Russian poetry." In his** *Confession,* **Tolstoy himself explained what happened to him.**

> I drew nearer to the people, listened to their thoughts on life, and their faith, and I understood the truth more and more. It was the same when reading the *Menaion* and *Pro.* They became my favourite reading; [...] reading them uncovered the meaning of life." (*PSS* 23: 52)

**In 1886, however, while preparing the Life of Juliania Lazarevskaia (adaptation by E. S. Nekrasova) for his publishing house The Mediator (henceforth Med), Tolstoy wrote to the publisher, Tolstoyan V. G. Chertkov, "All the Lives, as soon as they are translated into simple language, strike you as artificial. They are read only in Old Church Slavonic, and in this they deceive" (***PSS* **85: 328). In Russian, the language of the Lives rang false, and the saints themselves did not often impress Tolstoy. Working on** *CR* **for Sunday reading in 1904, he informed 1.1. Gorbunov-Posadov that he intended to print "biographies, or rather Lives of saints and martyrs not strictly from the Russian Orthodox church (although maybe these too)"** *(PSS* **75: 166). He asked V. V. Stasov to send him books with biographies "of people of great virtue —as in vitae of non-canonized people." He explains further, "I need biographies of truly great people not only of Russia (and those about Russians that are permitted by the censor not even maybe: they make you sick), but from all around**

the world. Biographies of Giordano Bruno, Hus, Galileo, Servetus" *(PSS* 75: 178, 179). Even as he avoided the very concept of "saintliness," Tolstoy considered a number of non-canonized and non-Orthodox ascetics, most of them heretics, to be "saintly." *CR* in its entirety allots no space for Lives or for canonized saints.

The Slavonic sections of *Primer* (1872) included a cycle called "From the *Reading Menaion*." There were also vitae in *Slavonic Books for Reading* (henceforth *SBR*) (1877). In 1874-1875 Tolstoy planned an edition of Lives intended for the *narod* [the folk].[4] This last, unrealized plan has only one text, The Life and Passion of the Martyr Justin the Philosopher, personally adapted by Tolstoy.[5] However, Tolstoy's copy of the Lives of the Saints compiled by Demetrius of Rostov (henceforth *MDR,* see note 2), the main source of Lives for the intended edition, contains a large quantity of marginalia, and he marked out whole texts and separate episodes according to a logic which I hope to uncover in this article.[6] Finally, Tolstoy's publishing house Med, among its first serial publications, issued nearly a dozen saints' Lives in 1886-1887, and Tolstoy participated in their selection.

The criteria for the selection of Lives for both *Primer* and Med were unclear to reviewers and critics. The reviewer for *The European Messenger [Vestnik Evropy],* for instance, complained that *Primer* contained the little known and dull Lives of Philaretus and David instead of the Life of the well known and popular St. Nicholas of Mira in Lycia from the same *Menaion.* Later, E. S. Nekrasova noted the "regrettable selection of saints' Lives [in Med]. Instead of saints known and loved by the people, Med prints the Life of Paulinus of Nola and that kind of thing."

The Slavonic section of *Primer,* along with changes and additions to it included in *SBR* (1877), may help us to understand the principles behind Tolstoy's choices.[7] *SBR* contains more chapters than *Primer* from the Old and New Testaments, and the Lives are more detailed. The section "From the *Reading Menaion*" in *Primer* contained six texts: "The Tale of Philagrius the Monk" (Book I); "The Tale of the Woodsman Murin" (Book I); "The Miracle of Simeon the Stylite and the Robber" (Book III); "The Tale of Wrath" (Book IV); "The Life of David the Former Robber" (Book I); and "The Life of Sergius of Radonezh" (Book II). Of these, the first four were from the *Great Reading Menaion* of Macarius (henceforth *GRM;* see note 2), and the other two from *MDR.*[8] The section "From the *Reading Menaion"'* in *SBR* of 1877 added three more texts: "The Tale of Eulogius the Monk and the Cripple;" "The Life of Joseph of Volokolamsk" (Books II and III, too long to fit in one volume); and "The Life of Michael of Chernigov" (Book IV). The first two were from *GRM*, and the third from *MDR.*

The Lives in *SBR* included all those that Tolstoy had prepared earlier for *Primer.* In letters to Nikolai Strakhov, the editor of *Primer,* Tolstoy mentions the Lives of Joseph of Volokolamsk and Michael of Chernigov more than once in the summer and fall of 1872. On August 28, he wrote that

> There is a lot of Slavonic material, but it would be a shame and quite impossible to exclude the story of Joseph [of the Old Testament]. It would be better to discard the Lives of Sergius or Michael, or both. It could be arranged to fit Joseph in, with fewer of the Lives and Chronicles. [...] The story of Joseph is the best part of the Bible and makes one want to read all the rest of it (*PSS* 61: 310). On September 29, he offers the following abridgements: "Exclusions, in my opinion, will have to follow this order: 1) Sergius, 2) Joseph of Volok[olamsk], 3) Michael, 4) Joseph ofthe Bible, and 5) the Chronicles." *(PSS 61:* 322)

It is striking that the venerable Sergius of Radonezh, to this day regarded as the incarnation of the folk moral ideal, is always the first slated for omission. This Life was kept in *Primer* only because it was so well known and for no other reason. Tolstoy was not preparing an anthology of old favourites. He was aiming for new, little known material, writing to Strakhov that "There never has been such a book [as the one he is preparing], either in Russia or anywhere else!" *(PSS 62:* 85).

In cutting, whether the texts are long and complex, or simple, the first to go are often the Russian saints. Tolstoy regarded "folk" art as cross-cultural, and so he was indifferent, or to put

it more gently, neutral toward Russian national traditions. Tolstoy's pedagogical principles in *Primer* had changed from those in the 1860s. Then he had been certain that the main things that sparked the people's enthusiasm for reading were "artistic feeling of poetry and *patriotism*" *(PSS* 8: 109; italics mine - A. G.). Except for the Bible, "folk literature" for Tolstoy implied almost exclusively Russian folklore and medieval Russian book learning. According to his pedagogical articles of the 1860s, the only books needed by the *narod* were the recognized collections of tales by A. N. Afanas'ev and I. A. Khudiakov, songs by P. N. Rybnikov, proverbs by I. M. Snegirev, stories from Russian history by V. 1. Vodovozov, and in addition, "the Chronicles and all Old Russian texts without exception" (*PSS* 8: 60-61).

By contrast, in *Primer* Tolstoy excluded *byliny* on the three *bogatyrs* [Russian epic heroes] as "too patriotic." He selected folk tale plots and tales from world folklore: Indian, Arabian, Persian, Turkish, American, and so on. Given the ease with which Tolstoy departed from the traditional texts of Russian hagiography in these selections, his selections for "From the *Reading Menaion*" in *Primer* confirm this general tendency, inasmuch as it already reflects a bias against Russian saints, and especially canonized ones.

One more particularity, already noted, of the selection of folkloric and Old Russian texts for *Primer* is Tolstoy's indifference to their degree of popularity, hi the 1860s he had chosen books accessible to the *narod* and widely known and understood by them. The "criterion" was therefore an objective one. Departures from it led to subjectivity, and even chance during the selection of stories.

We have seen what some of Tolstoy's own rules were. The elements of chance are themselves illuminating. In 1872, Tolstoy did not know much about hagiography. All Lives within *Primer* and *SBR* are from the Orthodox calendar of September Lives in *GRM* and the September Lives of *MDR.* This limited use of material could explain the selection of the Life of Joseph of Volokolamsk (September 9). At least one acquaintance, historian V. I. Vodovozov, whose *Stories* were used to teach history at the school at Iasnaia Poliana, advised Tolstoy against this text because of "the cruelty, the lack of Christian humility, and the self-loving pride" of the saint (*Rasskazy iz russkoi istorii V. Vodovozova,* 254). Tolstoy himself had doubts over its suitability for *Primer.* "It is true that Joseph of Volokolamsk is long and a little dull," he wrote Strakhov on 21 September 1872, "and the saint himself is not a monk, he is a vainly self-loving conscientious ecclesiastical official. But there are places in it that are naively artistic—it's delightful. Perhaps it appeals to me as psychological material, and I mistakenly selected it, so you can omit it if you don't mind losing the work you have done. But it is much better than the Lives of Sergius or Michael" *(PSS* 61: 321).

