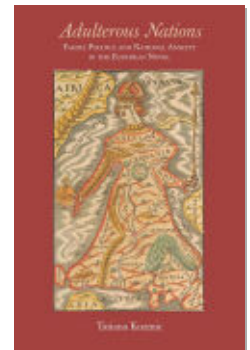




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Chapter 3



Anna Karenina

The Slavonic Question and the Dismembered Adulteress

Tolstoy's transition from *War and Peace* in the 1860s to *Anna Karenina* in the 1870s has typically been read as a transition from an emphasis on the nation to an emphasis on the family. The famous opening line of the latter novel supports this view—"Все счастливые семьи похожи друг на друга, каждая несчастливая семья несчастлива по-своему" (All happy families resemble one another, each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way) (PSS 18:3)—as does the oft-quoted statement of Tolstoy's, recorded by his wife: "Чтоб произведение было хорошо, надо любить в нем главную, основную мысль. Так, в *Анне Карениной* я люблю мысль *семейную*, в *Войне и мире* любил мысль *народную*, вследствие войны 12-го года" (For a work to be good, one must love the main, basic idea in it. So, in *Anna Karenina* I love the *family* idea, in *War and Peace* I loved the *national* idea, because of the war of [18]12).¹ Consequently, studies of *Anna Karenina* have treated the novel as a work that participates in, subverts, or fuses the English and French strands of the nineteenth-century novelistic tradition. Boris Eikhenbaum's classic study, for example, discusses *Anna Karenina* as "a combination of the English family novel and the French 'adultery' novel."² In more recent examinations, Amy Mandelker makes the claim that Tolstoy's novel subverts the paradigms of the English and French traditions, while Judith Armstrong's psychoanalytic reading, with its emphasis on Tolstoy's idealized image of his dead mother, also privileges the family as the analytical subject of the novel.³ Studies that have engaged the "national idea" in Tolstoy's fiction other than *War and Peace* tend to rely on texts that make an obvious fit with Edward Said's conception of orientalism or allow for its easy transposition into the Russian realm, such as *The Cossacks* and *Hadji Murat*.⁴

The reopening of the Eastern Crisis or the Slavonic Question, which took place during the novel's serialization (1875–77) and even affected its publication, invites a reading of *Anna Karenina* through the lens of "the national idea." The Soviet critic Eduard Grigor'evich Babaev was the first to read the family as symbolic of the nation in *Anna Karenina*'s opening line when he

noted its similarity with the French saying, “Happy nations have no history,” which is also alluded to in the second epilogue of *War and Peace*.⁵ In discussing the movement of history and the development of nations, Tolstoy claims that all theories fail “как только являются революции, завоевания, междоусобия, как только начинается история” (as soon as revolutions, conquests, civil wars occur, as soon as history begins) (PSS 12:313). The French saying regarding happy nations did make it into the first draft of *Anna Karenina*, its first chapter no less, thus creating an even stronger link with the end of *War and Peace*. Like *War and Peace*, the first draft of *Anna Karenina*—titled at the time *Molodets-baba*, which in English would best be rendered as “You Go, Girl”—opens with an evening party scene. The guests in attendance search for topics of conversation and settle on malicious gossip, eventually leading to Anna’s affair, because “счастливые народы не имеют истории” (happy people have no history) (PSS 20:16). The same conversation includes another saying relevant to the woman-nation analogy and evocative of Ernest Gellner’s comparison, quoted in the introduction, between every nation having its own state and every woman having her own husband: “Как говорят, народы имеют то правительство, которого они заслуживают, так и жены имеют именно тех мужей, которых они заслуживают” (As they say, people have that government which they deserve, so wives have exactly those husbands which they deserve) (PSS 20:16). Important to note in regard to Tolstoy’s use of the phrase is the multivalence of the Russian word *narod*, which can mean “nation,” “people,” or “peasants,” depending on the context. George Eliot, whom Tolstoy not only read, but greatly admired, was the first to apply the saying about people or nations in general to their female half when, in describing the troubles of Maggie Tullivers’s youth in *The Mill on the Floss* (1860), she observed that “the happiest women, like the happiest nations, have no history.”⁶

The present chapter draws parallels between the story of Tolstoy’s unhappy heroine and his misgivings about the course of Russia’s history. Olga Match notes that, in contrast to *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina* is a novel “in which war and its dismembering consequences loom outside the text and only at the end,” while “the battle site is the body of Anna.”⁷ I attempt to show how, through the framework of gendered nations, Anna’s dismembered body becomes symbolic of Tolstoy’s indictment of the war that occupies the end of the novel. Engaging his polemic with the Slavonic Question, I read the foregrounded “family idea” as national allegory and compare the breaking of family boundaries through the act of adultery with the breaking of national boundaries through the act of war. Both result in death. Unlike George Eliot, who wrote *Middlemarch* after the two Polish insurrections, and Theodor Fontane, who wrote *Effi Briest* after the reign of Otto von Bismarck and his anti-Polish *Kulturkampf* had passed, Tolstoy began writing his novel of adultery before the commencement of the Eastern Crisis. As the crisis progressed during the novel’s serialization, however, and came to be

addressed in its last few sections, it opened up the possibility of reading the story of adultery as a fitting backdrop for the author's political denunciation.

Another difference between *Anna Karenina* and the novels covered in the previous chapters is that the heroine's lover is not the national outsider to the degree that Will Ladislaw and Major Crampas are. A Serbian or Turkish lover would have been more suitable for my reading of the novel against the political backdrop of the Eastern Crisis; a Serbian would have made for a better comparison with *Middlemarch*, since the "Polish fever" in England resembled Russia's resolve to save the South Slavs, and a Turkish one with *Effi Briest*, if Prussia's *Kulturkampf* might be likened to Russia's Islamophobia. Russia stands out among the other two empires, however, in that it colonized itself with French and English culture, which the author's mouthpiece, Levin, identifies as "ненормально привитая России внешняя цивилизация" (an alien civilization abnormally grafted on to Russia) (PSS 19:52), while Vronsky is continually othered on that account. When Vronsky begins his "заманивание" (decoying) of Kitty "без намерения жениться" (without the intention to marry) (PSS 18:61), Kitty's father sees right through him and upbraids his wife for favoring Vronsky over Levin: "Левин в тысячу раз лучше человек. А это франтик петербургский, их на машине делают, они все на одну статью, и все дрянью" (Levin is a thousand times the better man. Whereas this one is a little Petersburg fop, they are machine-made, all to one pattern, and all rubbish) (PSS 18:60). Levin's authentic Russianness, by contrast, is illustrated by the fact that he feels "какую-то кровную любовь к мужику, всосанную им, как он сам говорил, вероятно с молоком бабы-кормилицы" (a sort of blood-love for the peasants, which he had sucked in, as he himself said, probably with the milk of his peasant nurse) (PSS 18:251–52). Concomitantly, when observing the upbringing of his friend Oblonsky's children, Levin equates "выучить по-французски" (teaching French) with "отучить от искренности" (unteaching sincerity) (PSS 18:286). After Kitty initially rejects him and Oblonsky attempts to comfort him by saying that Kitty and her mother were only charmed by the polished Vronsky's "совершенный аристократизм" (perfect aristocratism), Levin strongly protests the term:

Ты считаешь Вронского аристократом, но я нет. Человек, отец которого вылез из ничего пронырством, мать которого Бог знает с кем не была в связи . . . Нет, уж извини, но я считаю аристократом себя и людей, подобных мне, которые в прошедшем могут указать на три-четыре честные поколения семей, находившихся на высшей степени образования (дарованье и ум—это другое дело), и которые никогда ни пред кем не подличали, никогда ни в ком не нуждались, как жили мой отец, мой дед.

You consider Vronsky an aristocrat, but I don't. A man whose father crawled up from nothing by cunning, whose mother has had liaisons

with God knows whom . . . No, excuse me, but I consider myself an aristocrat and people like myself, who can point to three or four honest family generations in their past, who had a high degree of education (talent and intelligence—that's another thing), who have never lowered themselves before anyone, never depended on anyone, as my father lived, and my grandfather. (PSS 18:181–82)

The importance of the family lineage reemerges in a happier setting, after Levin and Kitty have wed, and he watches her sitting “на том самом кожаном старинном диване, который стоял всегда в кабинете у деда и отца Левина” (on that same old leather couch that had always stood in the study of Levin's grandfather and father) (PSS 19:51–52). By contrast, as Levin's previous bitter assessment indicates, Vronsky is not only inauthentically Russian but also inauthentically aristocratic. He is what we would today call *nouveau riche*, and this becomes most obvious when he sets up his new home with Anna. When Dolly, ever the faithful friend, comes to visit, “всё производило в ней впечатление изобилия и щегольства и той новой европейской роскоши, про которые она читала только в английских романах, но никогда не видала еще в России” (everything produced in her the impression of opulence and display and that new European luxury she had only read about in English novels, but had never yet seen in Russia) (PSS 19:191), and the bedroom Anna sets her up in “напомнила ей лучшие гостиницы за границей” (reminded her of the best hotels abroad) (PSS 19:190). The reference to hotels especially speaks to the inauthenticity of the home, pointing thereby also to the inauthenticity of the family residing in it. If Levin is the embodiment of a true Russian (with the long lineage and the right kind of breast milk to boot), who eventually becomes the model husband to Kitty and father to their children, then Vronsky is merely—to employ and amend Maria Todorova's theoretically productive phrase—a semi-Russian, as he is a semihusband to Anna once they move in together and a semifather to their daughter who legally bears Karenin's last name. The same doubt is cast, as we shall see below, on Russia's magnanimous feelings toward her brother Slavs living under Ottoman rule. Just as Vronsky seduces Anna into an inauthentic relationship, so the passionate Slavophiles seduce Russia into war.

The national and family ideas are intertwined in Tolstoy's oeuvre as a whole, manifested by his simultaneously growing disregard for both. Starting with *War and Peace* in the 1860s and ending with *Resurrection* in the last years of the nineteenth century, Tolstoy's heroines become increasingly more promiscuous as his view of Russia rapidly declines. *War and Peace* idealizes both Russia—in contrast to France—and the woman—in the figure of Natasha Rostova. Russia's victory over France is cast in terms of *moral* superiority,⁸

and Natasha is saved from eloping with Anatole Kuragin, becoming instead the perfect wife and mother in the first epilogue. By contrast, *Resurrection* casts a hardened prostitute in the leading female role and exposes Russia as a perpetrator of crimes against women and other minorities. Moreover, *Resurrection* was much more closely engaged in battling state policies than merely decrying them in its pages, although the vitriol against the Orthodox Church expressed in those pages proved to be the last straw that led to Tolstoy's excommunication in 1901. The novel was written long after Tolstoy had already abandoned, even renounced, the genre and for the sole purpose of financing the emigration of a Christian sect called Dukhobortsy (literally, "spirit fighters"), who were being persecuted by the state church. The Dukhobortsy rejected church ritual and ascribed to other beliefs that would have found an amenable ear in the older Tolstoy, such as pacifism, vegetarianism, and teetotalism. Since they rejected church sacraments, including the sacrament of marriage, their own marriages were deemed illegal and so, in addition to exile, their punishment involved the breaking up of their families by exiling their members to different parts of the empire. The freeing of a religious sect from a corrupt nation by means of a story about a corrupt(ed) woman thus completes the downward trajectory that began with an ideal woman and a morally superior nation. *Anna Karenina* occupies the middle ground between the two extremes as a novel that features an adulteress and criticizes Russia's military involvement on behalf of other Orthodox Slavs.

