

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL VIEWS
OF L. TOLSTOY'S NOVEL "RESURRECTION"

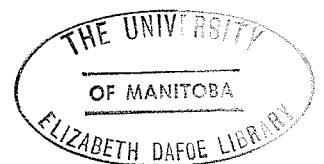
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Nicholas Brych was born March 5, 1930 in the Ukraine. He was granted the degree of Bachelor of Arts by the Waterloo Lutheran University, Waterloo, Ontario, in October 1967. He received Bachelor of Theology degree from the Mennonite Brethren Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba, in May 1972.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration which follows will be used throughout the thesis, however, to preserve uniformity of spelling two exceptions will be made, namely Tolstoy and Nekhlyudov. The post revolutionary orthography will be used throughout the study.

Аа - a	Рр - r
Бб - b	Сс - s
Вв - v	Тт - t
Гг - g	Уу - u
Дд - d	Фф - f
Ее - e	Хх - kh
Жж - zh	Цц - ts
Зз - z	Чч - ch
Ии - i	Шш - sh
Йй - j	Щщ - shch
Кк - k	Ъъ - "
Лл - l	Ыы - y
Мм - m	Ьь - '
Нн - n	Ээ - e
Оо - o	Юю - ju
Пп - p	Яя - ja

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INTRODUCTION

Lev Tolstoy achieved world wide recognition as an author following publication of his novels War and Peace¹ and Anna Karenina²; however his lesser literary works brought him the reputation of being a leading ethical exponent and a moral reformer of the time. The very last of his novels, the Resurrection, published at the end of XIX century is a literary masterpiece saturated with his ideas on religion, ethics and on social questions. It is for the quality of these issues that we consider the Resurrection to be his most significant work.

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenij, V.G. Chertkov, ed., (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoj Literatury, 1928-1958), vol. 13-16.

²Ibid., vol. 18-20.

Due to its content the novel became one of the most controversial of Tolstoy's works and to this day the opinion of critics is divided as to the artistic and philosophical values of the novel. S. Bychkov highly praised the writing and said that

In Tolstoy's enormous literary legacy the novel Resurrection holds a very prominent position as a work which presents a summary of the great writer's search for the religious, ethical and aesthetical ideals.¹

A.S. Goldenweiser credited it with the highest tribute saying that "it is one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable, book of the XIXth century".² Tolstoy himself considered it to be his best work.³ On the other hand, R.F. Christian was of a different opinion and said that "no serious critic would deny that Tolstoy's last novel is vastly inferior work of art to the great novels which preceeded it".⁴

¹S. Bychkov, L.N. Tolstoy, Ocherk Tvorchestva, (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoj Literatury, 1954), p. 421.

²A.S. Goldenweiser, Crime and Punishment and Punishment a Crime: Leading Thoughts of Tolstoy's "Resurrection", (No place of publication, no publisher, no year), p. 59.

³L. Pasternak, "Kak Izdavalos' 'Voskresenie'", in Literaturnoe Nasledstvo, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1939), vol. 37-38, p. 513.

⁴R.F. Christian, Tolstoy: A Critical Introduction, (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), p. 221.

Note: All translations from Russian are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Tolstoy dedicated the latter years of his life to the propagation of his ethical and religious views, writing many treatises and pamphlets concerning his philosophy. In Resurrection, he presented the same ideas in the form of fiction and thus reinforced formerly expressed views on religion and morality. E.J. Simmons noted that

For every abuse revealed and for every corrective administered, chapter and verse may be found in the various controversial books and articles that Tolstoy had already written on these subjects.¹

As a result of the importance of the problems raised by Tolstoy, many of his books were widely circulated and read. Before his last novel, the Resurrection, was published, a number of critical works which dealt with Tolstoy's religious and ethical views, were written. Consequently the novel, Resurrection had not attracted as much attention of the scholars as it deserved.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, outside of some brief articles of a general nature, there were no serious studies made of Tolstoy's religious and ethical views as they were presented by the author in Resurrection. Shortly after the

¹Ernest J. Simmons, Introduction to Tolstoy's Writings, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 196.

revolution, the Judeo-Christian religious and ethical beliefs lost their attraction to the Soviet scholars who became primarily occupied with social problems, thus, apart from general remarks, there were virtually no critical works on Tolstoy's philosophical outlook published in the Soviet Russia.

The Western Slavists, until recently few in numbers, had such a wide range for research in the field of Slavic studies that only few of them were attracted by the novel, and most of the contributions made to this field of study were of a general nature. T. Redpath made the following observation about the novel: "'Resurrection' is probably now generally underrated in Western Europe and America."¹ This attitude drew attention away from the novel in the West and to the best of our knowledge no systematic attempt has heretofore been made to gather Tolstoy's religious and ethical convictions as they were expressed by the writer in Resurrection. There is no detailed study available today on the adaptation of Tolstoy's theory of art, nor is there any objective study of his treatment in Resurrection of all the social institutions in Russia of his day.

¹Theodore Redpath, Tolstoy, (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1960), p. 80.

The initial step taken in this investigation was the collection and evaluation of all available sources on Tolstoy's religious and ethical views. These sources were placed into three categories: autobiographical sources, literary works of Tolstoy and critical works.

The autobiographical sources consisting primarily of Tolstoy's correspondence and diaries revealed his keen interest in philosophical and religious questions and the fact that they served in many cases as source material for his literary works.

Monographs, critical essays, articles and literary works of the second period of his creative life which followed his deep religious experience, composed the second group.

The third category comprised reviews, dissertations, periodical articles and major critical works written on Tolstoy's religious and ethical outlook.

After a close investigation of collected material it was decided to center the inquiry on the novel Resurrection. Accordingly, relevant bibliography was selected and after a careful study and assessment of the sources the problem investigated was defined and the final outline of this thesis drawn.