No less arbitrary is the selection of another September Life, that of the Michael in this letter, Michael of Chernigov. Perhaps Tolstoy chose him because he was a rare example in Russian hagiography of martyrdom for faith, a subject of great interest to him. On the other hand, Tolstoy proved to be completely uninterested in Lives of nobles and princes like Michael whose ideals are not so much Christian as feudal. Canonized princes—and in Old Russian hagiography, this type of hero with the orders of sainthood is represented in a large number of texts—would hardly have been generally chosen by Tolstoy with his attitudes, fully delineated by 1870, toward power and government. The prince-martyr is the only exception.

Aesthetic or "poetic" criteria were important for Tolstoy. The admission in the letter to Strakhov about the choice of Joseph of Volokolamsk for its artistic merit is one of many. Tolstoy looks for true "poetry," true "art" and finds it, in the 1860s and the 1870s, in folk literature, in essence relating folk character *[narodnost']* and artistry *[khudozhestvennost'].* Only texts with folk features, specifically those from legends, are considered true "poetry" and "art." The legendary folktale character of legends, tales *[skazki],* and parables that were, according to critics, "over abundant" in *Primer,* was almost the sole criterion for their selection. Tolstoy was certain that the *narod* experienced and remembered only what was "artistic-folkloric [*khudozhestvenno-skazochno*]" *(PSS* 8: 92). Even history and geography were only "artistic" when delivered in "an almost folktale-like tone" *(PSS* 8: 95, 100). The primary aesthetic measure for Tolstoy becomes "the artistic reworking of folk tradition" *(PSS* 8: 106).

The "reworking of tradition," or in other words, the folktale legend form as a model of artistry and national folk character, predetermined the selection for *Primer* of one of the genre types of hagiography: the Lives of the Fathers, or pateric vitae and stories. Tolstoy collected pateric subjects for his "folk" *Primer* because they possessed a series of characteristic folkloric features. Here one must make a reservation, however. The problem of the nature of genre in patericography remains in dispute; there is no consensus among researchers over its definitions, and especially whether the paterics belong strictly to hagiography. In my discussion, 1 do not use fixed definitions (pateric Lives, stories, histories or novellas). I examine patericography within the frame of hagiographical tradition, although it is obvious that it is precisely the genre specifics of the paterics that drove Tolstoy to extract them from the *Reading Menaion* and later from *Pro.*

Of the six Lives in *Primer*, four of them are pateric: Philagrius the Monk, The Woodcutter Murin (the *Cave Pateric*, henceforth *CP);* The Life of David the Former Robber, The Tale of Wrath (chapters 142 and 160 of *Spiritual Meadow* [henceforth *SM* of John Moschos [the *Sinai Pateric]).* Not by chance, the only new subject added to *SBR* in 1877 was Eulogius and the Beggar Cripple from the *Lausiac History* (henceforth *LH)* of Palladius (the *Egyptian Pateric).* Among those considered by Tolstoy but rejected for *Primer* were later period Christian texts, especially literary, didactic texts; retained were the vitae of the folk legend type. In this manner, Tolstoy culled a far from arbitrary set of texts for *Primer* from the arbitrarily selected September Lives. In future, Tolstoy would rely primarily on the pateric Lives (as did Leskov, adapting them from *Pro).* He adapted these, and they provided underlying subject matter for his own artistic works. More than that, in the "folk" Lives, "the tales of folk Christianity," Tolstoy would find confirmation of his own religious views.

The paterics are a collection of sermons and didactic stories about the lives of early Christian ascetics of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine from the period preceding the compilation of a hagiographic canon. By general acknowledgment, they represent a phenomenon of "folk literature" and their "folk" character defines the genre specifics of the lives. Pateric narratives paint the lives of Christian ascetics not in exceptional, solemn situations—as required by the strict "idealizing" vita form—but in ordinary, everyday "non-hagiographical" situations, where heroes have worldly cares, psychology, and behaviour. The heroes are often pious laymen rather than monks. In the sermons of "laymen" on the essence of virtue (justice, industry and compassion), and exceptional tolerance and lenience toward sin, the morality of patericography departs from strict Christian dogma.

In the pateric stories, concrete style prevails over the abstract one used for official Lives. Their realism carries the stories far from the panegyric standards of official hagiography. "These literary narrative histories," wrote P. V. Nikitin, "are free of that banality of thought and expression that makes much of the edifying and sermonizing Byzantine hagiographical literature so trying to read. The forms of exposition of the paterics [...] are very simple [...]. The language of the paterics is relatively free of ghastly Byzantine pseudo-classicism and does not shy from using the words, j forms and locution of living speech" (130-131). The likeness to folklore reveals itself in a naive belief in sorcerers, magis and magical metamor- f phoses; that is, again, not in strictly "hagiographical" elements of the miraculous. The pateric lives repeat such conventional mythological and 1 folk tale motifs as the rise of the humble (the motif of Cinderella [*Zolushka*]), and the help of grateful animals. Lions, hyenas, and crocodiles faithfully ^ serve the elders.

Plots are dynamic and full of conflict. In collections of stories of the Christian ascetics there were a large number of so-called "crisis" narratives built around a plot of "the conversion of a sinner." These were stories of laymen repenting and being redeemed (robbers, delinquents, and ne'er-do-wells), and monks fallen in sin but atoning with penance.

Tolstoy was especially interested in these "crisis" vitae. Of the six hagiographical pieces in *Primer,* two, The Life of David the Former Robber and The Miracle of Simeon the Stylite and the Robber, are stories of repentant outlaws. The Russian part of *Primer* also contains both a

**"conversion of a robber" plotline in the story "Arkhierei and the Robber," "in the manner of Hugo" (an adaptation of a subject from his novel** *The Outcasts*) *(PSS* **22: 228-29); and the motif of "a miracle with a robber" is in "God Sees the Truth but Waits."**

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**The simple fact is that the Slavonic portion of** *Primer* **in its content and makeup is unique. Anthologies of the time did not include a single Life or Chronicle, neither in original nor edited form. I am speaking, of course, not of historical collections like those of A. D. Galakhov and F. I. Buslaev, and not of school textbooks, but of readers for primary study of reading and writing such as Tolstoy's** *Primer* **was. The section of Church Slavonic reading in other collections, where there was one, consisted of texts that were strictly "anthological"—prayers, creeds, precepts, and excerpts from Holy Scripture. Only Tolstoy taught reading by original Lives and annals.**

**The second thing that distinguishes** *Primer* **from other readers is the authenticity of its texts, which was paramount for Tolstoy. If at first he intended to use some Chronicle pieces in** *Primer* **and adapt them (see** *PSS* **21: 352-54, 439-44; "Variations"), Tolstoy later rejected that intention and refused to alter the texts, at least the ones in the "folk" spirit. He published Church Slavonic texts with parallel translations. He took the same attitude as he did toward the Slavonic text of the Bible, the transposition of which he considered no less than "a crime against the sacred and against poetry"** *(PSS* **8: 89; compare also 8: 86, 88). Tolstoy himself took little part in the translations of the Slavonic texts, entrusting the main work to Strakhov, S. A. Tolstaia, and others. And Strakhov takes a serious editorial role in all translations, including Tolstoy's. All of this worked to the detriment of the literary side of things, but Tolstoy did not mind. The Slavonic text was preserved in the original.**