War and Peace

Natasha Rostova is the only ideal woman Tolstoy ever created in his fiction, which is why she is frequently discussed in Russian studies of gendered nations, especially her role in one of the most beloved scenes of the novel, where her "неподражаемые, неизучаемые, русские" (inimitable, unteachable, Russian) dance movements make the narrator wonder, "Где, как, когда воссала в себя из того русского воздуха, которым она дышала—эта графинечка, воспитанная эмигранткой-француженкой, этот дух, откуда взяла она эти приемы, которые *pas de châte* давно бы должны были вытеснить?" (Where, how, when had this young countess, brought up by an émigré Frenchwoman, sucked in from the Russian air she breathed that spirit, where had she gotten those manners, which the *pas de châte* should have supplanted long ago?) (*PSS* 10:267).⁹ The answer, of course, is contained in the question: Natasha's Russianness comes to her as naturally as breathing, and the setting of the novel against Napoleon's invasion also makes patriotism as natural as life itself.

The national figure and even the name of the heroine in *War and Peace* is complemented by the narrator's own voice as he frequently uses the first plural possessive—*nash*—in discussing Russia's military feats: "нашей стороне" (our side) (*PSS* 9:306); "наших улан" (our Uhlands), "наша пехота"

(our infantry), “наши пушки” (our cannons) (PSS 11:62); “нашу армию” (our army) (PSS 12:69); “наших полков” (our regiments) (PSS 12:71); and so on. Over the course of the novel, like Russia herself, Natasha comes to feel ours—*nasha Natasha*—and we feel as protective of her against the advances of Anatole Kuragin as we do of Russia against Napoleon. Both the nation and the heroine eventually experience a moral victory, and concomitant with the idea of the gendered nation, Pierre Bezukhov participates in both. He saves Natasha from eloping with Kuragin shortly before he starts making plans to assassinate Napoleon, thus hoping to save Russia.

Pierre and Natasha are the future perfect couple and the havoc that the Kuragin brother-sister pair, Anatole and H el ene, cause in their lives is representative of the havoc wreaked on Russia by the French occupation. The first chapter of the novel describes the depth of what might be called the French cultural seduction of Russia when Vasily Kuragin, H el ene and Anatole’s father, speaks “на том изысканном французском языке, на котором не только говорили, но и думали наши деды” (in that refined French language, in which our grandfathers not only spoke, but also thought) (PSS 9:4). Anatole, as mentioned above, almost succeeds in seducing Natasha, while H el ene does succeed with Pierre—in one of the more comical as well as superbly insightful passages of the novel that is worth citing—by leaning forward at the right moment and exposing him to “жив[ая] прелесть ее плеч и шей[,] . . . тепло ее тела, запах духов и скрип ее корсета при движении” (the living charm of her shoulders and neck[,] . . . the warmth of her body, the smell of perfumes, and the creak of her corset as she moved) (PSS 9:251). The naive Pierre is first captured by H el ene and later on by the French. After the war and H el ene’s death he feels doubly liberated, as he basks in happiness “когда ему вспоминалось, что жены и французов не больше” (when he remembered that the wife and the French were no more) (PSS 12:205).

The patriotism of Tolstoy the narrator of *War and Peace* was matched by Tolstoy the author in regard to the second Polish insurrection, which was occurring during the writing of the novel. Since Napoleon was a friend to the Poles, briefly establishing the Duchy of Warsaw after his defeat of Prussia in 1806, it is easy to see how the writing of *War and Peace* and the contemporaneous turmoil occurring in Poland could reinforce each other in the author’s mind.

The second Polish insurrection broke out in January 1863, and in May Tolstoy wrote to his friend, the poet Afanasy Afanas’evich Fet, about joining: “Что вы думаете о польских делах? Вед дело-то плохо, не придется ли нам с вами и [Иваном Петровичем] Борисовым снимать опят меч с заржавевшего гвоздя?” (What do you think of this Polish business? You see it is bad, will you and I and Borisov have to take down the sword again from the rusty nail?) (PSS 61:17). Both Fet and Tolstoy were veterans of the Crimean War, while Tolstoy’s additional military adventures in the Caucasus must have been on his mind at the time because of the recent reviews of

his *Cossacks*, which he discussed with Fet in the same letter. By September 1863 Tolstoy's wife Sofya Andreevna, age nineteen and nursing a newborn, expressed in her diary—on the day of their first wedding anniversary, no less—grave concern that Tolstoy might be serious about joining this war: “До сих пор я думала, что шутка: вижу, что почти правда. На войну. . . . Нынче женился, понравилось, родил детей, завтра захотелось на войну, бросил” (Up till now I thought it was a joke: now I see it is almost true. To war. . . . Today he got married, liked it, had a child, tomorrow he felt like going to war, left).¹⁰ This rift between husband and wife is replicated in the first part of *War and Peace*, when the newly married Andrei Bolkonsky, despite the pleadings of his pregnant wife, Lise, leaves for war. Regarding the author's real life, it is interesting to consider that had Tolstoy carried through with his intentions and had George Eliot's stepson Thornie gone to Poland instead of South Africa, the two would have been fighting on opposite sides and Tolstoy would have potentially faced one of his favorite author's stepsons as an enemy.

Sofya Andreevna's diary entry is filled with painful ruminations, but it also contains a moment of remarkable insight, one Tolstoy himself would come to embrace a decade later: “Не верю я в эту любовь к отечеству, в этот энтузиазме в 35 лет. Разве дети не то же отечество, не те же русские?” (I don't believe in this love for the fatherland, in that enthusiasm at age 35. Are the children not that very same fatherland, not those very same Russians?).¹¹ Her double use of the term “fatherland” resonates with the literary masterpiece Tolstoy was crafting at the time, since *War and Peace* is, appropriately for its topic, sprinkled with the term, fifty-one instances of it, to be exact. One of those instances occurs in the thoughts of the old Countess Rostova as she despairs over her youngest son Petya's decision to join the war. While pondering the futility of attempting to change his mind, the countess feels as unmoved by the call of the “fatherland” as Sofya Andreevna did in her diary entry: “он скажет что-нибудь о мужчинах, о чести, об отечестве,—что-нибудь такое бессмысленное, мужское, упрямое, против чего нельзя возражать” (he will say something about men, honor, the fatherland—something senseless, masculine, obstinate, to which it was impossible to object) (*PSS* 11: 307).¹²

Fourteen years later, when Fet and Tolstoy exchanged letters on the Slavonic Question, their tone had more in common with that of Countess Rostova, Lise Bolkonskaya, and Tolstoy's despairing young wife than with the two authors' previous patriotic enthusiasm. Tolstoy was looking for rest “от всей этой сербской бессмыслицы” (from all that Serbian nonsense) (*PSS* 62:287), and both he and Fet expressed concern for the latter's forty-two-year old brother who had been fighting in the Balkans and was wounded. Sofya's insistence in her diary entry that her children are the Russians who need their father's most immediate attention is echoed fourteen years later in Levin's unapologetic prioritizing of his wife and newborn son over any

concern for his South Slavic brothers. The epilogue of *Anna Karenina*, as shown below, depicts precisely the opposite family climate of the one that inhabited the Tolstoy's home in 1863, the knowledge of which makes for a wishful reading of Levin's attentiveness to his new family as the author's belated apology to his wife.

Donna Orwin's distinction between *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* on matters of life, morality, and the natural can easily be applied to the difference between the two novels in their treatment of national allegiances. *War and Peace*, Orwin observes, presents life as an answer, whereas in *Anna Karenina* it is a question to be grappled with, as the suicidal Levin finds out even after he has attained what he thought would bring him life's highest happiness—a family. When it comes to family life, according to Orwin, it is in accord with the natural in *War and Peace*, whereas the purpose of the family in *Anna Karenina*—unsuccessfully so in the case of the eponymous heroine—is to legitimize the natural.¹³ Similarly, the case can be made that the idea of the nation and national belonging is natural in *War and Peace*, whereas, like the family, the figure of the woman, and life itself, Russia is problematized in *Anna Karenina*. Not only is the heroine—and by extension, the nation—more promiscuous, but the hero, Levin, does not feel at one with the nation (*narod*) in the epilogue and receives no consolation for his pressing existential questions from Slavophile writings. In *Resurrection*, to complete the trajectory, both hero and heroine find peace in exile—and, it is imperative to note in connection to the declining family idea, *not* as a couple—while the purpose of the novel itself was to help a group of people flee Russia.

“Love Is a Battlefield”

National and family ideas interact most creatively in the first two of Tolstoy's three great novels by borrowing each other's terminology: men embrace patriotism with the passion of romantic love, while women apply military tactics for arranging love. On the night she orchestrates the match between Pierre and Hélène, Anna Pavlovna Scherer finds herself “в раздраженном состоянии полководца на поле битвы” (in an excited state of a commander on the battlefield) (*PSS* 9:250) and in anticipation of Anatole Kuragin's possible proposal to her sister-in-law, Lise Bolkonskaya “как старая полковая лошадь, услышав звук трубы . . . готовилась к привычному галопу кокетства” (like an old warhorse, having heard the sound of trumpets . . . prepared for her habitual gallop of coquetry) (*PSS* 9:277). The war similes do not remain confined to the war novel, however, but continue into the family novel, where Kitty feels like a “юноша пред битвою” (young man before battle) (*PSS* 18:51) on the night when she expects a proposal from Vronsky and refuses Levin.

Levin's feelings for Kitty are not much different from Nikolai Rostov's rapturous patriotism in *War and Peace*. During a surprise visit by the tsar to the troops, Nikolai "был счастлив, как любовник, дождавшийся ожидаемого свидания" (was as happy as a lover when the moment of the anticipated rendezvous arrives) (PSS 9:311). Later, on catching a glimpse of the tsar after the debilitating battle of Austerlitz, he experiences more of the same:

как влюбленный юноша дрожит и млеет, не смея сказать того, о чем он мечтает ночи, и испуганно оглядывается, ища помощи или возможности отсрочки и бегства, когда наступила желанная минута, и он стоит наедине с ней, так и Ростов теперь, достигнув того, чего он желал больше всего на свете, не знал, как подступить к государю.