The study and evaluation of the sources revealed that a certain degree of investigation has already been devoted to the study of some aspects of Tolstoy's ethical views expressed in the novel. It also disclosed that the majority of the available sources either treated the theme of love in the process of moral regeneration of the heroes or discussed the formalistic aspects of the novel. As was indicated earlier, no individual study has been made with the intensive purpose of presenting Tolstoy's religious and ethical views as they were expressed by the author in Resurrection.

In the area of primary sources, it is worthwhile mentioning a book written by a Soviet scholar V. Ermilov who in his work Tolstoy Romanist¹ described resurrection of Maslova and Nekhlyudov which was based on spiritual love and took place in the inner realm of their beings. A different approach was taken by A.S. Goldenweiser who in his work Crime a Punishment and Punishment a Crime: Leading Thoughts of Tolstoy's "Resurrection"² has an excellent discussion of Russian courts

¹V. Emilov, Tolstoy Romanist, Vojna i Mir, Anna Karenina, Voskresenie, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaja Literatura", 1965).

²A.S. Goldenweiser, Crime a Punishment and Punishment a Crime, op. cit.

and, basing his observations on the case of Maslova, points to the decadence of the Russian legal system.

R.F. Hoffmann in his comparative work titled Das Problem in H. Federers Berge und Menschen und in L.N. Tolstoi's Auferstehung und seine Kunstlerische Gestaltung¹ presents transformation of Nekhlyudov and Maslova as a psychological and mental upward development achieved by introspection and self analysis. He also develops the main ethical premise of the novel that one cannot eradicate evil by evil.

In this thesis we will discuss Tolstoy's religious and ethical views as they were presented to the reader in his novel Resurrection. This dissertation will be divided into two chapters.

Chapter I will present Tolstoy's religious views as they were expressed in Resurrection. The discussion will include the author's treatment of the Russian Orthodox Church in all its aspects of faith and practice, the

¹Reinold Wilhelm Hoffmann, Das Problem in H Federers Berge und Menschen und in L.N. Tolstoi's Auferstehung und Seine Kunstlerische Gestaltung, (Doctoral Dissertation Series, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor), (University of Maryland, 1955).

Protestants and the exposition of Tolstoy's religious concepts.

Chapter II will present Tolstoy's ethical premises which were the backbone of his religious philosophy, his treatment of love, anger, oaths, marriage, and nonresistance to evil.

CHAPTER I

L. TOLSTOY'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

In the latter days of his life Tolstoy dedicated his talent to promulgating his own religious and ethical views through his writings. One of the major concerns of Tolstoy was the influence of Christian theology in general, and that of the Russian Orthodox Church in particular, on the minds of the Russian people. In the face of this concern Tolstoy wrote and published a number of works which dealt with Orthodox faith - Confession¹, Critique of Dogmatic Theology, and What I Believe.³ In this and other works the

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Ispoved', (Moskva: Izdanie T-va I.D. Sytina, 1913), vol. 11.

²L.N. Tolstoy, Kritika Dogmaticheskogo Bogoslovija, (Moskva: Izdanie T-va I.D. Sytina, 1913), vol. 11.

³L.N. Tolstoy, The Works, the Centenary Edition, (Translated by Louise and Aylmer Maude for the Tolstoy Society), (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), vol. 11.

writer discussed the theology and the teachings of the Orthodox Church and his own spiritual experiences. Having the desire to reach the general reader he set out to write a novel where he could expound in a simple way his views on religion and life. After devoting ten years of work to one of his major novels, the Resurrection was published and became one of the most controversial works written by Tolstoy. Ernest J. Simmons made this remark about the book:

The essence of all that Tolstoy had thought and suffered since his spiritual change is condensed in the pages of the book. It is unashamedly a purpose novel, but then so are nearly all great novels. The principal purpose of Resurrection is to reveal the evil consequences of the violence of government and the hypocrisy of the Church.¹

In this chapter we intend to pursue this idea. We will study his treatment of the Christian dogmas and practices and the exposition of his own religious views as they were presented in Resurrection.

1. The Orthodox Church

One of the interesting aspects of the colorful life of Tolstoy was his endless spiritual struggle and search for the truth. After years of contemplation and study Tolstoy finally

¹Ernest J. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy: The Years of Maturity 1880-1910, (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), vol. 2, p. 280.

came to the conclusion that the theology and the practices of the Orthodox Church contradicted the precepts of Christ and from that time Tolstoy directed all his mental and artistic abilities to the criticism of the Orthodox Church which were expressed in Resurrection mainly through the description and comments of Church services and its leadership.

The Orthodox Church claimed that it alone had the keys to salvation and that outside the Orthodox Church it was impossible for man to find eternal life with God. Addressing himself to this question V.S. Solovev, who was one of the foremost Orthodox philosophers, stated that

So long as man remains in his individuality and separatedness, there is no God in him. In order to come out of this limitation he must turn to something that is greater and higher than man himself. This higher and greater man finds in the Church which has divine foundation and form.¹

A similar idea was expressed by another prominent Russian theologian A. Khomjakov who said:

We know that Christians outside of the Orthodox Church do not have neither clear understanding nor true feeling of brotherhood. This understanding and feeling is raised and matures in the Orthodox Church alone.²

¹V.S. Solovev, Dukhovye Osnovy Zhizni, (New York: Russian Center, Fordham University, 1958), p. 103.

²Aleksej Khomjakov, Izbrannye Sochinenija, (New York: Izdatel'stvo Imeni Chekhova, 1955), p. 182.

Thus we could say that for the Church hierarchy and the Orthodox theologians the Orthodox Church in the spiritual realm was supreme. In their view God acted in this world only through the Orthodox Church and accordingly there was no salvation outside of this one Church which they maintained was established by God. Tolstoy took it upon himself to oppose this claim. In his view, the Church, contrary to the opinions of its theologians, was not the way to God, and was not the true Church of God as it professed since it lacked the understanding of the true meaning of Christianity. Moreover, in Tolstoy's view it contradicted the very essence of Christianity. In his work The Kingdom of God Within You Tolstoy addressed himself to this problem and said:

The Churches, as Churches - as institutions affirming their own infallibility - are anti-Christian institutions. Between the Churches as such and Christianity, not only is there nothing in common except the name, but they are two quite opposite and opposing principles.¹

In the novel the author poignantly remarks on numerous occasions concerning the Mass, rituals, priesthood, visual symbols, and the dogmas of the Russian Orthodox Church.