**Tolstoy was working within a huge nineteenth-century project to acquaint the Russian public with its ancient literary heritage, including the Slavonic Bible. In the middle of that century, Lives were generally published in Russian translation, by A. N. Muraviev, Archbishop Philaret (Gumilevskii), and others. Tolstoy insisted on the use of Church Slavonic Cyrillic typeface. On 20 June 1872, he wrote Strakhov that "I had countless conversations in Moscow on the printing of the Chronicles in Slavonic. [P.A.] Bessonov and [F. I.] Buslaev consider it impossible; Iuriev, Elagin and I, and others do not find any problem with it"** *(PSS* **61: 297). In the editions from which the Slavonic texts of** *Primer* **were taken—***The Chronicle of Nestor* **of P. E. Basistov (Moscow, 1869) and** *GRM*—**a secular script was used. Tolstoy restored the Church Slavonic one, that is, tried to keep not only the "language and conventions," but also the graphic style of the original. He thus diverged from such "experts" as Buslaev and Bessonov. ("The main thing is not to consult experts. They will mislead you. The way they misled me in Moscow."** *[PSS* **61: 297]).**

**Tolstoy explained in his pedagogical articles why he wanted to preserve the original language of the texts. Opposed to the "development" of the** *narod,* **he limited the realm of folk education to two ideologically neutral disciplines: "[t]he** *narod* **accept two fields of knowledge: languages and mathematics—the most exact and not susceptible to vacillation between assorted views. Everything else they consider to be useless trifles"** *(PSS* **17: 107; "On Folk Education," 1874). Tolstoy's position is certainly polemical, part of his attack on progress, but there is an artistic reason for it as well. At the beginning of the 1870s, Tolstoy adopted folk "language and conventions" as the pivotal axis of his own creative act. Language itself was the primary and decisive measure for drawing distinctions between the "true" and the "false," the "real" and the "imaginary." ("The language does not allow for anything superfluous, grandiloquent or harmful"** *[PSS* **61: 278]). For Tolstoy, language is the path to true meaning. As he put it in a later note from 1879: "To learn, to probe language, truth"** *(PSS* **48: 267).**

**Tolstoy wrote Strakhov in 1872 (March 22, 25) that he "changed the conventions of his language and writing" not because he "decided thus, but because our contemporary language and its conventions are repugnant, and I am overwhelmed with a secret longing for another language and its conventions (which turns out to be folk language)"**

*(PSS* **61: 277-78). Tolstoy is contrasting his spontaneous and "incidental" attraction to folk language to the "concocted" principles of nationality that the Slavophiles based on "reasoning," and not on appeal. In 1872, Tolstoy and Strakhov were working on a translation of the first chapters of** *The Chronicles of Nestor*, **where the issue is the dispersal of Slavic tribes. In the letter to Strakhov, Tolstoy deliberately under-scores the tautology, obvious to the addressee, existing in the Russian word "iazyk" [язык], which means "language," and may also refer to a tribe of Slavic folk: ("the language [...] at the same time is the folk..."). He thereby demonstrates his favourite notion of the intentionality of the unintentional and makes language a conveyer of the providential.**

**Tolstoy's effort to preserve Church Slavonic differs from the position of conservatives. As the little known, "truly exceptional" Greek writers (Aesop, Xenophon) "are only spoiled [...] by translation"** *(PSS:* **61, 247), so must the little known, in Tolstoy's view, "true Russian poetry" of the Lives be rendered in its original form. The narrowness of the selections for the Slavonic section of hagiographical texts in** *Primer* **(only those from the September calendar) is compensated for by their novelty and authenticity.**

**Selecting Lives for** *Primer*, **Tolstoy discovered for himself, following the discovery of the original Greeks, "his own antiquity." "True poetry," "truly exceptional" exemplars of "the word of mankind" formed the basis of** *Primer*, **the task of which was immense in Tolstoy's conception. It was intended to educate "two generations of all Russian children, from the tsar's to the peasants'"** *(PSS* **61: 269), and also to change the social consciousness of "the educated classes," who were educated "wrongly." Tolstoy saw himself as a healer, enclosing in** *Primer* **"curative" medicine** *(PSS* **61: 285) for the spiritual convalescence of society and for the "revitalization of its nationality." Nothing like this had ever been attempted in Russian pedagogy.**

**The general spirit of Tolstoy's** *Primer* **resembles that of Old Russian literature as a whole. All tales in it are didactic, not to mention the many fables and proverbs. The reading for children is devoid not only of classical poetry but also of lyrical and "humorous" folk poetry. The principles for the selection of this material are explained by a specific manner of perceiving tradition. In accordance with the practices of Ancient Rus', as F. I. Buslaev wrote, "all world poetry: the surfeit of fairytales, riddles, humorous sayings" are condemned, for "there is no place in life for poetry as worldly amusement" (483, 477). In agreement with this very logic, it was imperative that** *Primer* **incorporate the Lives, making them its principal organic component.**

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**Working on** *Primer*, **Tolstoy discovered the true poetry of the** *Reading Menaion* **and became more interested in hagiographical texts and new ideas for their publication arose. As already mentioned, in Tolstoy's personal copy of** *MDR,* **there are dozens of notes and marks in the margins. A series of indirect data links these to 1874-1875, when Tolstoy thought of publishing an edition of the Lives for folk edification.**

**This book (or books) would include "the very best, most folk-like Lives from Macarius and Demetrius of Rostov and from the Patericon"** *(PSS* **62: 120). In his letter of 22 November 1874 to an "expert on Lives," the Archimandrite Leonid, Tolstoy lays out principles for selection and structure of the collection. He would order the selections not by their sequence in the daily calendar but by measure of the difficulty of their "inner content," "from the more accessible, simpler exploits like martyrdom, to the more complex, like the deeds of archpriests of the church, acting not only for their own salvation, but also for the general good"** *(PSS 62:* **126). Tolstoy had counted on Archimandrite Leonid's expert advice. ("The greatest task is the selection and publication, that is, abridgement and explanation [...]. The question is, would you be willing to take this on?"** *[PSS 62:* **160].) Leonid could not participate, but, turning out to be an enthusiastic follower of Tolstoy's pedagogical ideas, he gave his blessing to the project.**

**In his letter to Leonid, Tolstoy said that he had read little hagiography and that he preferred the lives of Russian saints** *(PSS 62:* **126). He wants "not to adapt but select and issue them for folk reading"** *(PSS 62:* **120). Despite these intentions, he began with the life of Philaretus the Philo-**

**sopher, the Greek martyr of the second century AD. The Life of Philaretus, a "crisis" narrative, and a story of martyrdom for faith, is concise and lacks miracles. Conversion occurs in the given case not with a sinner, but with a heathen, although to the medieval mind these notions were akin. As has been noted before, Philaretus's spiritual journey parallels that of Tolstoy. Studying, in his desire to know God, the philosophical schools of the stoics, the peripatetics, Pythagoreans, and Platonists, Justin finds truth in the words of an unnamed elder, and from heathenism he converts to Christianity. In *Anna Karenina* (which Tolstoy was writing at the time) Konstantin Levin similarly undergoes a spiritual awakening after meeting with an elder.**

**In his plans for this edition, Tolstoy singled out the following types.**

**1. Two others like the story of Philaretus: the Life of Arsenius the Great (May 8) and of St. Alexander, Founder of the Monastery of the "Unsleeping Ones" (July 3).**

**2. Christian martyrs of the first centuries AD from *MDR.* These include Hieromartyr Anthimus (September 3), the Holy Martyrs Vera, Nadezhda, and Liubov' (Faith, Hope and Love) (September 17), the Martyr Nestor (October 27), Hieromartyr Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna (February 23), Virgin martyrs Agape, Irene, and Chionia (April 16), Hieromartyr Simeon, Bishop of Persia (April 17), and a number of others. In this group Tolstoy marks the passion of the Martyr Basiliscus (May 22), Virgin Martyr Theodora and Martyr Didymus the Soldier (May 27), Holy Martyr Hermias of Komany (May 31). Tolstoy's marginalia suggest that he was interested in exaggerations of suffering by martyrs, in their disputations on Christian doctrine, and in the martyrs themselves as disciples of true Christianity.**