As a young man in love trembles and thrills, not daring to utter what he dreams of at night, and looks about fearfully, seeking help or the possibility of delay and flight, when the desired moment arrives, and he stands alone with her, so now Rostov, having attained what he desired more than anything in the world, did not know how to approach the sovereign. (PSS 9:352)

Levin's experience upon meeting Kitty at the skating lake when he has come back to Moscow to propose to her is almost identical:

Всё освещалось ею. Она была улыбка, озарявшая всё вокруг. "Неужели я могу сойти туда на лед, подойти к ней?" подумал он. Место где она была, показалось ему недоступною святыней, и была минута, что он чуть не ушел. . . . Он сошел вниз, избегая подолгу смотреть на нее, как на солнце, но он видел ее, как солнце, и не глядя.

Everything was lit up by her. She was the smile that brightened everything around. "Can I really go down there on the ice, walk up to her?" he thought. The place where she was appeared to him unapproachably holy, and there was a moment when he almost left. . . . He went down, avoiding looking long at her, as at the sun, but he saw her, like the sun, even without looking. (PSS 18:31–32)

Not only are Levin's doubts about approaching Kitty analogous to Nikolai's vacillations about being in the tsar's presence, but his viewing of her as the sun is an act of reverence expressly reserved for emperors and one that Nikolai experiences when he first meets the tsar:

Не смея оглядываться во фронте и не оглядиваясь, он чувствовал восторженным чутьем его приближение. И он чувствовал это не по одному звуку копыт лошадей приближавшейся кавалькады, но он чувствовал это потому, что, по мере приближения, всё светлее, радостнее и значительнее и праздничнее делалось вокруг него. Всё ближе и ближе подвигалось это солнце для Ростова, распространяя вокруг себя лучи кроткого и величественного света.

Not daring to turn to look while in line and not looking, he felt with rapturous senses his approach. And he felt it not only from the sound of horses' hoofbeats of the approaching cavalcade, but he felt it because as it approached everything around him became brighter, more joyful and significant and festive. Nearer and nearer moved this sun for Rostov, spreading around itself rays of mild and majestic light. (PSS 9:311)

In the first chapter of a much later work, *Father Sergei* (1898), Tolstoy satirizes this intense love for the tsar when the hero, who “еще со времен корпуса страстно, именно страстно, любил Николая Павловича” (still from his time as a cadet passionately, just passionately loved Nicholas I) and “испытывал восторг влюбленного, такой же, какой он испытывал после, когда встречал предмет любви” (experienced the same rapture of a person in love that he experienced later, when he met the object of [his] love) (PSS 31:6), finds out that his fiancée had been the tsar's mistress. Returning to *Anna Karenina*, which occupies the midpoint between the idealization of the emperor in *War and Peace* and his disgrace in Tolstoy's later fiction, Levin's experience of Kitty as the sun is also commensurate with the fact that his family constitutes the world for him. When he returns to his estate right after his dreams of raising his own family in it with Kitty have been crushed, he is described as occupying and heating the entire large house, against his own frugal principles, because “дом этот был целый мир для Левина” (that home was the entire world for Levin) (PSS 18:101). His devotion to home and hearth leads him to realize, as we shall see further on, that attempting to do anything for all of Russia is pointless.

Anna Karenina and Pan-Slavism

It is somewhat strange and worth exploring how one of the world's most popular novels of adultery underwent censorship not for its sexual content but for the political sentiments expressed in its epilogue. Twenty years after the famous lawsuit against Gustave Flaubert for the “indecent” of *Madame Bovary*, the epilogue to *Anna Karenina* did not appear, as planned,

in the May 1877 issue of *Russkii vestnik* (the Russian Herald). While the editor, Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov, had objected to the “яркий реализм” (vivid realism) of the consummation of Anna and Vronsky’s affair a couple of years earlier, he desisted when Tolstoy maintained that he could not change anything about that scene.¹⁴ Levin’s lack of patriotism, however, proved non-negotiable, in spite of the fact that Tolstoy rewrote the epilogue twice. His revisions involved relegating many of the narrator’s criticisms to the voices of the characters, which is reminiscent of Fontane’s method of remaining politically ambiguous. Unconvinced by these changes, Katkov simply summarized the end of the novel for the readers of the *Russian Herald* himself:

В предыдущей книжке под романом *Анна Каренина* выставлено: “окончание следует”. Но со смертью героини собственно роман кончился. По плану автора, следовало бы еще небольшой эпилог, листа в два, из коего читатели могли бы узнать что Вронской, в смущении и горе после смерти Анны, отправляется добровольцем в Сербию и что все прочие живы и здоровы, а Левин остается в своей деревне и сердится на славянские комитеты и на добровольцев. Автор быть-может разовьет эти главы к особому изданию своего романа.

In the last issue under the novel *Anna Karenina* it was posted: “conclusion to follow.” But for all intents and purposes the novel ends with the death of the heroine. According to the author’s plans, a small epilogue was to follow, a printer’s sheet or two, from which the readers could find out that Vronsky, in confusion and grief after Anna’s death, leaves for Serbia as a volunteer and that all others are alive and well, but Levin remains in his village and is angry at the Slavonic committees and the volunteers. The author may develop those chapters in a special edition of his novel.¹⁵

The actual epilogue would have made a poor fit with the rest of the May 1877 issue, since its table of contents reads almost like a history of Russia’s wars with Turkey on behalf of other Orthodox Christians, with titles such as “Россия и Европа на Востоке пред Андрианопольским миром” (Russia and Europe in the East before the Treaty of Andrianople), “Восточная война” (The Eastern War), and the contemporaneous “Воспоминания добровольца” (Memories of a Volunteer).

The plight of Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule had been of concern to Russia since the Crimean (Eastern) War and the first Slavic Benevolent Committee—the object of much ridicule in *Anna Karenina*—was founded in Moscow in 1858.¹⁶ However, it was not until almost two decades later that the Eastern Crisis, reopened as a result of the Balkan uprisings,

became the all-consuming public issue that the epilogue describes. In early July 1875 a scant summer harvest that threatened starvation, combined with the general consciousness of the increasingly obvious decline of the Ottoman Empire, triggered the first of a wave of uprisings in Herzegovina. It might be worth considering this largely peasant rebellion that was more agrarian than nationalistic in its origins in ironic juxtaposition to the beautiful mowing scenes described in chapters 4 and 5 of part 3 of *Anna Karenina*. A span of only three months separates the two events, and the famous scenes in which Levin works harmoniously with his peasants, loses all sense of time, and experiences oneness with the universe—or, in Jane Costlow's ingenious formulation, "the zen of scything"¹⁷—were included in the last installment of the novel published before the uprisings began. Tolstoy himself took a break following that installment of April 1875 to tend to the harvesting of his own fields and repeated the writing interruption for the same reason the following year. Herzegovina was soon followed by Bosnia and Bulgaria, while Serbia and Montenegro, confident of Russian support, declared war on Turkey in early July 1876. Writing about the relationship of the latter two Balkan states to Russia over half a century later in her famous travelogue on Yugoslavia, Rebecca West recalls the following anecdote: "It is said that a traveller said to a Montenegrin, 'How many of your people are there?' and he answered, 'With Russia, one hundred and eighty millions.'"¹⁸ The political crisis generated by the uprisings garnered the kind of public involvement in Russia that was compared to 1812,¹⁹ with the added dimension of being fueled in an unprecedented manner by the press, which is also criticized in the epilogue for drowning out all other voices (*PSS* 19:390).

Pan-Slavism, which was up until that time a philosophical idea debated by a handful of intellectuals, turned into a massive grassroots movement that aided the Balkan states without any official government involvement or permission. As the epilogue itself partially describes, church services incorporated prayers for the Balkan rebels and collected monetary donations, while the volunteer movement of several thousand soldiers under the leadership of General Mikhail Grigor'evich Cherniaev, as well as groups of doctors and nurses, reinforced the Serbian troops. Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov, who presided over the Slavic Committee during the Balkan uprisings and, consequently, the committee's greatest political relevance (from 1875 to 1878), lamented in the late 1850s that "the Slavic question does not extend to the core of the people, it is alien to them."²⁰ The Balkan uprisings changed all that, providing a political platform for such Pan-Slavists—henceforth referred to as Slavophiles—as Aksakov, Katkov, the poet Fedor Ivanovich Tiutchev, and Tolstoy's equivalent as the other giant of Russian literature, Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky. Tolstoy took his usual place as contrarian, accusing the press of sensationalism and the cause itself of providing yet another diversion for the idle wealthy classes. On April 24, 1877, caving under the immense public pressure and reneging on his policy of *recueille-*

ment, Tsar Aleksandr II officially declared war on Turkey. The plan for the contested epilogue's publication less than a month later thus proved to be of particularly bad timing.

It is an interesting coincidence that in the same month that Katkov rejected Tolstoy's epilogue for its lack of patriotic feeling for the South Slavs, the prime minister of England, William Gladstone, published an essay titled "Montenegro: A Sketch" in the May 1877 issue of the prominent London journal *The Nineteenth Century*. Gladstone's famous rivalry with Benjamin Disraeli manifested itself in the issue of the Balkans with particular intensity. While Disraeli mistrusted Russian involvement and supported Turkey as a necessary balancer of power and protector of British routes to India, Gladstone supported the independence of the Balkan states from Turkey but shared Disraeli's mistrust of Russia. This mistrust is perhaps best encapsulated by an illustration that appeared in England's satirical *Punch* magazine on June 17, 1876, just two weeks before Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey. It depicts a Russian man sending the Balkan dogs of war after a Turkish man, while the Englishman—all three nationalities identifiable by their stereotypical headgear: a fur hat, a fez, and a Bobby cap—peers fearfully at the Russian and his dogs from over the fence. The dogs all have the names of the Balkan states rebelling against Turkey printed on their collars; from left to right: Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia.

Gladstone's essay acquainted the English public with previously unheard-of lands, described the role of the Balkan nations as buffers between Islam and Christianity, and proclaimed that "no Russian, no Austrian eagle will build its nest in the Black Mountain."²¹ The essay was prefaced by Alfred Tennyson's sonnet, also named "Montenegro" and written especially for the occasion. The message of both the poem and the article could be summarized as "the little nation that could": while Tennyson praises "the smallest of nations" for "beating back the swarm of Turkish Islam for five hundred years,"²² Gladstone offers story after story of brave Montenegrin warriors withstanding the far more numerous Turks. "The little nation that could" was, in the end, romanticized by both England and Russia but for slightly different reasons. As the following chapter shows, Croats living under Austrian rule had their own reasons for doing the same.

Russian involvement in the Balkans was romanticized especially by Dostoevsky, who discussed the Slavonic Question at length in his self-published *Dnevnik pisatel'ia* (Writer's Diary) and commented extensively on *Anna Karenina*. He defended Russia's involvement in the face of Western mistrust as "почти беспрецедентное в других народах по своему самоотвержению и бескорыстию, по благоговейной религиозной жажде *пострадать за правое дело*" (almost unprecedented among other nations in its self-sacrifice and disinterestedness, in its pious religious thirst *to suffer for the right deed*).²³ Russia's role in the Balkans was, for Dostoevsky, part of her mission in "единении всего славянства, так сказать, под крылом России" (uniting all



THE DOGS OF WAR.