¹Leo Tolstoy, The Kingdom of God and Peace Essays. (The World's Classics, Translated with an Introduction by Aylmer Maude), (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 82.

Describing prison life of convicts, he painted a gloomy picture of prisons and prisoners, and as a sharp contrast presented to the reader a new and beautiful, richly decorated church-edifice which had been "newly erected and decorated by a wealthy merchant who had spent some tens of thousands of rubles on it, and it fairly glittered with bright colours and gold".¹ The contrast is quite vivid. On the one hand tired half-shaven heads, chains on the feet, the grey gloomy dress of the prisoners, are painted and on the other a new bright edifice richly decorated with gold. Following the description of the building the author glaringly portrayed the service that took place in that church. Tolstoy wrote:

The service went like this: the priest, having robed in peculiar, strange and very inconvenient garment of gold cloth, cut and arranged little bits of bread on a saucer and then put most of them into a cup of wine, at the same time repeating various names and prayers. Meanwhile the subdeacon steadily went on, first reading various prayers and then singing them turn and turn about with the choir of convicts. These prayers were in old Slavonic - difficult enough to understand at any time but made still more incomprehensible by the rapidity with which they were read and sung.²

¹L.N. Tolstoy, *Resurrection*, (Translated by Rosemary Edmonds), (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 180.

²*Ibid.*, p. 180.

Note: All quotations given in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, were taken from the above mentioned edition of the Resurrection.

Tolstoy ridiculed the priest's dress for its impracticality and richness. He downgraded the Holy Eucharist by calling it bread and wine, implying that no transubstantiation took place, and diminished the importance of litany by implying that it is just a senseless repetition of words. He also derided the usage of the Slavonic language in the service, which in the opinion of the Orthodox Church was the only language proper for the Russian Orthodox Church, but in the opinion of Tolstoy, it was an obstruction for the simple Russian people to the understanding of the whole service which supposedly united people with God. He stressed the fact that the prayers "consisted mainly of supplications for the well-being of the Emperor and his family"¹ pointing out that the Church, which supposedly served all the people, had at its heart, the prosperity and safety of the monarchy and the domination over its subjects, being deaf to the needs of the Russian population in general, and in particular, it was indifferent to the sufferings of convicts, who needed its prayers the most.

¹Ibid., p. 181.

Tolstoy continued to describe the church service as follows:

After this the transformation was considered accomplished, and the priest, having taken the napkin from the saucer, cut the middle piece of bread in four and put it, first into the wine and then into his mouth. The idea was that he had eaten a piece of God's flesh and swallowed a sip of His blood. (...) After that the priest carried the cup back behind the partition, and drinking up all the blood left in the cup and eating all the remaining bits of God's body, and painstakingly licking round his moustaches and wiping his mouth and cup, briskly marched out from behind the partition, in the most cheerful frame of mind, the thin soles of his calfskin boots creaking slightly as he walked.¹

Describing the service in the prison church, the author, through his remarks such as "Christ flying to heaven"; priest's "golden peculiar garment"; prayers said rapidly and understood by no one, "God contained in the cup", endless bowing and crossing of prisoners and the supplications of the priest against the chatter, half shaven heads, and the clinking of the chains, instills in the critical reader aversion to all that was being performed in that church. From the account, it seems, that the priest alone "was in the most cheerful frame of mind" at this particular service. All the prisoners, as the writer stated, were very relieved

¹Ibid., p. 182.

when the service came to a conclusion and when they were led back to their prison cells. For the majority of them it was a burdensome experience since they had to stand for hours, some of them in chains, frequently bowing to the floor. No doubt it demanded physical strength and good health, and many of them, after months in jail, were physically exhausted and it must have been too strenuous on them. S. Bychkov made the following remark regarding the church service:

He is using all the opportunities to show falsity of the Church rituals ... This falsity of the official Church is very pointedly exposed in the description of the Easter Service which is presented in a satirical way using the device of lowering of the majestic and important church ritual (...) caparison is called cloth sack, antimensium - a napkin, iconostasy a railing, and the Holy Sacraments he called manipulations.¹

After his uncomplimentary description of the Orthodox Mass, Tolstoy gave his own opinion of the whole Church service. He said:

And to not one of those present, from the priest and the superintendent down to Maslova, did it occur that this Jesus Whose name the priest repeated in wheezy tones such an endless number of times, praising Him with outlandish words, had expressly forbidden everything that was being done there; that He had

¹S. Bychkov, L.N. Tolstoj: *Ocherk Tvorchestva*, (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoj Literatury, 1954), p. 436.

not only prohibited the senseless chatter and the blasphemous incantation over the bread and wine but had also, in the most emphatic manner, forbidden men to call other men their master or to pray in temples, and had commanded each to pray in solitude; had forbidden temples themselves, saying, that he came to destroy them and that one should worship not in temples but in spirit and in truth ... It did not occur to any one of those present that everything that was going on there was the greatest blasphemy, and a mockery of the same Christ in Whose name it was all being done. No one seemed to realize that the gilt cross with the enamel medallions at the ends, which the priest held out to the people to kiss, was nothing else but the emblem of the gallows on which Christ had been executed for denouncing the very things now being performed here in His name.¹

His first criticism was directed against the Orthodox Mass based on the assumption that the Orthodox Church, by its church services, contradicted the teaching of the founder of Christianity, namely Jesus Christ. Thus in Tolstoy's view every single ritual and practice of the Orthodox Church was contrary to the teachings of the Gospels.