**3. Lives of "holy fools" or "fools-for-Christ" *[iurodivie]* including those of Blessed Andrew, Fool-for-Christ (October 2); Isidora the Fool-for-Christ (May 10); Righteous Procopius, Wonder-worker of Ustiug (July 8); Venerable Simeon of Emesa, Fool-for-Christ, and Venerable John of the same fast day (July 21). The tale of Blessed Andrew, Fool-for-Christ, with its many folkloric motifs, has an especially large number of marginalia.**

**4. Old Testament saints. There is marginalia in the Lives of the prophets Daniel (December 17) and Samuel (August 20), the Long-Suffering Job (May 6), and a few others.**

**5. Many pateric tales. For example, those for which the pateric source is indicated by St. Demetrius include the stories of Dorotheus, Hermit of Egypt (September 16, from *LH),* Venerable Macarius the Great of Egypt (January 19, from various sources, among which are *LH*, *CP,* and *Pro),* the Martyr Thomaida, "suffering from her father-in-law in the name of chastity" (April 13, from *CP),* Blessed Taisia of Egypt (May 10, from the *Alphabet Pateric),* Blessed Isidora, Fool-for-Christ (May 10, from *CP* and *LH),* Venerable Serapion the Sindonite (May 14, from *LH),* Venerable Zosimas of Cilicia (June 14) from *SM,* that is, the *Sinai Pateric),* St. Severus the Presbyter (June 27, from the preaching of Grigorii Dvoeslov, that is, the *Roman Pateric),* Pimen the Great (August 27, from the *Egyptian* and *Alphabet Paterics),* and Sisoes the Great (July 6). Almost the whole Life of Venerable Vitalis of Gaza (April 22) from the *Roman Pateric* is marked in the margins.**

**Tolstoy loved the pateric genre with its nai'vely simple and dramatic biographical situations, and its psychological conflicts. An example would be the pursuit of the dutiful bride Thomaida whose husband, a fisherman, was often away, by her shameless and crafty father-in-law. In the Life of Arsenius the Great, Tolstoy marked an episode (surely "naively artistic and delightful") in which Arsenius indecorously sits cross-legged in the cell of an elder, but then feels embarrassed at the immodesty of such a pose. Tolstoy also identified with the moral conflicts in the early Christian vitae. He marked tales of the temptations of the flesh, of vanity, of pride at one's own pious deeds, of doubt in the truth of sacred scripture, and finally of fear of death. He often singled out situations and motifs that do not seem strictly "hagiographical." If the hero of a canonically "correct" Life greets death joyfully, Arsenius the Great (from *CP),* "being close to death, became afraid and cried." In response to questions from his disciples about his tears, he says—and Tolstoy underlines this—"...in truth this fear has been in me all the days of my monastic life." In the Life of Hilarion the Great (October 21) the final words of**

**the elder on his deathbed are underlined: "You've taken flight, my soul. What do you fear, why are you troubled, eighty years serving Christ, and you are afraid of death." These themes are plainly Tolstoyan, as are, common in the pateric tales of life lived "by the labour of one's own hands," the censure of superfluous and vain speech, the denunciation of doctors, and belief in the blessings of physical suffering and disease.**

**6. A few similar stories of repentant sinners in** *MDR.* **These are the Life of Peter the Publican (September 22, marked off in the margin almost in full); the incident of the "conversion of a robber" in the Life of John the Theologian (September 26); and the short episode "The taming of a vicious bandit" in the Life of St. Alexander, Founder of the Monastery of the Unsleeping Ones (July 3). The corners of the page are turned down in the Lives of former robbers St. Barbarus (May 6) and St. Moses the Black (August 28; "taken," so wrote St. Demetrius, "from CP, from LH of Palladius, and from the** *Alphabet Pateric").*

**7. The lives of harlots and profligates, including the popular stories of the former harlot Mary the Egyptian (April 1) and Saints Pelagia the Penitent and Taisia (October 8). All three Lives are marked almost in full in the margin and have notes written within the text. A sub-category here is the Lives of penitents: Theodora (September 11) and Taisia (May 10).**

**Tales of harlots and profligates also make up a subgroup of Lives about "the reproof of the licentious," in which the heroes struggle with "the demon of sin" and temptations of the flesh. Already in the September Life of Theodora (September 11), Tolstoy stressed demonic temptation: "Its force is strong, our nature is passionate, and our strength is feeble," and "nobody is free from the enemy's temptations." This theme is central in the hagiographical canon, but the persistence with which Tolstoy marked stories of unlawful sinners-in Demetrius of Rostov, for instance, no fewer than twenty such stories-is striking. In addition to those already mentioned, others include the Lives of Cyprian and Justina (October 2), the Life of John the Chozebite (October 3; Tolstoy marks the episode of the temptation of the hero by a "wicked enchantress"); Hilarion the Great (October 21); Abraham the Recluse (October 29); Joannicius the Great (November 4); the prophet Daniel (December 17; the plot of Susanna and the "lust" of the elders); Ephraem the Syrian (January 28); Vitalis of Gaza (April 22; with the most marginalia of all); the Martyr Philosophus (May 31); Paul the Physician of Corinth (June 28); Moses the Hungarian (July 26); and others.**

**The "spirit" of these stories is present in such works as** *The Kreutzer Sonata*, *Father Sergius*, **and** *The Devil,* **which reflect the hagiographical attitude toward corporeal passions. Outside of this hagiographical atmosphere the reader cannot grasp the actuality of Tolstoy's devil, or the unambiguous meaning of the author's moral valuations. Later stories by Tolstoy like** *Father Sergius* **borrow motifs from pateric sources as well as "early Christian features" in the spiritual practice of the main hero. Tolstoy's answers to ethical and psychological problems coincide with those of tradition. It is therefore understandable that he borrowed from the pateric stories as confirmation of his own views within the religious authority of tradition.**

**Hagiographic rhetoric, with its "high" style, archaisms or particularly pious lexicon, did not attract Tolstoy. Even the simplified and condensed adaptations of Demetrius of Rostov, intended for a folk readership, were remote from simple folk language (excepting the cases mentioned above). The language of St. Demetrius, so Tolstoy acknowledged, was "picturesque and beautiful"** *(PSS* **62: 126); but he never marked ornamental or archaic words. At the time he was working on** *Primer* **and later, Tolstoy was interested not in the outer form of words, but in their inner truth and their conceptual precision. His "taste" in this sense differs greatly from that of Leskov.**

**Tolstoy paid close attention to the medieval psychology and the didactic tone of hagiographic narratives. In vitae about sinners, he repeatedly underlined confession monologues with their penitential exaggeration, their emotionality and impetuosity, and the ardent "heat" of confession (as in the Life of the sinner Taisia). The influence of these texts is apparent in his own confessional tracts as well as in the confessions of penitent sinners in such works as** *The Kreutzer Sonata* **and** *Father Sergius.*

**Tolstoy also frequently marked prayers of saints, and imitated the concision and informality**

**of their language in such tales as his own "Three Elders." We know from Tolstoy's earliest notebooks (see *PSS* 46: 61-62, 153; 47: 12, 42, 141) to the final ones, that he searched his whole life for the proper way to invoke God through prayer. The question of how to pray occurs not only in "Three Elders," but also in *Anna Karenina,* where it torments Konstantin Levin. In *Father Sergius,* Tolstoy sharply and vehemently discredited customary formal, ritualistic "mental prayer" *(PSS* 31: 34), as he did condemn any religious-ecclesiastical ritual. A child's prayer brings comfort to the hero of the tale ("Lord, take me, take me" *[PSS* 31:20]), direct, from the heart, knowing neither rank nor order.**

**More than once in the Lives Tolstoy marked visions, which were undoubtedly meaningful to his own creative work. The dream-vision in *Confession,* the dream-visions in the story "Where Love Is, There God Is Also," and the typical "spirit-leading" vision (by the definition of N. S. Leskov) appearing to a drowsy Father Sergius: all these are didactic and providential as in the hagiographic texts.**

*

**We conclude our account of Tolstoy's marginalia in his reading for the projected edition by noting what he did not mark or marked only infrequently in the text of Demetrius of Rostov.**