“The Dogs of War,” *Punch*, July 17, 1876

of Slavdom, so to speak, under Russia's wing) (PSS 23:47), and her responsibility toward her fellow Slavs was that of "покровительница их и даже, может быть, предводительница, но не владычица; мать их, а не госпожа" (their protector and even, perhaps, leader, but not ruler; their mother, and not mistress) (PSS 23:49). Dostoevsky's general admiration for Tolstoy, his praise for the forgiveness scene between Anna, Karenin, and Vronsky after Anna's nearly fatal childbirth experience (PSS 25:51–53), and his assessment of Levin as a "чистый сердцем" (pure-hearted) type of Russian nobleman "которым принадлежит будущность России" (to whom the future of Russia belongs) (PSS 25:57) made his disappointment in the epilogue all the greater. In a July–August 1877 entry, titled "Опять обособление. Восьмая часть *Анни Карениной*" (Isolation Again. Part Eight of *Anna Karenina*), he recaps the events surrounding the epilogue's fate with the *Russian Herald* and bemoans Levin's isolation from the people, who overwhelmingly support the volunteers.

The difference of opinion on the Slavonic Question between the two giants of Russian literature, both of whom are typically considered Slavophiles and placed in juxtaposition to the third great Russian realist and Westernizer, Ivan Turgenev, calls for a reevaluation of the political terms. Tolstoy, a vehement anti-Westernizer who once, in a letter to Turgenev, compared Paris to Sodom and begged him to get out of there,²⁴ could nevertheless not properly be labeled a Slavophile either, at least not in the context of the Eastern Crisis. He was no more convinced of the authenticity of the Slavophiles' grand desire to liberate their Orthodox brothers in the Balkans than he was of the Western ideals. The less inclusive designation "Russophile" might be more appropriate for the period when he was composing *Anna Karenina*—though certainly not for his later period—especially given the pronouncement of Levin's father-in-law in the censored epilogue that he and Levin belong to those "люди, интересующиеся только Россией, а не братьями славянами" (people, interested only in Russia and not in brother-Slavs) (PSS 19:388).

"Serbia—Vronsky's Last Love"

Anna's story, as Katkov observes in his terse summary, ends in the last part of the novel that he published in his journal, but the specter of Anna does make an appearance in the epilogue: the image of her corpse haunts her grieving lover as he boards the train for Serbia. As a volunteer, Vronsky follows a whole host of unfortunate characters whose disappointing circumstances at home inspired them to join the war abroad. The first chapter of the epilogue describes the academic failure of Levin's half brother Sergei Ivanovich Koznyshev, whose six-year book project on government in Russia and Europe merited two negative book reviews and, aside from those,

overall silence. “На его счастье” (Fortunately for him), as the narrator puts it, the Slavonic Question had just come into vogue and “он посвятил всего себя на служение этому великому делу и забыл думать о своей книге” (he devoted himself completely to the service of that great work and forgot to think about his book) (*PSS* 19:352, 353). Koznyshev does not fail to notice, however, that

при этом общем подъеме общества выскочили вперед и кричали громче других все неудавшиеся и обиженные: главнокомандующие без армий, министры без министерств, журналисты без журналов, начальники партий без партизанов.

in this general upsurge of society the ones who leaped to the forefront and shouted louder than the rest were all the failures and the aggrieved: commanders in chief without armies, ministers without ministries, journalists without journals, party chiefs without partisans. (*PSS* 19:352–53)

Koznyshev himself fits the list as a scholar without book accolades, and so might Vronsky as a lover without a mistress.

In chapter 3 Koznyshev’s companion Katavasov enters a second-class carriage in order to meet the volunteers and encounters a boasting drunkard, a retired officer who had been juggling various professions his entire life, and a cadet who had failed his artillery examination. Katavasov attempts to engage another, more respectable passenger in a conversation about this pitiful scene, but his interlocutor, in what seems like Tolstoy’s jab at the editor and other Slavophiles, restrains himself, “по опыту зная, что при теперешнем настроении общества опасно высказать мнение, противное общему, и в особенности осуждать добровольцев” (knowing by experience that in the present mood of society it was dangerous to express an opinion contrary to the general one, and especially to condemn the volunteers) (*PSS* 19:358). In chapter 4 Koznyshev runs into Vronsky’s mother at the train station and finds out that Vronsky was persuaded to join the cause by his friend Yashvin, who had lost everything at cards. Regarding Vronsky, his mother proclaims, “Это Бог нам помог—эта Сербская война. Я старый человек, ничего в этом не понимаю, но ему Бог это послал” (This is God helping us—this Serbian war. I am an old person, I don’t understand anything about it, but God has sent this to him) (*PSS* 19:360). Her statement not only puts Vronsky in the same category with the other, utterly unheroic, down-and-out volunteers, but her “theology” is an even harsher affront to the Slavophiles, who preferred to see Russia as God’s help to Serbia instead of Serbia as a destination for Russians who could not make themselves useful at home. Tolstoy’s portrayal of the volunteers is verified by other writings, such as Gleb Ivanovich Uspensky’s “Letters from Serbia,” which describe the volunteers as motivat-

ed by the prospects of material gain that was unavailable to them in Russia and as largely ignorant of Pan-Slavic ideology.²⁵

The first four chapters of the epilogue lead up to the description of Vronsky himself, in chapter 5, where the Pan-Slavic movement is most closely linked to adultery, since Vronsky joins the volunteers as a direct response to losing his mistress. He is too wealthy to go in pursuit of material gain and too sophisticated to be ignorant of Pan-Slavic ideology. But he makes it clear that he does not care for the latter when, in response to Koznyshév's offer to write him a letter of introduction to a couple of Montenegrin political figures, he wryly replies, "Нет, благодарю вас; для того чтоб умереть, не нужно рекомендаций. Нешто Туркам" (No, thank you; one needs no recommendations in order to die. Unless it is to the Turks) (*PSS* 19:361). Within the broader tradition of gendering nations as female, the adulterous heroine of a novel that ends with a strong political critique invites the analogy even without discussing the fate of her grieving lover. But Vronsky's trip to Serbia—his last love, as cleverly noted in an essay title by a twentieth-century Serbian author²⁶—allows for the analogy to be made from within the novel itself.

The space of the train station naturally reminds Vronsky of the site of Anna's suicide:

При взгляде на тендер и на рельсы . . . ему вдруг вспомнилась *она*, то есть то, что оставалось еще от нее, когда он, как сумасшедший, вбежал в казарму железнодорожной станции: на столе казармы бесстыдно растянутое посреди чужих окровавленное тело, еще полное недавней жизни.

As he looked at the tender and the rails . . . he suddenly remembered *her*, that is, what was still left of her when, like a madman, he ran into the railway shed: on the table in the shed, shamelessly stretched out before strangers, lay the blood-stained body still filled with recent life. (*PSS* 19:362; emphasis Tolstoy's)

Attention to grammar in the Russian original reveals Anna as the subject—as opposed to the object—of Vronsky's memory, and an emphasized subject at that, with the italicized *она*. It might, therefore, be more accurate in English to say that "*she* suddenly appeared to him" instead of "he suddenly remembered *her*." Such a rendition would also emphasize the spectral aspect of Anna that I referred to above, though it misses the Russian use of memory. Vronsky's subsequent failed attempt "вспомнить ее такую, какою она была тогда, когда он в первый раз встретил ее тоже на станции" (to remember her as she was when he met her for the first time, also at a station) (*PSS* 19:362) can be read as his failed attempt to reverse those roles and become the subject, as mirrored in the grammar reversal. Anna remains the agent

and haunts the epilogue in her last, most grotesque, and, to Vronsky, most unsettling, incarnation.

The unnecessary, though typically Tolstoyan reminder, that it was “also at a station” that the two lovers first met creates another link between the extramarital affair and Russia’s war with Turkey. Never a fan of the railroad, when advising Turgenev to leave Paris, Tolstoy adds in his letter, “но только не по железной дороге” (but only not by railroad), and goes on to make a comparison that would reverberate in his novel about illicit sex twenty years later: “Железная дорога к путешествию, что бардель к любви” (The railroad is to travel what the brothel is to love) (PSS 60:170). Prior to the epilogue the train is associated almost exclusively with the adultery plot; in fact, it frames the adultery plot as its inception and its end. Other characters travel by train as well, and children play with toy trains or hope to get them for their birthday, as Anna’s son does, but in no case is the train and its station actually dwelled on as it is in the three scenes associated with the affair: the one that occasions Vronsky’s and Anna’s first meeting as she arrives in Moscow in the same compartment with his mother, the one where Vronsky follows Anna back to Petersburg and openly confesses his intentions, and the one that leads Anna to suicide. The train, then, has two main roles in the novel: breaking family boundaries by facilitating adultery and breaking national boundaries by transporting men to war.

Madonna / Whore

Vronsky’s vision of Anna’s shameful, bloodstained, dismembered (“what still was left of her”) body stands in gruesome contrast to the saintly, virginal, self-sacrificing female image of Russia that underpins the rhetoric of the Slavophiles and is briefly referenced in the epilogue in a speech delivered to the volunteers: “На великое дело благословляет вас матушка Москва” (For the great deed mother Moscow blesses you) (PSS 19:354). The Pan-Slavic movement relied, as did many a national movement steeped in the Judeo-Christian tradition, on a rhetoric of Russia’s destiny to be the savior of the world, or at least of its Orthodox brothers in the East for the time being. More specifically, the Russian image of that savior had always been cast in the mold of the Virgin Mary, whose icons preceded armies into battle and were considered to be endowed with miraculous powers. One of the more famous examples is the Pochaev Icon of the Virgin, who in 1675 turned the Tatar arrows back upon the enemy and thus saved the monastery. The most often cited statement regarding the paramount role of the Virgin Mary in Russian culture is Nikolai Berdiaev’s from *The Russian Idea*: “The fundamental category is motherhood. The Mother of God takes precedence over the Trinity and is almost identified with it. The people have felt the nearness of the interceding Mother of God more vividly than that of Christ.”²⁷ The presence of grammatical gender in the

Russian language, which marks the nation and all of its attributes as feminine, only reinforces the parallel. Dostoevsky's previously listed catalog of feminine nouns by which he defined Russia's relationship to the South Slavs gets lost in the English translation because of its lack of feminine endings: *pokrovitel'nitsa* . . . *predvoditel'nitsa*, *no ne vladychnitsa*; *mat' ikh*, *a ne gospozha*. As the protector(ess) of South Slavs, their (female) leader/not ruler, and their mother/not mistress, these images recall the role in Orthodoxy commonly assigned to the Mother of God and thus depict the nation in a way that is contradicted by Tolstoy's dismembered adulteress.