His second criticism was directed against the ignorance of the people and the indifference of priests who, in Tolstoy's opinion, were unaware that they actually opposed the main premises of the Christian teaching through the church worship.

¹L. N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 184-185.

Tolstoy suggested that the priests, the spiritual leaders of the people, were themselves spiritually blind since they knew not the teachings of Christ, and on this basis, they disqualified themselves from the priestly office. Moreover, Tolstoy suggested that the priests were to be blamed for the ignorance of the people since they failed in their main task of teaching the people the commandments of Christ.

It is evident that Tolstoy used his talent to ridicule the priesthood of the Orthodox Church for its wrong motivation in the service of the Church, for their subservience to the state, and their attitudes towards the teachings of the Church. The author of the novel also castigated the Orthodox priesthood for its indifference to the needs of the people, negligence of their primary duties to God, their lack of morals, for their hoarding of wealth, and for their cruelty. Commenting on the Mass the writer said that priests misled the people and were "subjecting them to the most cruel torments, by concealing from them the good things that He had brought them."¹

Describing the oath taking before the trial of Maslova, Tolstoy gave us a vivid description of the priest taking the oath. It seems to us that the priest made no worthy

¹Ibid., p. 185.

contribution to the society at large, lacked interest in life, was without any initiative, and on account of this he was satisfied with the same position for many years. He prided himself in the service he performed for the state and contrary to his priestly calling was completely indifferent to the sufferings of his fellow man. His primary objective was to provide security and education for his family.

The little old priest with his puffy sallow face, his brown cassock, his gold cross hanging round his neck and some trifling decoration pinned on one side of his vestment, laboriously moving his stiff legs beneath his cassock, went up to the lectern beneath the ikon ... This priest had taken orders forty-seven years ago and in three years'time would be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination, just as the archpriest at the cathedral had recently celebrated his. He had served in the court ever since it was opened, and was very proud of having sworn in some tens of thousands of men, and that at his advanced age he still continued to labour for the good of the Church, of his country and of his family, to whom he expected to leave a capital sum of quite thirty thousand roubles in interest-bearing securities, not to mention the house they lived in. The fact that his work in the court-room, which consisted in having men swear on the Gospel in which all oaths are expressly forbidden, was not a good occupation never occurred to him, and far from being irked by it - he liked this familiar employment of his: it often brought him in contact with nice people.¹

¹Ibid., p. 49-50.

Tolstoy also attacked the Russian Orthodox clergy through the criticism of the priest who was saying Mass in the prison church. In Tolstoy's words

The priest performed his function with an easy conscience because he had been brought up from childhood to believe that this was the one true faith which had been held by all the saints that had ever lived and was held now by the spiritual and temporal authorities. He did not believe that the bread became flesh, or that it was good for the soul to pronounce a great number of words, or that he had really devoured a bit of God - no one could believe that - but he believed that one ought to believe it. But the main thing that confirmed him in this faith was the fact that, for eighteen years now he had been drawing an income which enabled him to support his family, and send his son to a high-school and his daughter to a school for the daughters of clergy.¹

Tolstoy suggested that the priest had a faulty conscience. Instead of having a troubled conscience he was at peace with himself in a situation where a person with a different morality would have lost peace of his mind. His faith was not based on reason and was not by his own choice, but was instilled in his soul from childhood, therefore, his faith was not based on the Gospels but on the teachings of his parents and the Orthodox Church. When he became an adult his

¹Ibid., p. 185.

only excuse for being an Orthodox was his faith in Saints and the men who were in authority, but even in his mature age he had no faith based on the Scriptures - the only source of true Christianity. He lacked faith in the Orthodox dogmas and served the Church due to the economic security it provided him and his family. Thus the priest, in Tolstoy's opinion, had a warped conscience; he based his faith on the spiritual and secular leaders of Russia instead of basing it on the Word of God. He outwardly served the Church but there was no conscious and living faith in the dogmas he was presenting to the people. The main motivation of his faith was the security and the remuneration he received for his services.

At the end of the novel the author introduced an old man who was used by Tolstoy to communicate to the readers his own main philosophical and religious ideas. The old man obeyed no one and had his own brand of faith to live by. He expressed the true sentiments of the author concerning the Orthodox clergy. The old man talking with Nekhlyudov, stated that "like they persecuted Christ, so they persecute me too. Grab me an' take me to court, an' drag me before the priests - before the scribes and Pharisees".¹

¹Ibid., p. 535.

Here Tolstoy equated the Orthodox priests with Hebrew religious leaders, the scribes and Pharisees who prided themselves in being God's servants and the leaders of God's people but whom Christ on many occasions rebuked for their spiritual deadness and called them the servants of the Devil whose will they obeyed.¹ This group of people persecuted Christ and were responsible for the crucifixion of the Son of God. Thus, the implication was that the Russian clergy were not serving God but rather were his enemies.

This thought was underlined in the case of the persecuted dissident sectarians who were unjustly punished by the Church. Nekhlyudov was surprised to hear about jailed sectarians. They were "a little group in the country", who "had been meeting in order to read the Gospels"², and for the reading of the Word of God they were arrested and jailed. At the trial, a New Testament confiscated at the time of their arrest, was produced as evidence by the public prosecutor and on this basis they were sentenced to deportation. This mistreatment of innocent people was shocking to Nekhlyudov. He was told that it was possible in Russia to send a man to hard labor in

¹Bible, St. John's Gospel, 8:21-59.

²L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 311.

Siberia if it can be proved that he has been expounding the Bible after a fashion critical of the Church's interpretation.¹ It is evident that the Church feared the truth and suppressed that which it should have been propagating among the people, namely, reading and teaching the Gospels. In Tolstoy's view the apostles expounded to the people the Word of God and commanded believers to do likewise. However, the Church claiming apostolic succession and pretending to have the Truth, contradicted itself by forbidding the reading of the Holy Scriptures. To everyone versed in the Word of God this fact was self evident, therefore Nekhlyudov looked with awe at the inconsistency and hypocrisy of the Orthodox Church of Russia. Tolstoy highly praised sectarians for their morality and ethics. To him they were "good and courageous men".² Nevertheless, they suffered under the unjustifiable oppression of the pseudo-Christian Church.