**1. The stories of the Kiev-Caves ascetics, thirty three of them from CP, this despite their belonging to the pateric genre.**

**2. The tale of Boris and Gleb (May 2); the Life of Theodosius of the Caves (May 3); Zosimas and Sabbatius of Solovetsk (April 17); Paphnutius, Abbot of Borov (May 1); Jonah, Bishop of Novgorod (November 5); and others.**

**3. Examples of lengthy hagiographical oratory such as the Lives of Fathers of the church and their pupils John Chrysostom; Basil and Theodosius Cappadocia; Gregory the Theologian; Antonius and Athanasius the Great; Gregory Palamas; Maximus the Confessor; and others.**

**It is evident from Tolstoy's notes in MDR that he selected texts according to their folkloric features, clearly preferring hagiographical legends (the pateric stories), Lives of the legendary type, and any stories with folk motifs. As for thematics of the Lives—and Tolstoy's choices were determined by the substance and content of the texts—he selected what accorded with his own conceptions of the psychology of faith and religious searching, and with his own non-canonical and non-dogmatic theology.**

*

**Tolstoy's notes in MDR would not warrant such attention if he had not turned anew to it when he founded Med in 1886, and applied the same criteria in his selection.**

**Among the first thirty publications for Med were six new hagiographical texts issued in red framing accompanied by a motto. These were the Lives of St. Peter the Publican and the Venerable Moses the Black (adapted by P. P. Belikov); the Lives of St. Paulinus of Nola and the Passion of the Holy Martyrs Theodore and Nicephorus (adapted by P. P. Belikov); the Passion of the Holy Martyr Theodore in Perge, Pamphylia: in His Memory, the 21st of April (in the same volume with Paulinus of Nola, but adapted by Tolstoy; *PSS* 25:462); the Passion of Holy Martyr Nicephorus: in His Memory, the 4th of February" (also in this volume, author of the adaptation unknown-see *PSS* 25: 861); and the Life of St. Philaretus the Merciful (adapted by A. K. Chertkova).**

**Correspondence between Tolstoy and P. I. Biriukov and V. G. Chertkov confirms, first of all, Tolstoy's direct participation in the selection of texts and secondly, that his recommendations come from the texts that he had marked earlier in Demetrius of Rostov. On May 9, 1885, responding to Chertkov regarding the life of Paulinus of Nola as compiled in MDR he wrote, "At Iasnaia Poliana I marked, in the Lives of Demetrius of Rostov, all the places that can be taken and used, and I will try to use them" *(PSS* 85:189). Chertkov answered on May 22: "If possible, send without delay the passages you have marked in the Lives, as you mention. We have an edition of Demetrius of Rostov there. And Belikov, who works on them specifically, will find everything you indicate..." *(PSS* 85:214). On June 1-2, Tolstoy informed Chertkov: "I will ask one of my people to copy**

out the passages from the Lives and send them to Biriukov" *(PSS* 85: 211). And he wrote Biriukov of the same: "In a day or two I will copy out the passages marked in the Lives of the Saints of D<emetrius> of R<ostov>, as V<ladimir> G<rigor'evich> wrote me, and I will send them to you" *(PSS* 65: 255). It is unknown who actually did this work. In any case, Tolstoy's letters here tell us that his selections in the 1870s also suited his purposes in the 1880s.

At the same time as he was adapting the first passion (that of Holy Martyr Theodore in Perge, Pamphylia from MDR, April 21), at the end of 1885 Tolstoy was working on the adaptation of a second series of martyrs' lives-"The Passion of Sts. Peter, Dionysius, Andrew, Paul and Christina" (May 18). This work was never issued in Med (for the text, see *PSS* 25: 538-39). His choice of two texts on holy passion confirms his exceptional interest in the martyrs' lives. For Tolstoy martyrdom for faith was a living reality of his own life, a vital spiritual need. He writes of this in his notebooks of the 1890s: "I want some ordeal to overcome. I want the rest of my life to be committed to serving God. <...> Most importantly, I want to suffer, and to shout out the truth that burns in me" *(PSS* 52:104-105); "...I want <...> not by words but deeds, by sacrifices, to serve God as a model of sacrifice; and not to relinquish" *(PSS:* 51, 50); "1 am prepared for that cross that I know, for prison, for the gallows..." *(PSS* 52: 108). Suffering and faith go together for Tolstoy at this time. In 1889 in an unfinished article on Gogol, he wrote, "Such is ever the means of a person moving toward truth. Drawing nearer to God, a person draws nearer to people in his heart, but in mind, his gaze moves off and raises indignation in them, contempt and malice. The contempt and malice shown by certain people even signals a drawing nearer to God: it <.. .> is a kind of a test of the true spiritual substance of a person. Persecution from people is inevitable. It is necessary because only one who finds the strength within himself to serve the will of God, in spite of persecution, does not deceive himself, but truly loves God and people" *(PSS* 26: 650). The theme of martyrdom had a deep personal resonance. Through a series of saints' Lives and evangelistic equivalents (as in "Three Sermons"), Tolstoy placed himself among persecuted preachers and gave general meaning to this personal theme. All the selections of texts for Med have a personal meaning in this way for Tolstoy.

The Lives published by Tolstoy are openly didactic, unobscured by belletristic detail. Their subjects illustrate evangelic testaments and sermons, and it is no accident that in the editions of Med they are accompanied by epigraphs to which they correspond. The Passion of Nicephorus tells of the enmity of the former friends Nicephorus and Saprikios; the character that forgives is saved, while the one who does not, perishes. Here the theme of *Primer* "on wrath" continues, and is directly realized in the evangelistic sermon of forgiving a wrongdoing brother (Matthew 18:21-35), placed as an epigraph to the story "A Spark Neglected Burns the House." So, for instance, the Roman senator Paulinus, bishop of the town of Nola, gives away his estate, sells himself into slavery, and buys freedom for the son of a poor widow and other slaves. Peter the Publican also willingly sells himself into slavery. The saints in both of these Lives act "in imitatio Christus," a traditional hagiographic motif. Surrender to slavery is the belletristic version of the dogma of expiation ("And who among you would be the first, let him be a slave. For the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve and to give His soul for the atonement of many" [Matthew 20:27-28, Mark 10:45]). Unexpectedly recognized in their slaves' guise by former countrymen, both Peter and Paulinus hide, avoiding honour and fame. The motif of escaping recognition is also a common element in hagiography (Alexis the Man of God, Isidora the Blessed and others). In Tolstoy's own art, "the struggle with human glory" of Father Sergius ends with his going forth into the world like the heroes of vitae, unknown, as a voluntary "slave" servant. The Tolstoyan theme of flight from fame and the consistent hagiographical motif are manifestly related.

Of "Paulinus of Nola," Tolstoy wrote to Chertkov on 8 May 1885, "The Life of Paulinus is beautiful in form and substance" *(PSS* 85: 183). One of the episodes of the Life, "The Humility of St. Paulinus," is included in A. M. Kalmykova's *The Flowerbed* [Tsvetnik], compiled with Tolstoy's collaboration and issued by Med in 1887.

*The Flowerbed* also contains a series of excerpts from other Lives, all of them marked off by Tolstoy in MDR (John the Merciful, Pimen the Great, and others).

The publication of the Life of Philaretus the Merciful (marked in full in Tolstoy's copy of MDR) is also no accident. Tolstoy read the adaptation prepared by A. K. Diteriks (Chertkova) in manuscript form in July, 1885 (see *PSS* 85: 235) and wrote her husband, V. G. Chertkov, that "I received the Life of Philaretus the Merc<iful>. It's superb. I won't even touch it. It's very good" *(PSS* 85:235). With its depiction of ordinary family life and its fairytale-like conclusion, the story of Philaretus was very popular both in Ancient Rus' and later. (In the eighteenth century, A. N. Radishchev reworked it in part.) Philaretus gradually gives away his entire rich estate down to his last ox, and his own clothing, leaving his wife and three children hungry and begging. He humbly faces the reproaches of his wife, who calls him an idiot and a nasty misanthrope. She drives Philaretus from the table saying, "You're an angel not a person, and food you do not require"; but then, seeing him undressed, she relents. "She exchanged her own clothes for those of a man and dressed him in them."