Even as a corpse, Anna's "закинутая назад уцелевшая голова" (thrown back intact head) with the "полуоткрытым румяным ртом" (half-open red mouth) (PSS 19:362) suggests a sexual pose, while the reference to her body being "shamelessly stretched out before strangers" recalls the shame incurred by the affair. Most significantly, her dismembered body presents the realization of the disturbing simile used in the description of her first physical union with Vronsky. In arguably one of the weirdest love scenes in nineteenth-century literature, and the one objected to by the editor for its "vivid realism," the consummation of the affair is also portrayed as dismemberment:

Он же чувствовал то, что должен чувствовать убийца, когда видит тело, лишенное им жизни. . . . Но, не смотря на весь ужас убийцы пред телом убитого, надо резать на куски, прятать это тело, надо пользоваться тем, что убийца приобрел убийством. И с озлоблением, как будто со страстью, бросается убийца на это тело, и тащит, и режет его; так и он покрывал поцелуями ее лицо и плечи.

He felt what a murderer must feel when he looks at the body he has deprived of life. . . . But, despite all the murderer's horror before the murdered body, this body must be cut into pieces and hidden away, and he must make use of what he has gained by the murder. And with animosity, as if with passion, as the murderer throws himself upon that body, and drags, and cuts it; so he covered her face and shoulders with kisses. (PSS 18:157–58)

As Olga Matich puts it, "Tolstoy completed the dismemberment of Anna in her suicide."²⁸ My own argument is that if the above passage likens adulterous sex to bodily dismemberment, if it foreshadows death as the consequence of marital infidelity, then the epilogue's allusion to that first love scene by the grieving lover-turned-volunteer suggests a link between foreign involvement and national dismemberment.

The link gains further relevance when considering the change that took place in that last scene at the train station between the drafts of the epilogue

and its final version. In an earlier draft, Levin is the one described as viewing Anna's corpse (*PSS* 20:562). Such a turn of events, no doubt, would have strengthened those readings of the novel that privilege the author, through the autobiographical Levin, as the one wreaking the vengeance prophesied in the much puzzled over epigraph, especially since Tolstoy himself went to view the body of his neighbor's dead mistress who inspired the novel. Further, another meeting of the two protagonists in the epilogue, though posthumous for one of them, might have satisfied those critics who saw the novel as divided into the Anna story and the Levin story. Vronsky's viewing of the corpse, on the other hand, reinforces the image of Anna as *his* victim and thus confirms the hints made about his role as murderer in the consummation of the affair in chapter 11 and in his accident while riding Frou-Frou at the races in chapter 25 of part 2. Such a confirmation of an earlier simile and metaphor in the epilogue that criticizes Russia's foreign policy reinforces the parallels between an adulterous woman and an adulterous nation, as it points to Vronsky's role in being the agent of harm to both.

As is well known, Tolstoy's idea for the manner of Anna's suicide came from the act committed by his neighbor Bibikov's mistress about a year before he commenced the writing of the novel.²⁹ The real-life story provided the author with material for the Oblonsky as well as the Karenin marriage troubles. Anna Stepanovna Pirogova threw herself under the train on January 4, 1872, after learning that the widowed Bibikov had fallen in love with his children's German governess, the difference in the opening of the novel being that the Oblonsky governess was French and Stiva had no intention of leaving his wife for her. The fictional Anna's suicide is the result of her increasing jealousy over Vronsky's freedom and the fear of his mother's attempts to marry him off to the young Princess Sorokina. Anna Pirogova's suicide does not account, however, for the precise manner in which Tolstoy chose to foreshadow Anna's death in describing the consummation of her affair with Vronsky. That scene recalls passages from the so-called pornographic sections of the Bible, in which Israel's prophets identify the nation as an adulterous woman and prophesy her destruction at the hands of her lovers. Tolstoy's depiction, as we shall see next, turns out to have more in common with the ancient texts of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea than it does with the writings on adultery by his more immediate European predecessors, such as Goethe or Flaubert. If Matich suggests that "Tolstoy's evocation of sexual violence in *Anna Karenina*" is "perhaps based on his own punitive sexual fantasy displaced by Old Testament vengeance,"³⁰ then I employ the Old Testament theme to explore the link between the adulterous woman and the adulterous nation.

Recalling once more, from the introduction, Tony Tanner's invitation to examine the "relationships between a specific kind of sexual act, a specific kind of society, and a specific kind of narrative," we find in several passages from the Old Testament an attempt to regulate societal conduct through

allegories of sexually promiscuous women whose behavior is punished by their violent death. As Renita J. Weems articulates in the introduction to her book *Battered Love: Marriage, Sex, and Violence in the Hebrew Prophets*, “The prophets’ success or failure as orators depended in the end on their ability to convince their audiences that viable connections could be drawn between the norms governing the sexual behavior of women and God’s demands on Israel.”³¹ The typical narrative of Israel’s adultery begins with God’s delivery of his people into the promised land, followed by the subsequent generations’ forgetting of this deed, and, as phrased in Judges 2:17, their “lust[ing] after other gods and bow[ing] down to them.”³² The prophetic books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea contain chapters that make the litigation-worthy passages from *Madame Bovary* or the “vivid realism” that Katkov objected to in *Anna Karenina* seem tame by comparison. They depict Israel’s adultery in pornographic terms, which at times include images of both male and female genitalia, as well as descriptions and condemnations of the woman’s enjoyment of the adulterous sex acts. To use the most striking and positively shocking of these instances as an example, verses from Ezekiel 23:19–20 read thus: “Yet she increased her whorings, remembering the days of her youth, when she played the whore in the land of Egypt and lusted after her paramours there, whose members were like those of donkeys, and whose emission was like that of stallions. Thus you longed for the lewdness of your youth, when the Egyptians fondled your bosom and caressed your young breasts.”³³ Such lewd expression is, needless to say, beyond anything that even the incisive “seer of the flesh” would have ever committed to paper, though the last verse, whose indictment is by far the more common one among the prophets, does bring to mind Tolstoy’s frequent condemnations of women’s décolletage.³⁴ The porno-prophetic echoes we find in *Anna Karenina*, as shown below, are in the violent punishment that ensues. The first piece of scholarship to address such biblical passages as pornographic was T. Drorah Setel’s 1985 article, “Prophets and Pornography: Female Sexual Imagery in Hosea.” Setel painstakingly demonstrates, relying on the writings of Andrea Dworkin and others, that pornography is, indeed, a justifiable label for certain sections of prophetic writings. Subsequent feminist theorists, most notably Athalya Brenner and Fokkelen van Dijk-Hemmes in the 1990s, have used and popularized the term “porno-prophetics” in reference to those writings.³⁵ The porno-prophetic gendering of the nation, the use of adultery as a metaphor for national betrayal, and the foretelling of death as ensuing punishment provide a fruitful cultural context for analyzing *Anna Karenina* against the political backdrop of the Eastern Crisis.

The porno-prophetic motif of God’s punishment of the adulterous woman/nation is perhaps best encapsulated in one particular verse from Isaiah: “Your nakedness shall be uncovered, and your shame shall be seen. I will take vengeance, and I will spare no-one.”³⁶ Nakedness, shame, and ven-

geance at the hands of her own lover(s) is prophesied to both Babylon and Israel by Isaiah and to Jerusalem by Ezekiel. In chapters 16 and 23 of the latter, the adulteress is to be handed over to her lovers, who will strip her naked and hack her to pieces. The foretelling of disaster or the subsequent explanation of it based on a people's disobedience to a higher power has been termed a *jeremiad*, an obvious combination of the title *Iliad* with the name of one of the Hebrew prophets who engages in that kind of rhetoric. I wish to propose an additional use of the term as a passive participle, in the sense that what happens to a disobedient woman/nation is that she gets *jeremiad*. This is precisely what happens to Anna, metaphorically, at the hands of Vronsky, as maintained by many interpretations of the novel, including the popular association of the fate of Vronky's horse, Frou-Frou, with Anna's.³⁷ Nakedness, shame, and vengeance are also the images that inform the bizarre postcoital scene in part 2, chapter 11. Following the author's famous ellipsis and his almost clinical assessment in the opening line of the chapter that "это желание было удовлетворено" (that desire had been satisfied) (PSS 18:157), he depicts Anna lowering her "когда-то гордую веселую, теперь же постыдную голову" (once proud, happy, but now shame-stricken head) (PSS 18:157) and feeling oppressed by "стыд пред духовную наготю своей" (shame at her spiritual nakedness) (PSS 18:158). The passage is as replete with the word *shame* when describing Anna as it is with *murder* when describing Vronsky, the agent of Anna's porno-prophetic demise. Shame subsequently recurs in the epilogue through Vronsky's memory of Anna's corpse "shamelessly stretched out before strangers" as he prepares to commit murder in the Balkans. To describe Vronsky's final action in this way is not an exaggeration of the text, since Levin—the author's mouthpiece—expresses the same sentiment in the discussion of the Slavonic Question that takes place in the epilogue. While Koznyshev and Katavasov attempt to engender sympathy in him for "православных людях, страдающих под игом 'нечестивых Агарян'" (Orthodox Christians suffering under the yoke of the "infidel Hagarenes") (PSS 19:388), Levin protests the idea of "убивать Турок" (killing Turks) (PSS 19:391). In *War and Peace* Tolstoy also describes war as murder, as well as a long list of other crimes, in the opening of volume 3 (PSS 11:3), which is—significantly, I would argue—the midpoint, that is, the very center, of the four-volume book. According to Tolstoy's worldview, then, both adultery and war—the former demonstrated in the fates of both Héléne Bezukhova and Anna Karenina, the latter in *War and Peace* and in Levin's assessment of Russia's "rescue" of the Ottoman Slavs—are equivalent to murder.

Rhetoric of the porno-prophetic type can be detected in the writings of the Slavophiles as well, and these provide a fruitful interpretive context for *Anna Karenina*. While using the image of the Madonna when proclaiming Russia's virtues, they take up the tone of Old Testament prophets when denouncing her failings. One might even consider a view of nineteenth-century

Slavophiles as playing the role of modern-day Hebrew prophets in Russian culture, given that their appeal to their fellow citizens to resist Western influences and hold fast to their own unique traditions is analogous with the prophets' call on ancient Israelites to resist the religions of their influential neighbors. A first-generation Slavophile, one whom Levin recalls reading in the epilogue, was Aleksei Stepanovich Khomiakov. His writings enjoyed a resurgence in popularity during Russia's war with Turkey in the late 1870s, and Tolstoy, who had met him frequently in the late 1850s, read his works again in the spring of 1877, that is, as he was completing *Anna Karenina*. Khomiakov had fought the Turks in Bulgaria in 1828, he wrote a "Letter to the Serbs" to warn them against Westernization in 1860, and on the eve of the Crimean War in 1853 he composed his famous poem "Rossii" (To Russia), of which I include two memorable stanzas:

В судах черна неправдой черной
И игом рабства клеймена,
Безбожной лести, лжи тлетворной,
И лени мертвой и позорной,
И всякой мерзости полна!