Tolstoy also criticized the subdeacon who assisted the priest during the church service. The subdeacon

... believed in these things even more firmly than the priest, since he had entirely forgotten the substance of the dogmas of this faith, and only knew that (...) everything

¹Ibid., p. 312.

²Ibid., p. 414.

had its fixed price (...) and sang and read what he had to sing and read as a matter of course, just as another man sells wood or flour or potatoes.¹

The subdeacon was not deeply concerned about the dogmas of the Church since he had forgotten what they actually meant. The only thing that he learned through his association with the Orthodox Church was the fact that prayers, wine, the choir singing, the Hours and all the other services provided by the Church had their price and they were available to those who were willing to pay for them. It was strictly a business proposition. Therefore the subdeacon mechanically performed his duties without any thought or feeling for the church service. He also appreciated money and was well informed as to the remuneration for his services.

In his defamation of the Russian Orthodox clergy Tolstoy did not leave out the hierarchy of the Church. Referring to the dismissal of a Government department head for moral deviation, who was to be appointed governor of one of the provinces in Siberia, Skovorodnikov, a jurist and a member of the Russian Senate, Tolstoy made the following remark: "The bishop will come out in procession to meet him with the cross.

¹Ibid., p. 185.

They ought to appoint a bishop of the same species. I could recommend one to them."¹ Tolstoy suggested that the Church tolerated immorality and even its bishops disregarded Christian moral standards and were involved in homosexuality. In this way Tolstoy strongly ridiculed and degraded the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church.

A similar criticism was presented in the case of the prosecution against the sectarians who were persecuted for their beliefs by the Church authorities. For all the persecutions and hardships the sectarians underwent in Russia, Tolstoy blamed the bishops of the Church. We are told that when the civil court acquitted them "the bishop and the governor had decided on the basis that their marriages were illegal, to separate husbands, wives and children, and send them into exile."² The impression is left with the reader that the bishop, representing the Orthodox Church, was a cruel man without any consideration for the commandment of God which forbids to separate husbands and wives without their consent or due reason. This cruel servant of the Church having no compassion for the families and seeing that those people could be set free by the civil court devised a devilish

¹Ibid., p. 357.

²Ibid., p. 384.

scheme to separate them and to exile them from their own villages. Instead, as befitting a true servant of God who should have helped the people, he was willing to put them to much suffering and temptation with the idea that others seeing this cruel punishment would be afraid to leave the Russian Orthodox Church.

From the description of the Orthodox clergy found in the novel, one can only come to the conclusion that all their ranks were spiritually dead, materialistically minded and while preaching eternal life to others, they themselves cared only for this earthly life. We can also say that they were not true servants of God but, at best, faithful servants of the Orthodox Church and the Russian State.

In his campaign against the Orthodox Church, Tolstoy also ridiculed the outward symbols of the Church. In his studies of the New Testament he found not a single mention of images used by the Apostolic Church. Tolstoy claimed that the worship of icons contradicted the teachings of Christ and the apostles, and therefore, he set out to discredit the worship of images by Russians. For this reason, in Resurrection the images were placed in the most conspicuous places; in the jail, in the court-house, and in the senate chamber side by side with the portrait of the Tsar.

Describing the waiting room of the jail Tolstoy noted that

In one corner there was a black yardstick for measuring a prisoner's height, while in another hung the customary appurtenances of all places of barbarity - a large image of Christ, as it were in mockery of His teaching.¹

In the assembly hall Nekhlyudov saw a crucifix and was surprised

... to see a large picture of the Crucifixion, hanging in an alcove. 'What's that here for?' he wondered, his mind involuntarily connecting the image of the Christ with liberation and not with captivity.²

There were also ikons placed in the jail cells to remind the prisoners of their faith and duty. In Tolstoy's judgement, the presence of the images in those places was a mockery of Christ's teaching since He preached love, equality and freedom of all men. Ironically those institutions where the images were found, were the opposite of everything Christ and true believers counted most dear in their lives.

The author also believed that those outward symbols of the Orthodox Church were devised to keep the simple people subjugated and in spiritual darkness.

¹Ibid., p. 237.

²Ibid., p. 190.

He reasoned that

The majority of the prisoners (...) believed that these gilded ikons, candles, chalices, vestments, crosses, repetitions of incomprehensible words, 'Jesus most sweet' and 'Have mercy', possessed a mystic power by means of which a great many comforts might be obtained, in this life and in the life to come. Though most of them had made several attempts - by means of prayers, special services, candles - to get the goods of this life, and their prayers had remained unanswered, each of them was firmly convinced that their lack of success was accidental and that the establishment, approved by learned men and by archbishops, must be a thing of the greatest importance, and indispensable, if not for this life, at any rate for the hereafter.¹

The simple people, unable to reason for themselves and being not versed in the bible, accepted those symbols as being guidelines approved by God on their way to heaven. To the uneducated it seemed that the images truly had miraculous power and considered them very prominent in their Christian lives. The Russian peasants were not aware that the images were meaningless in this life on the road to heaven. Not only were the ikons and the crosses of no value but they were also costing them money. They wholeheartedly believed that those church devised means would protect them from evil and would truly open for them the gates to eternal life. The Russian people were too simple to see the contradiction

¹Ibid., p. 186.

between the theoretical claims and the actual performance of the images in their daily lives, and were unable to make a reasonable conclusion on the basis of their former experiences with the images. Tolstoy laid the blame on the leaders, who, being educated, approved these devices and rituals knowing fully well that they were worthless in the spiritual realm since they were void of life and any miraculous powers.