The proverbial types of the foolish husband and the practical wife with their quarrels, the psychological detail, and verisimilitude liveliness of situations help explain the particular popularity of this vita with readers despite their expectations that vitae should be edifying. Tolstoy could not have overlooked the surprising coincidence of situations in the Life of Philaretus the Merciful with his own family drama. Philaretus's wife sounds like Sofiia Andreevna: "Levochka, here you're saying 'give to those who entreat you.' But I myself entreat you! Give something to me."

The question of who is right—Philaretus with his concern for his neighbour, or his wife with hers for their family—reflected the same contradiction in life and faith that Tolstoy could never escape. The vita has a wonderfully simple fairytale resolution: the emperor's son (an actual historical Roman heir, Konstantin VI, son of the Empress Irina) marries Philaretus's granddaughter, and saves the family. For Tolstoy the tension between family and mankind was "completely irresolvable" *(PSS* 26: 386): such is the conclusion of the twenty-third chapter in the tract "On Life," devoted in full to the search for a solution to the problem of "one's neighbour." Tolstoy began the tract in the fall of 1886, at the same time the Life of Philaretus was approved by censors (9 October 1886). It is also no accident that Tolstoy's letters of that fall to A. K. Diteriks (Chertkova), who had adapted "Philaretus," contained a summary of the future tract.

The problem of one's neighbour has a long history in the work of Tolstoy, beginning with *War and Peace* and the attitude of Pierre after the war toward his numerous suppliants. *So What Then Should We Do,* an early variant of which bore the title "Can I Help My Neighbour?" takes up the problem in its social aspect. The problem also figures in Tolstoy's autobiographical drama *A Light in the Darkness* (1896-1902).

In his diary on 25 June 1893, Tolstoy sketched out a prospective story of a family who, conscious "of the vain and self-indulgent sins of life," give away all their superfluous possessions and move to a village, ending up in a "horrible, inescapable position" *(PSS* 52: 87-93). Consciousness of the brotherhood of people and of the impossibility of rejecting the principle of "giving to your neighbour" leads the family to ruin. Tolstoy investigates the pathway to death in detail, declaring that it is essential "to know and speak [this tragic truth], and not deceive oneself, not be hypocritical." In spite of everything, "to live a Christian life," everyone must enter that "abyss," "everyone must succumb to death" *(PSS* 52: 93). Despite the fairytale ending in the Life of Philaretus the Merciful, the main narrative illustrates the stark conflict between the demands of principle (in Tolstoy's words, "the demands of love") and the demands of life. Like the heroes (and creators) of the early Christian Lives, Tolstoy took these precepts literally.

Not only hagiographical morality, but also church tradition taught compromise. "And if you give charity [...] do not neglect your family and near ones. First tend to your home and your family's affairs; you also give charity this way. For it is hypocrisy to give to an unknown orphan when your own family or servants are barefoot and hungry."[9] In Tolstoy's own private life and in

**the situation he sketched out in his diary in 1893, as in hagiographical drama, one cannot compromise about the question of one's neighbour. In his tracts, articles, and proclamations, however, the "irresolvable" question finds an answer in the sphere of the ideal, where duty or compulsion rules. The social-ethical precepts of Tolstoy aimed for results not achievable in real life. The bond of love between people, the joy of cooperative common labour, accord between life and faith, and a calm conscience are rewards no less fantastical than the rewarding of Philaretus the Merciful in the fairytale ending of his tale. In Tolstoy's moral precepts, "moral compulsion" dominates the concrete circumstances and consequences of any act. As his favourite saying went: "Fais ce que dois, advienne ce que pourra." Tolstoy's fairytale "The Wise Maiden" (1887) illustrates "the truth of compulsion": "The most important time is the present time, because there is no other. And the most important people are the ones we have present dealings with, because they are the only ones we know" (*PSS* 26: 245). This is consistent with the concept of "present love" in *On Life* (1887): "There is no love in the future, love is only present action" *(PSS* 26: 388).**

**Of all the Lives Tolstoy selected for Med, Peter the Publican seems to have interested him most. It is marked out almost in full in MDR, and is bookmarked in Pro. In 1884 Tolstoy began a folk drama on this subject and a little later wrote to Biriukov: "We should arrange and publish The Life of Peter the Publican. [...] I was going to make a folk drama out of the story, but I lost the beginning..." *(PSS* 63: 255). (V. F. Bulgakov found it in 1914 [published in *PSS* 29: 364-74].) The text for Med has three redactions: the first by P. P. Belikov, the second by V. G. Chertkov (with significant stylistic corrections), and the third by Tolstoy. Finally, in 1894, Tolstoy wrote the folk drama** *Peter the Breadman (PSS 29:* **281 -291).**

**This tale has hagiographical motifs beloved by Tolstoy and dating back to the Gospels. These include conversion of a sinner, relinquishing of one's wealth, voluntary beggary, surrender to slavery, and avoidance of fame. One other is also essential. The wealthy Peter, famous for his cruelty to beggars, while taking some bread to the prince's court once wanted to throw a stone at a beggar but could not find one. He throws a chunk of bread instead. On the "divine scales," Peter learns in a dream, this unwittingly given piece of charity absolves all his former sins. Here the "conversion" of the sinner takes place.**

**Hagiographical poetics typically show extreme degrees of vice and virtue. The extreme undervaluing of good deeds corresponds here to an extreme exaggeration of bad deeds. However, one is rewarded for even the smallest good deeds, and this is what the edifying effect of the** *sjuzhet* **is based upon. The motif of the giving of alms, even to the slightest extent, is a recurrent one. A.N. Veselovskii read dozens of stories, from Slavic to Arabic and Mongolian, making parallels with the Life of Peter the Publican, and in particular, to the story of "the sinful mother," who "is sent to hell, although in life she had done one good deed: she was rich and stingy, but one day she gave alms of an onion stem or a leaf of couch-grass. By this stem or leaf her son tries to pull her from the oven, but it breaks, because so many sinning souls clung to her" (153).**

**The important idea for Tolstoy in this tale is not requital for deeds or service, but the advocacy of "unconscious" good, one of the foundations of his ethics. His notebooks of thel880s and 1890s are full of related maxims.**

> You do not have to look for good deeds or exploits...; Do not seek the doing of good... *(PSS* 52:49, 183)
>
> You should not try to do good things, but try to be good; do not strive to shine but to be pure within. *(PSS:* 51: 28)
>
> Alas! All the good deeds they do by decree of the elders are not good deeds. Good deeds, to be such, must be *spontaneous* [Tolstoy uses the English word]. *(PSS*51:138; this note and the previous one relate to *Father Sergius.)*
>
> [A person] all the better fulfills the will of God, the blinder he is. *(PSS 50:* 113)

**Peter the Publican, with his "accidental" kindness, illustrates these maxims, according to which moral deeds come unconsciously, directly from the heart. At the same time, later tracts and articles by Tolstoy contradict this. In** *On Life,* **for instance, the goal of each individual and of the historical development of humanity is "conscious reason" [.***razumnoe soznanie***]. By this, Tolstoy meant**

**conscious seeking after moral teachings and service for the good of one's neighbour. Close readers of Tolstoy have noticed this contradiction, but none have fully explained it.**

**Ideas from the Life of Peter the Publican remained with Tolstoy. In an example from the 1906 diary, he emphasized virtuous deeds that we do without thinking:**

> I would like to write a story-vision: A person sees how he is judged after death, and his deeds are weighed on scales. He waits while they bring out and weigh his work for the people, his charity work, his scientific research, his family virtues—they bring them out, and all this weighs nothing. On the contrary, it causes an opposite motion: the scales go up. For human fame. And then suddenly they bring out what he had forgotten: how he had contained his vexation in a quarrel, how he had handed a toy to a little girl... (Think of better ideas) - everything people did not know, and did not value. [...]You can compare two fools-for-Christ: one, an acknowledged holy fool, a professional one, and the other one an unknown, an example of an involuntary fool-for-Christ. And how not the first one, but only the second is pleasing to God. *(PSS* **55: 213)**