О, недостойная избранья,
Ты избрана! Скорей омой
Себя водою покаянья,
Да гром двойного наказанья
Не грянет над твоей главой!

With dark injustice art thou blackened,
And branded art with slavery's yoke;
With godless flattery, noxious falsehood,
With indolence, moribound and shameful,
And every vileness art thou filled!

O thou, unworthy to be chosen,
Chosen thou art! Hasten to wash
Thyself with waters of repentance,
So that no punishment redoubled
Should break like thunder on thy
head!³⁸

The references to slavery and chosenness, sin and shame, and the call to repentance are all suggestive of the heeding of the Hebrew prophets.

Similar invocations are present in the rhetoric of a second-generation Slavophile, the previously mentioned president of the Moscow Slavonic Benevolent Committee. Addressing the committee regarding the 1878 Congress of Berlin, where Russia was forced to make concessions to Western European powers and reduce the gains she had made for the Balkan states in the victory over Turkey, Aksakov delivered the following fiery speech:

Ты ли это, Русь-победительница, сама добровольно разжаловавшая себя в побежденную? Ты ли на скамье подсудимых как преступница, каешься в святых поднятых тобою трудах, молишь простить тебе, твои победы? . . . Едва сдерживая веселый смех, с презрительной иронией, похваляя твою политическую мудрость, Западные державы, с Германией впереди, нагло срывают с тебя победный венец, преподносят тебе взамен шутовскую с гремушками шапку, а ты послушно, чуть ли с выражением чувствительнейшей

признательности, подклоняешь под нее свою многострадальную голову.

Is it you, Russia—the winner, who yourself voluntarily demotes yourself to a defeated one? Is it you who sits on the bench of the accused as a criminal, repenting of your holy efforts, asking for forgiveness for your victory? . . . Barely withholding the happy laughter, with despising irony, praising your political wisdom, the western powers, with Germany in front, impudently pluck your victory wreath and offer you instead a fool's cap with jingles, while you obediently, almost with an expression of the most heartfelt gratitude, lower your martyred head underneath it.³⁹

Nineteenth-century social mores prohibited Aksakov, as they did Khomiakov, from using more vivid Old Testament images of harlotry, but the undertone is there in the accusatory pitch, in the suggestion that Russia has sold herself to Germany, and in the invoking of shame through the image of the lowered head. Tolstoy's isolationist politics—to reference Dostoevsky's musings on the epilogue to *Anna Karenina*—were in direct conflict with Slavophile imperialism, which used the image of the benevolent Mother of God to depict Russia's protective impulses toward the South Slavs. Both sides availed themselves of porno-prophetic rhetoric, however, when issuing criticism. Match's observation that "Anna's dismemberment in the sexual sense is the direct consequence of transgressing God's law"⁴⁰ can be extended to the national sphere when considering the porno-prophetic inflection of her dismemberment and Tolstoy's own misgivings about the war. Within that framework, Vronsky's memory of Anna's mangled body on his way to the Balkans creates an implication that Russia might be punished in the same way for what, in the mind of the increasingly pacifist author, are her own transgressions of God's law.⁴¹

The porno-prophetic motifs in *Anna Karenina* inevitably call for yet another reexamination of the novel's epigraph, "Мне отмщение, и Аз воздам" (Vengeance is mine, and I will repay) (PSS 18:3). Previous research suggests that Tolstoy got the idea for it from book 4 (*Ethics*), chapter 62, of Arthur Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation*, where the Bible verse is quoted.⁴² Since the author is, effectively, God of the world of his novel, all the more for the omniscient narration, the most straightforward interpretation, one embraced by Eikhenbaum,⁴³ has been the one mentioned above in connection with the draft that has Levin viewing Anna's mangled body—that Tolstoy himself punishes Anna for her transgression. Yet Tolstoy is sympathetic to Anna and unsympathetic to the hypocritical society that surrounds her, which prompted Viktor Shklovsky to conclude that it was people, and not God, who pushed Anna under the train.⁴⁴ Since the verse about vengeance occurs both in the Old Testament—as God's threat to Israel—and in the New—as an injunc-

tion against human action—interpretations of the epigraph, such as the two examples just listed, can be grouped according to which Testament they rely on. Schopenhauer had the New Testament in mind, since he quotes the verse in support of his statement that “no person has the authority to set himself up as a moral judge,”⁴⁵ and Tolstoy’s rendering of the Old Church Slavonic comes from the verse in Romans.⁴⁶ Considering the verse in relation to the political message of the epilogue, the New Testament context supports Levin’s qualms about Russia’s vengeance against Turkey on behalf of oppressed Orthodox Slavs, especially given his use of (a variant of) the actual word when he refuses to accept “такую мысль, которая выражается в мщении и убийстве” (such a thought, which expresses itself in revenge and murder) (*PSS* 19:392). The Old Testament is still significant, however, not only as the original source of the verse, but because the context of the verse, the so-called Song of Moses, follows the same pattern as the prophecies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, although without the gendered and pornographic elements: it starts by reviewing God’s deliverance of Israel, then warns the nation of forgetting this deed and worshipping other gods, and, finally, enumerates the ensuing punishment.

God’s vengeance in the “Song of Moses” takes the form of national dismemberment—by means of arrows and swords, pestilence and plague, and the scattering of the people of Israel—which is, incidentally, the fear that Levin, and Tolstoy through him, expresses for Russia when he lumps her war with Turkey together with other rebellions and conquests that presented a threat to the nation. He comments that “в восьмидесятимиллионном народе всегда найдутся не сотни, как теперь, а десятки тысяч людей, потерявших общественное положение, бесшабашных людей, которые всегда готовы—в шайку Пугачева, в Хиву, в Сербию” (among eighty million people, there are always to be found, not hundreds like now, but tens of thousands of people who have lost their social position, reckless people, who are always ready—to join Pugachev’s band, to go to Khiva, to Serbia) (*PSS* 19:389). Vladimir Alexandrov claims that the epigraph, functioning as “metaphoric montage,” is “clearly relevant to a novel named after an adulteress,”⁴⁷ and I have attempted to show that it should also be considered in light of Tolstoy’s political concerns. If we relate the epigraph and the epilogue to each other as two bookends of the novel, then the Old Testament threat of vengeance applies to the adulterous nation as much as it does to the adulterous heroine, while the New Testament prohibition against mortals taking God’s business into their own hands applies to the zealous Slavophiles.

The Cuckolded Husband-Statesman

If Vronsky dismembers Anna and overextends the empire into war, then the cuckolded Karenin engages in a vain attempt to keep both wife and empire in order. The disobedient wife and the disorderly empire appear as a pair of

troubles and spill into each other for this high-ranking public official. Chapter 14 of part 3 in the novel is divided between Karenin's first decisive move regarding Anna's infidelity and his drafting of a plan for investigating two political crises: the drought in the Zaraysk province and the "плачевно[е] состояни[е]" (lamentable situation) (PSS 18:302) of the *imorodtsy* in Central Asia.⁴⁸ His political plans are couched between glancing at Anna's portrait that hangs in his study, the action progressing from writing her a letter to glancing at her portrait to drafting notes for the ministry to glancing at her portrait again. Just as the image of Anna's mangled body haunts the volunteer movement in the epilogue, so her portrait oversees Karenin's statesman duties regarding Russia's colonies. Karenin feels pleased with the letter he writes to Anna, but when he looks at her portrait, she seems to look back at him "насмешливо и нагло" (mockingly and insolently) (PSS 18:300), causing him to turn away with a shudder. By contrast, looking at her again after attending to state business he "презрительно улыбнулся" (smiled contemptuously), and when he lies down in bed afterwards, "событие с женой, оно ему представилось уже совсем не в таком мрачном виде" (the incident with his wife, it no longer presented itself to him in the same gloomy light) (PSS 18:303). The wife and the nation become interchangeable concepts as drafting solutions to one problem eases the pain of the other.

Karenin's initial reaction to Anna's affair, as well as to the child born from it, bears examining in a brief return to the porno-prophetic theme because of the peculiar similarities between this nineteenth-century Russian statesman and the ancient Hebrew prophet Hosea. Although there is no evidence of Tolstoy's purposeful fashioning of such parallels, their *post factum* discovery is still worth exploring within the theoretical paradigm of this study and especially in a novel that is framed by an Old Testament verse. The Old Testament book of Hosea describes the prophet as being commanded by God to marry an adulterous woman and to adopt her illegitimate children in order to perform, in his own home, Israel's adultery in worshipping the gods of other nations: "When the Lord first spoke through Hosea, the Lord said to Hosea: 'Go, take for yourself a wife of whoredom and have children of whoredom, for the land commits great whoredom by forsaking the Lord.'⁴⁹ When Hosea confronts the unfaithful Gomer, he demands the following: "You must remain as mine for many days; you shall not play the whore, you shall not have intercourse with a man, nor I with you."⁵⁰ This is where the uncanny similarity to Karenin occurs. In the letter he writes to Anna before drafting solutions to the problems plaguing Russia, Karenin insists that "наша жизнь должна итти, как она шла прежде" (our life must go on as it went before) (PSS 18:299), while in the subsequent face-to-face confrontation he requests the following:

Мне нужно чтоб я не встречал здесь этого человека и чтобы вы вели себя так, чтобы ни свет, ни прислуга не могли обвинить

вас . . . чтобы вы не видели его. Кажется, это не много. И за это вы будете пользоваться правами честной жены, не исполняя ее обязанностей.

I want not to meet that man here and that you behave in such a way that neither *society* nor *the servants* would be able to accuse you . . . that you not see him. It doesn't seem like much. And for that you will enjoy the rights of an honest wife, without fulfilling her duties. (PSS 18:338; emphases Tolstoy's)

His demands seem an exact replica of the ancient prophet's: his insistence that their life together continue as before echoes Hosea's injunction to Gomer that she "remain as [his] for many days"; his request that she not see Vronsky is the polite equivalent of "not play[ing] the whore"; and his absolving her of the duties of an honest wife can only pertain to sexual intercourse, of which Hosea also absolves Gomer in the last clause of the above quoted verse.

A further similarity between these two men separated by epochs and literary genres is their treatment of their unfaithful wives' progeny. In addition to taking "a wife of whoredom," Hosea is instructed to "have children of whoredom," which becomes the situation in the Karenin household once Anna delivers Vronsky's baby there. Karenin not only temporarily adopts that baby, but he is also credited with saving her life as the new creature is all but ignored during Anna's nearly fatal postpartum illness. Finally, because of the circumstances just described, Vronsky's baby carries Karenin's last name, which becomes especially uncomfortable for the former once he, Anna, and the baby move into his estate Vozdvizhenskoe and commence life together as a family.