Describing the conclusion of the church service the author observed: "chatting with the superintendent, the priest stuck the cross and his hand at the mouths, and sometimes the noses of the convicts."¹ It is obvious that the priest paid no attention to what was going on in the church at that moment. He talked with the superintendent and cared little that the holy cross, instead of being kissed, in some cases was only touched by the noses of the worshippers. Thus, Tolstoy showed the indifference of the priests to the worship of those symbols and ridiculed the whole ritual of kissing the cross at the conclusion of the service.

Tolstoy had a very deep sympathy for the simple Russian people, and in his novel tried to unmask the prevailing deception of the Orthodox Church. Through the propagation of

¹Ibid., p. 184.

the images and outward symbols, the Russian Church leaders kept the people faithful to the Church and at the same time collected enormous sums of money from the poverty stricken population through the sale of holy images.

Speaking of Toporov, who was the official protector of the Orthodox Church in Russia, Tolstoy said that he was an obtuse man lacking in moral sense. Toporov's attitude towards religion was -

... like that of a poultry-keeper to the offal he feeds his fowl on: offal is quite disgusting but fowls like it and eat it, therefore they must be fed of offal. Of course, all that worship of ikons of Iberia, Kazan and Smolensk is gross idolatry, but the people like it and believe in it, and therefore the superstition must be encouraged.¹

Tolstoy called the worship of ikons idolatry since it contradicted the true worship of the living God, yet it was perpetuated by the educated men for it helped them to keep the Russian population in subjugation and obedience to their spiritual and secular rulers.

Tolstoy in his novel Resurrection, with all the power of a gifted writer, struck at image worship and vividly showed the reasons for this practice and the consequences of

¹Ibid., p. 383.

such a habit. There could be no misunderstanding as to Tolstoy's feeling on this subject. To him it was idolatry perverting pure Christianity, devised and propagated by the spiritual leaders to keep Russians in subjugation and at the same time to collect money for the support of the Orthodox Church through the sale of images.

Tolstoy also addressed himself to the beliefs of Russian intelligentsia and underlined the hypocrisy and superficiality of their faith in Orthodox dogmas and practices. Toporov is a representative of Russian bureaucracy who outwardly practiced the rituals of the Orthodox Church but inwardly was an atheist. We read that Toporov "at the bottom of his heart he really believed in nothing."¹ The same could be said about Russian intelligentsia of that epoch as a whole. The impression is made that they rejected the dogmas of the Orthodox Church and lost their faith in God. Thus, it is stated that to the political prisoner Nabatov, "God was a hypothesis for which, so far, he had no use."² Another political prisoner Kondratev had a similar conviction concerning religion.

¹Ibid., p. 383.

²Ibid., p. 504.

It is pointed out that

His views on religion were as negative as his views on the existing economic order of things. Realizing the absurdity of the faith in which he had been brought up(...)he never tired of pouring venomous and embittered¹ ridicule on priests and religious dogmas.

Tolstoy said that to the educated, the Orthodox faith was an absurdity and a deception. It was something to be ridiculed and abhorred and therefore only simple people could have sincerely accepted it and believed all the dogmas of the Church.

The novel leaves a general impression on the reader that those outside of the Orthodox Church were the best people in Russia. Tolstoy praised the majority of the political prisoners for their exemplary behavior, since he could hardly find anything disagreeable in their lives. They cared for their sick, helped one another in every possible way, were clean, educated and hardworking people. Even Maslova, the fallen prostitute, under their influence underwent a change of heart for the better, and was brought back into the fold of the main stream of humanity.

In contrast, most of the people in the novel connected with the Orthodox Church were represented by Tolstoy as evil, and immoral men. The main hero of the novel, Nekhlyudov, who

¹Ibid., p. 506.

started young Maslova on the road of moral degradation, was an adherer of the Orthodox Church. Because of him she "ceased to believe in God and goodness" and came to a conclusion that "none believed on Him and that all they said about God and goodness was just in order to cheat people."¹

Tolstoy also struck at the hypocrisy of the educated adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church who were faithful church supporters. They upheld the Church for their own profit and careers. Thus Nekhlyudov's friend, Selenin, a well educated and talented public prosecutor

Being earnest and upright, in his youth, when he and Nekhlyudov were fellow students, he had made no secret of his rejection of the superstitions of the State religion.²

Selenin in his youth was a strong antagonist of the Orthodox Church, he denied its doctrines and regarded all the external forms of worship and rituals as a sham. Later on, because of his career, he changed his outlook on religion. The contributing factors leading to his reversed stand were his reading Hegel, Vinet and Khomjakov, the latter a reknown Russian Orthodox apologist.

¹Ibid., p. 177.

²Ibid., p. 364.

From that time on Selenin

Adopted the usual sophisms, such as the incapacity of the individual intellect to grasp the truth; that the truth is only revealed to an aggregate of men; that it can only be known through revelation; that revelation is in the keeping of the Church; and so on.¹

Selenin accepted the Church and its dogmas to compensate for the unhappiness in his married life and to achieve his goal of becoming a successful civil servant. Through Selenin's case history the author showed that most of the educated Russians who supported the Church had ulterior motives.

Another representative of this group of people was the assistant prosecutor, who, before the trial

... had not been in bed all night. There had been a farewell party for a friend, they had drunk and played cards until two in the morning and then called on the women in the very house where ² Maslova had been until six months ago.

In this case we supposedly see a devout Christian, who for hours played cards, drank and spent the rest of the night in a brothel paying no attention to the fact that the very next morning he had an important legal case to handle. The same day Maslova was sentenced with the help of this man who was

¹Ibid., p. 366.

²Ibid., p. 43.

not even worthy to be called a Christian. The assistant prosecutor saw all the sins of the prosecuted but was blind to his own sins.