**These ideas for stories are built around the moral and compositional schematics of early Christian texts, and the same ethical precepts form their basis. Patericography, in particular, provides a substantial number of examples of the same unconscious and unheralded piety, of the daily Christian confession of the unknown average man, in virtue often surpassing the great ascetics. Such is the Woodsman Murin, the hero of the Cave and Sinai paterics, whose story Tolstoy included in** *Primer,* **and which was later adapted also by Leskov; such are Leskov's merry Andrew Pamphalon and many others.**

**As should be clear by now, Tolstoy was particularly partial to penitent outlaws among vitae heroes. The Life of Moses the Black, the Former Robber, came out in 1886 in the same volume with the Life of Peter the Publican. Moses the Black is remembered in the Orthodox calendar on 28 August, Tolstoy's birthday, which likely explains his preference for the Venerable Moses the Black above other vitae of robbers. Not long afterward, two more Lives of repentant robbers, also marked by Tolstoy in MDR, were published by Med. These are the Apostle John and the Robber, and the Life of St. Barbarus the Former Robber. The first appeared in "The Flowerbed," and A. K. Chertkova reports that it was adapted entirely by Tolstoy.**

**The volume with the Life of Barbarus also contains those of Serapion, Vitalis, and Taisia. In MDR, all three are heavily annotated by Tolstoy. All four are typical examples of the pateric genre, so entertaining that they are not edifying enough for the main series of Med and are published in the ancillary section instead. The Elder Vitalis, masquerading as a sinner, rounds up all the fallen women of Alexandria, turning them away from immoral deeds and making them swear never to expose his secret. When a young wanderer dares to reprove the elder for immoral behaviour, a black demon appears and hits him. The secret piety of the elder is discovered only after his death, and the moral of the Life is non-judgment. In the Life of Serapion the Sindonite, an elder who gives everything away down to his "thin, tattered robe" stands naked out in the cold with the Gospels under his arm. Wishing to buy freedom for a bondsman, Serapion sells his Gospels and finally himself into slavery, proceeding in the process to convert pagans to Christianity. The "fierce" and wily outlaw Barbarus, whom no one can capture, through penitent "willful martyrdom" becomes like a beast, walking exclusively on hands and knees during a fifteen-year pilgrimage. In the end he looks like a beast and is killed by a hunter's arrow.**

**In all, Med published seven "crisis" narratives: three stories of the "conversion" of robbers (Moses the Black, St. Barbarus, and the nameless disciple of the Apostle John); one story of the "conversion" of a bishop; one Life of a penitent martyr; and two stories of women "temptresses." Besides the Life of Taisia, in 1890 Med issued—also in the ancillary series—"Fair Aza" by Leskov (the story, adapted from Pro, relates to Chapter 205 of SM). Both "temptresses" are exceptions to the rule of the publishers to keep to ascetics. Stories of temptation, many of which were marked by Tolstoy in MDR, never appeared in Med. Traces of their influence turn up in those of his works that were not meant for a folk readership.**

**Under Tolstoy's direction, Med issued mainly translated Lives which were intended to confirm the international character of the folk moral ideal. Three texts of Russian hagiography did appear in the ancillary series: the Lives of St. Tikhon of Zadonsk and the Venerable Trifon (Moscow, 1886; adapted by M. Pavlovskaia); and Julianna Lazarevskaia: The Story of Her Life (Moscow, 1887; adaptation by E. S. Nekrasova). Of the first, Tolstoy wrote to Chertkov: "The life of Tikhon is bad; it has no substance" *(PSS* 85: 174). By contrast, Dostoevsky more than once referred to Father Tikhon as a folk "historical ideal" (in *Diary of a Writer*, the plans for *The Life of a Great Sinner* and other places). Other contemporary publishers of vitae in Russia, from A. N. Muraviev and the Archbishop Philaret to the Archimandrite Leonid, included many more Russian saints.**

**Characteristically, the Lives chosen by Tolstoy for Med were from early times, in which "true" Christianity flourished. In 1879, working on "Research on Dogmatic Theology," Tolstoy noted that "The Church, from the present day back to the third century, is a series of lies, cruelty and deceptions" *(PSS*48: 195). (The ecumenical councils of the third century introduced false dogmas, according to Tolstoy.) Of the First Council of Nicaea he wrote: "What were they arguing about? About precepts? About ways to abide by them? No. They were not speaking of faith, but of something else. Good luck to them. I will not follow their course" *(PSS* 48: 326).**

**With the exception of the bishop Paulinus (an ideologue of "social simplification"), all the Lives in the main series of Med have non-Church subjects and heroes. Furthermore, in the Lives Tolstoy sought literal realizations of the words of the Gospels. In all the Lives, the element of miracle is practically absent. If miracles had a place in the original, these were excluded in the adaptations for Med. And lastly, edification takes absolute priority over entertainment: all the more or less entertaining material was consigned to the "ancillary" series.**

**Tolstoy wrote Leskov about one of the latter's contributions to Med: "Why is it so well written? It forces the reader's attention upon the artfulness and beauty and covers up the essence." Yet in the same letter he acknowledged that "non-artistic" meant "cold" *(PSS* 86: 49). Reviewing the publications of Med at the end of his life, he considered the Life of Paulinus to be "of the lowest sort" *(PSS* 82: 210) and wrote to I. I. Gorbunov-Posadov: "It's all one and the same thing. [. . .] It's tedious and works against the aim for which all the [books] were sent out, inciting only boredom. [. . .] I would exchange these books, first of all with simple, happy stories without any other intention, even a collection of funny, happy and innocent anecdotes" *(PSS* 82: 206-207).**

**The ascetic principles of Med influenced both the selection of subjects and the character of the editing of vitae texts. Divestment of miracles and scholastic religious symbolics, lexical simplification—all of this was counter to the poetics of the genre and fractured it. Devoid of affect, the direct, exhortative Lives in Med are on the whole rather colorless and only sparingly expressive. And they clearly lose in comparison with the original.**

***Translated* by**
**Lonny Harrison, University of Toronto**

## *Appendix One:* Abbreviations Used for Principal Texts, and Their Russian Equivalents

| | |
|---|---|
| **CP -** *The Cave Pateric* | **Скитский патерик** |
| **CR -** *A Circle of Reading* | **Круг чтения** |
| **GRM -** *Great Reading Menaion of St Macarius* | **Великие Четии Минеи** |
| **LH -** *Lausiac History* | **Лавсаик (Египетский патерик)** |
| **MDR -** *Saints ' Lives (Reading Menaion) of Demetrius of Rostov* | **Жития Святых (Четьи Минеи) свт. Димитрия Ростовского** |
| **Med -** *The Mediator* | **Посредник** |
| **Pro -** *Prolog* | **Пролог** |
| **SBR -** *Slavonic Books for Reading* | **Славянские книги для чтения** |
| **SM -** *Spiritual Meadow* | **Луг духовный (Синайский патерик)** |