Anna's New Friends

Only a few chapters after Karenin deals with wife and empire, Anna's new circle of affair-promoting friends is described, with names and features that carry connotations of both sexual and national otherness. In chapter 17 Princess Betsy Tverskaya invites Anna to a croquet match, which "должно было состоять из двух дам с их поклонниками" (was to consist of two ladies and their admirers) (PSS 18:310). The setup provides a way for Betsy to ease Anna's conscience by introducing her to other adulterous women, ones not "склонны[e] смотреть на вещи слишком трагически" (inclined to view things too tragically) (PSS 18:315), as Betsy accuses Anna of doing at the end of the chapter. The two ladies are Sappho Stolz—whose first name alludes to one of the first known sexually rebellious women in history, and whose last name only intensifies the effect with its German meaning

“proud”—and Liza Merkalova—whose description as “худая брюнетка с восточным ленивым типом лица и прелестными, неизъяснимыми, как все говорили, глазами” (a thin brunette with a lazy Eastern type of face and charming, unfathomable, as everyone said, eyes) (PSS 18:316) is matched by her last name, the linguistic derivative of “мрак” (darkness). Sappho Stolz is, obviously, the one with the stranger first name, utterly non-Russian and atypical in general, with only one possible connotation, which means that Tolstoy’s choice for it was no coincidence but a purposeful designation that seemed fitting to him for Betsy’s immoral circle. One might wonder why he chose Liza Merkalova and not Sappho as the person who “бредит” (raves) about Anna, as Betsy informs her in their pre-party chat: “Она говорит . . . что, если б она была мужчиною, она бы наделала за вас тысячу глупостей” (She says . . . that if she were a man, she would have committed a thousand follies for you) (PSS 18:314). The author does, however, avail himself of one stereotype in the next chapter, where he describes Sappho’s handshake as “по-мужски” (mannish) (PSS 18:315).

The conflation of sexual and national otherness in the Greek-German Sappho Stolz and the dark, Eastern Liza Merkalova seems fitting for the novel of adultery that condemns Russia’s foreign policy, especially because the national allusions contained in the names and features of these two adulterous women point to the international complications associated with the Slavonic Question. Once again, there is no evidence that this was part of Tolstoy’s plan for the book, but the parallels match up so well that they are worth mentioning. In the March 1877 issue of his *Writer’s Diary* Dostoevsky explores a possible consequence of Ottoman surrender: Greek ascendancy in the region, bolstered by Western European support. He cites the 1870 conflict between the Greek and Bulgarian patriarchs—one identified by him as well as by contemporary historians as a national dispute in ecclesiastical disguise—in support of the need for Russian protection and supervision in the area. In order to illustrate that Greek ties with Western Europe are stronger than those with its Bulgarian or Russian Orthodox brothers, Dostoevsky declares, “В международном городе, мимо покровителей англичан, все-таки будут хозяевами греки—исконные хозяева города. Надо думать, что греки смотрят на славян еще с большим презрением, чем немцы” (In the international city [i.e., Constantinople], aside from the protection of the English, the Greeks will still be the masters, who were originally the masters. One must realize that the Greeks regard the Slavs with even more contempt than the Germans do) (PSS 25:72). The combination of anxieties expressed in that statement—that Greece would only cooperate with Western Europe in diminishing Russia’s influence in the Balkans and that Greek contempt for Slavs outmatches even German contempt for them—is encapsulated perfectly in Sappho Stolz’s Greek-German name. The effect is greater given the meaning of the German word, conjuring a proud, Western woman who looks down on Slavs and men. On the other hand, the designation of Liza

Merkalova's face as "Eastern" is, in the general Russian context, most likely an allusion to Turkey, whose rule in the Balkans occasioned the Eastern Crisis. From this perspective and within the theoretical framework that reads Anna as an anthropomorphized Russia, these two women form the appropriate new social circle for the adulterous heroine.

Women Slavophiles

The Slavonic Question had not yet gathered mass interest in Russia when Tolstoy wrote the first sketches for "the novel concern[ing] an unfaithful wife and the whole drama resulting from this" on March 18, 1873,⁵¹ or when the *Russian Herald* published the first installments in its January–April 1875 issues. The Herzegovinian uprising that started the wave and got the attention of Europe took place that summer, when Tolstoy was on a long break from writing.⁵² Yet the Slavonic Question was on his mind, since already in the first part of the novel—chapter 32, published as part of the second installment in February 1875—Countess Lydia Ivanovna receives a letter from a "известный панславист" (famous Pan-Slavist) and rushes off to a Slavonic Committee meeting (*PSS* 18:115). In part 5, chapter 23—published in December 1876, after the crisis was in full swing—the Countess is not only portrayed as an enthusiastic Pan-Slavist in more detail, but her political infatuations blur the lines with romantic ones:

Графиня Лидия Ивановна давно уже перестала быть влюбленною в мужа, но никогда с тех пор не переставала быть влюбленною в кого-нибудь. Она бывала влюблена в нескольких вдруг, и в мужчин и в женщин; она бывала влюблена во всех почти людей, чем-нибудь особенно выдающихся. Она была влюблена во всех новых принцесс и принцев, вступавших в родство с Царскою фамилиею, была влюблена в одного митрополита, одного vicарного и одного священника. Была влюблена в одного журналиста, в трех славян, в Комисарова; в одного министра, одного доктора, одного английского миссионера и в Каренина.

Countess Lydia Ivanovna had long ago ceased to be in love with her husband, but had never since ceased to be in love with somebody. She was in love with several [persons] at once, both men and women; she had been in love with almost every one who was particularly prominent. She was in love with all the new princesses and princes who became connected with the Tsar's family, she was in love with a metropolitan, a bishop, and a priest. She was in love with a journalist, three Slavs, Komisarov, a minister, a doctor, an English missionary, and Karenin. (*PSS* 19:82–83)

Lydia's infatuations are never to be physically consummated, like Anna's is, but are sublimated, as evidenced in the quoted passage, through her involvement in benevolent causes. She proves to be aware of this when, several sentences later, "она ясно видела, что не была бы влюблена в Комисарова, если б он не спас жизни Государя, не была бы влюблена в Ристич-Куджицкого, если бы не было Славянского вопроса" (she saw clearly that she would not have been in love with Komisarov if he hadn't saved the Tsar's life and that she would not have been in love with Ristich-Kudzhitsky if it were not for the Slavonic Question) (PSS 19:83).

Despite these lofty reasons, the description of Lydia's infatuations and the description of the conduct of Tolstoy's last heroine, the prostitute Katiusha Maslova prove to have a lot in common. Chapter 2 of *Resurrection* describes Katiusha's

прелюбодеяния с молодыми, средними, полудетьми и разрушающимися стариками, холостыми, женатыми, купцами, приказчиками, армянами, евреями, тартарами, богатыми, бедными, здоровыми, больными, пьяными, трезвыми, грубыми, нежными, военными, штатскими, студентами, гимназистами— всех возможных сословий, возрастов и характеров.

adulteries with the old, middle-aged, half-children and feeble old men, bachelors, married men, merchants, clerks, Armenians, Jews, Tartars, rich, poor, sick, healthy, drunk, sober, rough, gentle, military men, civilians, students, high schoolers—of all possible classes, ages, and characters. (PSS 32:11)

In both cases a long list of various types of persons is presented and the main difference between the two women is that of class: Lydia Ivanovna's title allows her contact with the highest echelons of society, with "everyone who was particularly prominent"—princes, doctors, and ministers—while Katiusha is obliged to entertain anybody who pays for her services. Further, while Katiusha's list, proportionate to her profession, connotes heavier degrees of national adulteration in that it incorporates the disenfranchised ethnic groups of the Russian empire, Lydia's love fantasies center on trendy current events, such as the Slavonic Question. The latter is alluded to in the figures of the three Slavs on Lydia's list—and perhaps also the journalist that precedes them, since the Slavonic Question occupied the headlines at the time—as well as Ristich-Kudzhitsky, based on Jovan Ristich, the well-known Serbian political activist involved in the independence movement. Karenin, Lydia's latest infatuation, is the appropriate person to end the long list as a man who expects his ideas to "принести величайшую пользу государству" (be of greatest use to the state) (PSS 18:301) and whose doctor, invited by Lydia to check up on him after Anna's betrayal, cares for his health "для России" (for the sake of Russia) (PSS 18:214).

Tolstoy's tainting of the Slavonic cause with connotations of romantic profligacy through the character of Lydia Ivanovna becomes even more interesting when considered in comparison to the earlier drafts and in light of a probable real-life model for the countess. Manuscript 46 (PSS 20:369 ff.) shows that Lydia Ivanovna was originally intended to be Karenin's sister, Katerina Aleksandrovna, which allowed her to move in with him after Anna moved out but prohibited the possibility of her infatuation. Her mock-worthy hyperspirituality and love of Slavdom are present from the start, however, for she is described as one of the “дамы того высшего Петербургского Православно-Хомяковского-добродетельно-придворно-Жуковско-Христианского направления” (ladies of that higher Petersburg Orthodox-Khomikovian-virtuous-courtly-Zhukovskian-Christian trend) (PSS 20:370–71). The lengthy designation is a form of the shorter, yet equally ridiculous, “филантропическое, религиозно-патриотическое учреждение” (philanthropic religio-patriotic society) (PSS 18:115) to which Lydia Ivanovna belongs in the published novel, and it is located in the same chapter—32 of part 1—where she rushes off to a Slavonic Committee meeting. Although the reference to the prominent Slavophile Khomiakov from the draft is removed from later versions describing Lydia Ivanovna, his name appears in the final version of the epilogue in the form of yet another disappointment in Levin's quest for spiritual enlightenment.

Subsequent versions of the section describing Lydia Ivanovna's relationship to Karenin give her the name she bears in the final version, do not designate her as family, and have her falling in love with him,⁵³ but it is only in the final version, written in the week preceding November 20, 1876, that Tolstoy penned the section describing Lydia's multiple infatuations.⁵⁴ The timing is significant, because the section under discussion appeared in the first installment published in the *Russian Herald*—in December 1876—after Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey the previous summer with expectation of Russian support. Immediately preceding the writing of that section Tolstoy traveled to Moscow with the express purpose of finding out more about the war, as he informs both Fet and Strakhov in letters dated November 12 (PSS 62:288, 291). Tolstoy had been corresponding with Fet regarding the war for a year by this time, since November 1875, when Fet informed him that his brother had joined the fight in Herzegovina. In the letters of November 12, 1876, Tolstoy confesses to both Fet and Strakhov that “всё это волнует меня очень” (all this disturbs me a lot), but to Fet he also brings up, as an example of a Slavophile, “какая-нибудь Аксакова с своим мизерным тщеславием и фальшивым сочувствием к чему-то неопределенному” (some kind of Aksakova with her meagre vanity and false sympathy toward something indefinite) (PSS 62:288). Anna Fedorovna Aksakova was married to Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov, president of the Slavic Committee during the Eastern Crisis, and she was the daughter of the poet and outspoken Slavophile Fedor Ivanovich Tiutchev, which placed her in a

visible position within the movement. A reference to her in a letter composed only days before completing chapter 23 of part 5 about Lydia Ivanovna is a strong indicator that Aksakova might have been the inspiration for that particular character description.