Tolstoy also spoke of an old general, a friend of Nekhlyudov's mother, who was trying to communicate with the dead because he was interested to learn how the departed spirits "recognize each other."¹ No doubt, the man was a member of the Church, nevertheless he practiced sorcery which was forbidden by the same Church. Being in charge of the prisons and jailing those who opposed the teachings of the Church, he himself, on the basis of his unchristian practices, should have been punished by the Orthodox Church. However, having power in his hands, the old general was above the law and he continued to persecute those who were in disfavour of the Church. No wonder Nekhlyudov, after meeting several of such personalities, asked this question:

Could it really be that all the talk about justice, goodness, law, religion, God and so on, was nothing but so many words to conceal the grossest self-interest and cruelty.²

¹Ibid., p. 351.

²Ibid., p. 387.

The answer to this question was self-evident to the reader of the novel. The author left the impression that this was the case with most of the officials, and that the Church tolerated this duplicity - the outward acceptance of the Church dogmas and Christianity for their own selfish motives coupled with an inward indifference to the faith and the Church.

Turning to the dogmatic claims of the Orthodox Church Tolstoy saw contradictions between theory and practice. Speaking of Toporov's duties the author said:

The contradiction inherent in the post he occupied lay in this, that it was his duty to uphold and defend by secular means, not excluding violence, a Church which, by its own definition, had been established by God Himself and could not be shaken by the gates of hell or by human agency. This divine and absolutely unshakeable, godlike institution had to be sustained and protected by a human institution, over which Toporov and his officials presided.¹

Undoubtedly Tolstoy's argumentation was based on facts and logic. If Almighty God was the originator and the Head of Orthodox Church as the Church claimed, it should have depended on His power to protect the Church as the apostles did and should have refused any help or protection from the government of Russia. Tolstoy was conscious of the fact that at that time the Russian Orthodox Church became a political tool in

¹Ibid., p. 382-383.

the hands of the Tsars and was far removed from the pure Christianity of the first century. He tried to expose this falsity and hypocrisy of the official Russian Church, and to direct attention of the people to the inconsistency of theory and practice of the Orthodox Church.

On the basis of our discussion we may say that Tolstoy used his novel Resurrection to mercilessly criticize the Russian Orthodox Church; its functions in society; its practices and beliefs. He condemned the worldliness of its priests and bishops and blamed them for keeping the ordinary Russian people in spiritual darkness and superstition. He castigated them for their subservience to the Russian Tsar. Tolstoy ridiculed the Orthodox Church services since he, as G. Steiner said, "regarded the ceremonial and the liturgical rites of the established churches with contempt."¹ He also degraded the image worship, which, in Tolstoy's view, had no biblical foundation, and contradicted human reason. The author chastised the Russian religious and secular leaders for their inconsistency, lack of true faith, cruelty and for their loose morals. Finally he ridiculed theology of historical Christianity both Greek Orthodox and Protestant. To the discussion of Tolstoy's treatment of the Protestant faith we shall dedicate the next chapter of this thesis.

¹George Steiner, Tolstoy or Dostoevsky: An Essay in the Old Criticism, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), p. 286.

2. The Protestants

Through his life Tolstoy was continually seeking the Truth and everything that contradicted his own reason, regardless of its source, he refused to accept. After years of searching he came to the conclusion that Christian theology was unacceptable to his critical mind. In his reply to the Synod's excommunication he wrote: "That I deny the incomprehensible Trinity (...) the fall of the first man, the blasphemous story of God born of a virgin to redeem the human race - is perfectly true."¹ Thus he refused to accept the main dogmas of the Christian Church. D.B. Jutten, a protestant, stated that Tolstoy

... rejects entirely the great doctrines of Gospel. He does not believe in atonement, regeneration, sanctification, resurrection or immortality. He does not believe Jesus Christ to be divine, but simply regards him as a moral philosopher.²

For this reason P. Boborykin, in our opinion, correctly stated that "not a single honestly believing Christian, be it Orthodox, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist or any sectarian, on

¹L.N. Tolstoy, The Works, the Centenary Edition, translated by Louise and Aylmer Maude for the Tolstoy Society, (London: Oxford University Press, 1928, vol. 12), p. 218.

²D.B. Jutten, "Religion of Count Tolstoy" in Baptist Quarterly Review, (1889, vol. 10, pp. 307-331), p. 312.

the basis of the spirit and dogma of Christian faith, could count him as a brother."¹

On account of his criticism of Christian theology, Tolstoy looked with disfavour at the Protestant Church, however, since Protestants were in a great minority in Russia and had no political or ecclesiastical power he only superficially mentioned Protestant Christianity in the novel. He was sympathetic to their ethics and their courage, which enabled them to remain steadfast in their convictions and to stand against the Russian Orthodox Church and the State in the face of constant persecutions.

In the novel we find Nekhlyudov interceding for sectarians who were unjustly persecuted; - by the whims of the bishop and Toporov were destined to be separated from their families and contrary to the decision of the civil court, exiled to the Siberia.

It is evident in the Resurrection that Tolstoy rejected the Protestant theology as much as he rejected the Orthodox dogmas. Reading the account of the protestant service which

¹P. Boborykin, "Tolstoy - Verouchitel'", in Golos Minuvshago na Chuzhoj Storone, (1925, vol. 13, pp. 29-57), p. 54.

Nekhlyudov attended we find the following description given by the author:

Kieswetter, a thick-set man with hair just turning grey, spoke in English, and a thin girl wearing pince-nez translated quickly and well. He said that our sins were so great and the punishment they deserved was so great and unavoidable, that it was impossible to live, anticipating such punishment. (...) 'A dreadful doom - everlasting torment - awaits us,' he cried, with tears in his trembling voice. 'How can we be saved? My brethren, how are we to be saved from flames, and there is no escape.' (...) The orator suddenly uncovered his face and arranged on it something quite like a real smile, the sort of smile with which actors express joy, and began again in a sweet gentle voice: 'But salvation is to be found. Easy, blissful salvation is ours. Our salvation is the blood shed for us by the only-begotten Son of God, who gave Himself up to be tortured for our sakes.'¹

First of all, the impression is made that this religion was only for the rich since the service was held in a ballroom furnished with expensive furniture, and the majority in attendance, was richly dressed ladies. Tolstoy faithfully presented the sermon in which we find, in a nutshell, the main precepts of Protestant theology. Here we have the love of God presented to mankind through the sacrifice of His Son Jesus Christ, who through His death and resurrection offers a confessing sinner, otherwise destined to eternal damnation, forgiveness and salvation from his sins. Tolstoy made a great effort to present this service as a demonstration of pure emotionalism and inconsistent with reason.