## *Appendix Two:* Names of Saints and Their Russian Equivalents

***Note:*** **Proper names are listed first, followed by epithets commonly associated with the saint. Names commonly cited together are listed that way. Sources for the English names of Saints include Donald Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1980); Attwater, edited and revised by John Cumming, *A New Dictionary of Saints* (Kent, UK: Burns and Oates, 1993); *The Great Collection of the Lives of Saints (Demetrius of Rostov),* translated by Father Thomas Marretta, vol. 1 (September), vol. 2 (October) 3 (November) (House Springs, Missouri: Chrysostom Press, 1997, 2000). See also the web site of the Orthodox Church of America at www.oca.org.**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Abraham the Recluse** | **Авраамий Затворник** |
| **Agape, Irene and Chionia, Virgin Martyrs** | **Великомученицы Агапия, Хиония и Ириния** |
| **Alexander, Founder of the Monastery of the "Unsleeping Ones"** | **Александр, обители неусыпающих первоначальник** |
| **Alexis the Man of God** | **Алексей человек Божий** |
| **Andrew, Fool-for-Christ** | **Андрей Юродивый** |
| **Anthimus, Hieromartyr** | **Великомученик Анфимий** |
| **Antonius the Great** | **Антоний Великий** |
| **Athanasius the Great** | **Афанасий Великий** |
| **Arsenius the Great** | **Арсений Великий** |
| **Barbarus** | **Варвар** |
| **Basil the Great of Cappadocia** | **Василий Великий, Каппадокийский** |
| **Basiliscus the Martyr** | **Василиск мученик** |
| **Boris and Gleb** | **Борис и Глеб** |
| **Cyprian and Justina** | **Киприан и Иустина** |
| **Daniel, the Prophet** | **Пророк Даниил** |
| **David the Former Robber** | **Давид, который прежде был разбойником** |
| **Didymus the Soldier Martyr** | **Дидим Воин** |
| **Demetrius of Rostov** | **Димитрий Ростовский** |
| **Dorotheus, Hermit of Egypt** | **Дорофей Пустынник** |
| **Ephraem the Syrian** | **Ефрем Сирин** |
| **Eulogius the Monk and the Beggar Cripple** | **Евлогий монах и нищий расслабленный** |
| **Gregory Palamas** | **Григорий Палама** |
| **Gregory the Theologian** | **Григорий Богослов** |
| **Hermias of Comany, Holy Martyr** | **Ермий мученик 'иже в Команех'** |
| **Hilarion the Great** | **Илларион Великий** |
| **Isidora, Fool-for-Christ** | **Исидора Блаженная** |
| **Joannicius the Great** | **Иоанникий Великий** |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Job, the Long-Suffering** | **Иов Многострадальный** |
| **John the Chozebite** | **Иоанн Хозевит** |
| **John Chrysostom** | **Иоанн Златоуст** |
| **John the Theologian** | **Иоанн Богослов** |
| **Jonah, Bishop of Novgorod** | **Иона Новгородский, митрополит** |
| **Joseph the Fair (from the Bible)** | **Иосиф Прекрасный (Библейский)** |
| **Joseph of Volokolamsk** | **Иосиф Волоколамский** |
| **Juliania Lazarevskaia** | **Юлиания Лазаревская** |
| **Philaretus the Philosopher, the Greek** | **Юстин Философ** |
| **Macarius the Great of Egypt, the Elder** | **Макарий Египетский (Великий)** |
| **Mary the Egyptian** | **Мария Египетская** |
| **Maximus the Confessor** | **Максим Исповедник** |
| **Michael of Chernigov** | **Михаил Черниговский** |
| **Moses the Black** | **Моисей Мурин** |
| **Moses the Hungarian** | **Моисей Угрин** |
| **Nestor the Martyr** | **Нестор мученик** |
| **Nicholas of Mira in Lycia** | **Николай Мирликийский** |
| **Paphnutius, Abbot of Borov** | **Пафнутий Боровский** |
| **Paul and Christina** | **Павел и Христина** |
| **Paul the Physician of Corinth** | **Павел Врач** |
| **Paulinus of Nola** | **Павлин Ноланский** |
| **Pelagia the Penitent** | **Пелагия** |
| **Peter, Dionysius, Andrew, Paul** | **Петр, Дионисий, Андрей, Павел** |
| **Peter the Publican** | **Петр Мытарь** |
| **Philagrius the Monk** | **Филагрий монах** |
| **Philaretus the Merciful** | **Филарет Милостивый** |
| **Philosophus, Martyr** | **Мученик Философ** |
| **Pimen the Great** | **Пимен Великий** |
| **Polycarp, Hieromartyr, Bishop of Smyrna** | **Поликарп Смирнский** |
| **Procopius, Righteous, Wonderworker of Ustiug** | **Прокопий Устюжский** |
| **Samuel the Prophet** | **Пророк Самуил** |
| **Serapion the Sindonite** | **Серапион Синдонит** |
| **Sergius of Radonezh** | **Сергий Радонежский** |
| **Severus the Presbyter** | **Севир Пресвитер** |
| **Simeon of Emesa, Fool for Christ, and John (of the same fast day)** | **Симеон, Христа ради юродивый и Иоанн, сопостник его** |
| **Simeon, Hieromartyr, Bishop of Persia** | **Симеон, епископ Персидский** |
| **Simeon The Stylite and the Robber** | **Симеон Столпник с разбойником** |
| **Sisoes the Great** | **Сисой Великий** |
| **Taisia of Egypt, Blessed** | **Таисия Египетская** |
| **Theodora, Virgin Martyr** | **Великомученица Феодора девица** |
| **Theodore and Nicephorus, Holy Martyrs** | **Мученики Феодор и Никифор** |
| **Theodore, Holy Martyr, in Perge, Pamphylia** | **Мученик Феодор в Пергии Памфилийской** |
| **Theodosius of the Caves** | **Феодосий Печерский** |
| **Theodosius the Great of Cappadocia** | **Феодосий Великий, Каппадокийский** |
| **Thomaida, Martyr** | **Мученица Фомаида** |
| **Vera, Nadezhda and Liubov' (Faith, Hope and Love), Holy Martyrs** | **Вера, Надежда и Любовь** |
| **Vitalis of Gaza, the Venerable** | **Виталий монах** |
| **The Woodsman Murin** | **Дровосек Мурин** |
| **Zosimas and Sabbatius of Solovetsk** | **Зосима и Савватий Соловецкие** |
| **Zosimas of Cilicia** | **Зосима Киликийский** |

## *Notes*

1. This article is a revised version of the first chapter of Anna Grodetskaia's book, *Otvety predaniia: zhitiia sviatykh v dukhovnompoiske L 'va Tolstogo* (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2000), which was reviewed in the 2002 edition of *TSJ.* The article appears without most of the numerous footnotes included in the chapter; readers interested in these should read the original chapter. Please note the two appendices that follow the article: the first is a list of abbreviations; and the second-Russian Cyrillic equivalents of saint's names which are given in English in the text.

2. Translator's note: I will use the Russian word *by liny* throughout the article to refer to Russian heroic epic tales.

3. Translator's note: The *Chetii (Chet4) Minei*—or *Reading Menaion*—is a specific type of compilation of Saints' vitae, intended for daily reading according to the cycle of Saints' days followed in the Orthodox Church calendar. Both Metropolitans Macarius and Demetrius used the genre of *Chetii Minei.* Referenced throughout this text are two variants: *Chet'i Minei Makar 'evskie* or *Velikie Minei Chetii (the Great Reading Menaion of Macarius*) (GRM), and *Chet'i Minei Dimitriia Rostovskogo (the Reading Menaion of Demetrius of Rostov)* (MDR).

4. Translator's note: I will use the Russian word *narod* throughout the article to refer to the Russian folk.

5. This arrangement is unfinished; see ASS 17: 137-38.

6. Tolstoy uses the edition: *Dimitrii Rostovskii. Kniga ZhitiiSviatykh.* 5th ed., vols. 1-2,4-12 (Moscow, 1864). Vol. 3 [the March portion] is missing from the writer's library.

7. At the same time as Tolstoy published *Primer* in 1872, he also planned and prepared a larger selection of Slavonic texts that would make up his *Slavonic Boob for Reading-3.* comprehensive (but rather less successful) edition of the Slavonic section of *Primer.*

8. Tolstoy uses the edition: *Velikie Minei Chetii, sobrannye mitropolitom Makariem.* September, days 1-13 (St. Petersburg, 1868).

9."Slovo Sv. IoannaZlatoustogo o glagoliuschikh, iako nemoschno spastisia (zhivuschim) v miru," *Pamiatniki drevnerusskoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury,* 45-46. This tale is bookmarked in Tolstoy's copy of *Prolog* (5 марта).

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