Levin's "Tiny Circle"

The Eastern Crisis, as we have seen, affects the book's plot as well as the very process of writing it. The war creeps into the novel slowly, through characters such as Ivanovna, and as the crisis progresses, the references to it not only increase, but come to punctuate extremely important family events, such as the arrival of Levin's long-expected firstborn son. The last full section of the novel printed in the *Russian Herald*, part 7, abounds with hints regarding developments in the Balkans. In chapter 3 Montenegro enters into small talk when Katavasov asks his visitor Levin, "Ну что каковы черногорцы? По породе воины" (How about those Montenegrins? Warriors by nature) (PSS 19:254), and a "неумолкаемый разговор о Герцеговине" (never-ending discussion of Herzegovina) (PSS 19:261) takes place in the following chapter. Finally, Levin loses his composure in chapter 14, when the doctor who is to deliver Kitty, rather slow for the panicked father-to-be in getting his things together, casually remarks, "Однако Турок-то бьют решительно. Вы читали вчерашнюю телеграмму?" (However, the Turks are certainly being beaten. Have you read yesterday's telegram?) (PSS 19:289).

The epilogue opens with the din of patriotic activities, as already discussed in relation to Vronsky, and that din is then carried over from the train station into Levin's estate through visitors Koznyshev and Katavasov, who unsuccessfully attempt to convert its residents to Pan-Slav ideology. The very name of Levin's estate—Pokrovskoe—illuminates the national position allegorized in his family home, as *pokrov* means "shelter," "cover," and "protection." In her excellent book *Unattainable Bride Russia*, Ellen Rutten notes "the cult of the so-called *pokrov*—the intercession or protection of the Mother of God" in medieval Russia.⁵⁵ Tolstoy's shrinking of this ecclesiastical and national concept to the borders of Levin's estate confirms the earlier observation that his home "был целый мир для Левина" (was the entire world for Levin) (PSS 18:101). The author's mouthpiece realizes by the end of the novel that nothing outside of this home-world matters much and that not much can be done to effect meaningful change beyond its borders.

Shortly after the heated political debate between Levin and his guests, an intimate family moment occurs when the former is called into the nursery, where Kitty demonstrates to him how their infant son, Mitya, "очевидно, несомненно уже узнавал всех своих" (obviously, undoubtedly already recognized all of his own [people]) (PSS 19:396). This private scene of family bliss and the discussion of the Eastern Crisis that takes place outside it both

engage the topic of boundaries: the question of who one's own people are and how to recognize them. Mitya begins to recognize his own parents at the end of the day during which his uncle had argued on behalf of the Southern Orthodox Slavs, while his grandfather proclaimed that he felt no love for his brother Slavs and was, together with Mitya's father, interested only in Russia (*PSS* 19:388).

An earlier draft of the epilogue creates a direct link between the family moment in the nursery and the question of Slavonic brotherhood. In the published version Mitya's recognition is followed by Levin's own realization that he loves his son, an emotion that, contrary to his expectations, he did not experience immediately upon his son's birth. In a draft version Mitya's recognition prompts Levin to think about the Slavonic Question he had just discussed with his visitors, and his thoughts bring the entire novel to its end:

“Сербы! говорят они. Нетолько Сербы, но в своем крошечном кругу жить не хорошо, а только не дурно. Это такое [счастье], на которое не могу надеяться один, а только с помощью Бога, Которого я начинаю знать,” подумал он. Конец.

“Serbs! they say. Not only the Serbs, but to live in one's own tiny circle, if not well, then at least not badly. That is such [happiness], for which I cannot hope on my own, but only with the help of God, Whom I am beginning to know,” he thought. The End. (*PSS* 20:571–72)

In this somewhat incoherent conclusion to the novel Levin affirms the desire of all people, “not only the Serbs,” to enjoy the moments of intimacy that he had just experienced and that can only be realized in a “tiny circle.” This universalization of experience negates any kind of uniqueness in the case of the Serbs, while the isolationist politics expressed in the metaphor of the “tiny circle” prohibit any grand-scale action.

The question of who is *svoi* (one's own) and who is *chuzhoi* (a stranger)⁵⁶ can be traced all the way back to the famous opening line, which sets up a definition of sameness and difference: ⁵⁷ “Все счастливые семьи похожи друг на друга, каждая несчастливая семья несчастлива по-своему” (All happy families resemble one another, each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way) (*PSS* 18:3).⁵⁸ A closer look at the subsequent portrayal of the novel's families justifies reading the first half of that line not only as “this happy family resembles another happy family” but also as “members *within* a happy family resemble one another.” Nowhere is this more obvious than in the relationship between Levin and Kitty, the model happy family that comprises the real ending of the novel. Levin and Kitty's union is seamless, as described in another oft-quoted passage, where he cannot tell where she ends and he begins (*PSS* 19:50). It even borders on the incestuous, since the Shcherbatskys are the only family Levin has ever known (*PSS* 18:24–25)

and Kitty associates him with memories of her dead brother (PSS 18:51). Following the same logic, the members of an unhappy family are strangers to each other, as exhibited by the Oblonskys when Dolly repeatedly uses—and shudders at—the word *chuzhoi* to describe her unfaithful husband (PSS 18:14, 16). The same happens to the Karenins. After Anna confesses her affair, she and her husband become “совершенно чужды друг другу” (completely estranged from each other) (PSS 18:372), the repetitive ending of that phrase recalling and comprising a meaningful contrast to the opening definition of happy families, who “похожи друг на друга” (resemble one another). Parenthetically, the opening line also offers a hint as to the number of the novel’s happy and unhappy families, as it employs the word *happy* once and its opposite twice.

The “family idea” and the story of the consequences of breaking family boundaries turn out to be especially appropriate for the novel that ends up debating Russia’s own familial obligations to her South Slavic “братьев, единокровных и единоверцев” (brothers of the same blood and faith) (PSS 19:387). Levin certainly feels no familial connection with the Serbs, and in a section of the epilogue that echoes the ending of the novel’s draft cited above, he does indeed define his circle of *svoikh* along tiny perimeters:

когда он старался сделать что-нибудь такое, что сделало бы добро для всех, для человечества, для России, для всей деревни, он замечал, что мысли об этом были приятны, но сама деятельность всегда бывала нескладная . . . теперь же, когда он после женитьбы стал более и более ограничиваться жизнью для себя, он . . . видел, что оно спорится гораздо лучше.

When he had tried to do something that would be good for everyone, for mankind, for Russia, for the whole village, he had noticed that thinking about it was pleasant, but the doing itself was always awkward . . . while now, after his marriage, when he began to limit himself more and more to living for himself, he . . . saw that it turned out much better. (PSS 19:372)

Nestled inside the country, in the very core of Russianness, Levin remains unimpressed with the writings of the Slavophile philosopher Khomiakov and exhibits indifference, as Dostoevsky bemoans, to the all-uniting Slavophilic cause that is to redeem Russia.

The distinction between Levin’s “tiny circle” inside Mitya’s nursery and the political posturing taking place outside can further be illuminated by employing Gary Saul Morson’s insightful insistence on the distinction between intimacy and romance that is presented through Levin and Kitty’s relationships on the one hand and Anna and Vronsky’s on the other. “Romance depends on mystery,”⁵⁹ Morson claims, on separation, distance, obstacles,

on not knowing. Romance imbues the language of the Slavophiles, including Dostoevsky's enthusiastic support for them in his *Writer's Diary*, where the emphasis on purity, selflessness, and the willingness to suffer for another is evocative of the language of romance. As soon as all of the distance and obstacles are traversed, however, the romance ends, as it did for Russia at the Congress of Berlin and as it eventually does for Anna, who thinks to herself during the fateful ride to the train station, in English, "The zest is gone" (PSS 19:343). It is the culmination of fears that began as soon as she moved with Vronsky to Vozdvizhenskoe—an estate whose name aptly, in keeping with the idea of romance, suggests upward movement⁶⁰—where she continually tried to keep everything "оживленное и веселое" (lively and happy), as she explained to Dolly, "чтоб Алексей не желал ничего нового" (so that Aleksei would not wish for anything new) (PSS 19:195). By contrast, "prosaic love," to use Morson's favorite phrasing, which he interchanges with intimacy, "thrives on closeness."⁶¹ It is encapsulated in the very prosaic notion of the "tiny circle," in which one is "to live . . . if not well, then at least not badly," and demonstrated in the marital and parenting experiences of Levin and Kitty, as well as in the functioning of Pokrovskoe as a whole. If Tolstoy defamiliarizes war in *War and Peace* by describing it as a series of crimes and defamiliarizes romance in *Anna Karenina* by first foreshadowing and finally depicting its grim ending, then the Serbian war in the latter novel, backlit as it is by the extramarital affair, shows that what Tolstoy would later repeatedly call "суевери[е] патриотизма" (the superstition of patriotism) (PSS 37:241, 90:44) is as dangerous as the superstition of forbidden love.

Tolstoy disappointed his compatriots and his brother Slavs by protesting Russia's involvement in the Serbo-Turkish War and then disappointed them once again three decades later, when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 and the Bosnian Serbs, as in the past, looked to Russia for help. A letter he originally sent as a private reply to a "сербская женщина" (Serbian woman) (PSS 37:222), who appealed to him directly, grew into an essay that critiqued the superstition of patriotism. Fully a pacifist at that point, as well as a Christian anarchist, Tolstoy not only refused to entertain the idea of Russian intervention, but implored the Serbs also to "освободиться всеми силами от губительного суеверия патриотизма, государства и сознать каждому человеку свое человеческое достоинство, не допускающее отступления от закона любви" (free themselves with all might from the destructive superstition of patriotism, the state, and acknowledge in every man his human dignity, not allowing a departure from the law of love) (PSS 37:241). Russia's other tsar⁶² did not live long enough to see that "the superstition of patriotism" would soon bring about the Great War, which was triggered precisely inside annexed Bosnia by a young Serbian patriot's assassination of the Austrian archduke. His essay endured a slightly better fate than the unpatriotic epilogue to *Anna Karenina* in that it saw

the light of day in *Golos Moskvyy* (the Voice of Moscow) but in a heavily redacted edition.

Returning to the Soviet critic Babaev's observation, discussed in the beginning of the chapter, we can conclude that this novel that opens with a distinction between happy and unhappy families weaves a parallel lesson, by the end, on the difference between happy and unhappy nations. The recipe for happy nations, like the one for happy families, requires a tight circle of mutually resembling members. By contrast, Anna's "избыток чего-то" (surplus of something) (*PSS* 18:66), that quality that first attracts Vronsky to her, and Russia's surplus of feeling for the South Slavs both lead to ruin.