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

Thus the preacher was speaking with eyes full of tears and preaching with a trembling voice which brought the expected results. Sobs were heard in the room. On this account "Nekhlyudov felt so profoundly disgusted that he quietly got up, frowning and repressing a groan of shame tiptoed out and went to his room".¹ The ideas expressed in this service contradicted Nekhlyudov's beliefs. He felt so strongly about it that he disregarded the possibility of offending his friends and, expressing his disapproval, quietly left them.

Nekhlyudov knew most of the people attending the service and he was conscious of the duplicity displayed by some of them. In this category he placed Countess Katerina Ivavovna. He knew well the hypocrisy of this woman:

Countess Katerina Ivavovna, however strange it might seem and however little in keeping with her temperament, was a fervent adherent of the doctrine which teaches that faith in the Redemption is the essence of Christianity. She attended all the meetings where this doctrine, fashionable at the time, was preached, and held meetings of the "faithful" in her own house. But although the doctrine rejected all ritual, ikons and even sacraments, the countess had an ikon in every room, and one at the head of her bed, also, and continued to observe all that the Church demanded, seeing no inconsistency in this.²

¹Ibid., p. 341.

²Ibid., p. 325.

Tolstoy knew that Protestants rejected all the outward symbols of worship and the ritual, and yet, those who supposedly supported the views of the preacher practiced the Orthodox rituals and used the ikons in their homes. At the Protestant meeting they were fervently praying and crying in repentance and as soon as they left the meeting they continued to live in the old ways.

Nekhlyudov saw that they remained the same people and their new faith had no influence on them as to their outlook on life and behavior. He could not have accepted hypocrisy regardless who generated it. In this case Tolstoy saw that the Protestant preacher and his theology, rather than providing betterment to the people, multiplied hypocrites, and this provoked Nekhlyudov to openly demonstrate his disapproval of this faith.

For this reason we find that when the inquisitive Selenin made a proposition to Nekhlyudov to attend one such meeting he said that he was already present at one of these services and "left in disgust", because it is all so wildly absurd."¹

¹Ibid., p. 361.

On this basis it could be said that Tolstoy objected to the sentimentalism imbedded in protestantism; rejected its theology of God-Man who through His own death saved all men and opposed the results protestantism produced, namely the two-facedness of its converts.

At the very end of the novel the author introduced another protestant minister who visited the prison with Nekhlyudov. He wanted "to preach salvation by faith and atonement."¹ The Englishman was shown preaching to the sick and dying convicts the message "that Christ pities and loves them, and died for them. If they believe this they will be saved."² Following his short sermon he distributed copies of the New Testament. This procedure was repeated in every cell untill "he had distributed an appointed number of Testaments", then "the Englishman gave away no more and even made no more speeches."³ Tolstoy made no comment of his own on the activity of this man. However, the preacher was put in such a situation that he looked ridiculous to the people. Amidst deprivity, human misery, sickness, stench and the sordid degradation of human beings a well dressed man preached salvation and love from an expensive leather bound New

¹Ibid., p. 555.

²Ibid., p. 555.

³Ibid., p. 558.

Testament. Instead of bread he distributed to the starving convicts Books, and instead of bringing hope and relief to their suffering, he spoke of salvation and life after death. These people were fed on this eternal hope by their own church from their childhood. Their immediate need was help from the preacher but he had nothing to offer these unfortunate convicts. He was far removed from reality of life and understood neither the people nor the circumstances in which they lived. No wonder his suggestion to the quarelling men to settle their differences on the basis of love was ridiculed by them.¹ Such an approach was beyond comprehension to the convicts. Their experience and the circumstances dictated to them that only through the instinct of self preservation they could survive the hardships of prison life. Accordingly "tooth for a tooth" was the only unwritten law they understood and accepted.

S.A. Goldenweiser said in reference to the preacher:

The representative of an English evangelical society who visits the prison for transients in Siberia and moralizes to the prisoners, supplying a certain number of bibles to each cell, looks positively ridiculous.²

¹Ibid., p. 557.

²S.A. Goldenweiser, Crime a Punishment and Punishment
A Crime, op. cit., p. 17.

Tolstoy also mentioned sectarians who were "upsetting superstitions"¹ and were jailed for the reading of the Gospels at home. The author saw something good in them since they were destroying practices of the Orthodox Church. It was not so much his approving of the sectarians, but his general compassion for everyone who was persecuted by the Church or the state. Because of this, disregarding who those sectarians were or what doctrines they held, Nekhlyudov took upon himself to help them and through his intervention, Toporov promised to release them.

Summing up, it could be said that Tolstoy leveled milder criticism at the Protestants. He found nothing degrading to say about the ministers, the service or the sectarians mentioned in Resurrection, since morally and ethically they were not far removed from Tolstoy's ideals. However, he clearly implied that their dogma of salvation by faith and emotionalism was not to his liking. On this basis we may conclude that, although in somewhat milder terms, Tolstoy nevertheless, in his novel Resurrection, definitely ridiculed the Protestant theology and the Protestant movement in Russia.

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 387.

We share the opinion of V. Zhdanov who gave the following appraisal of Tolstoy's view of Protestants:

Tolstoy looked negatively at the Evangelical teaching imported from the West by followers of Redstock. He refused to accept their main tenet which stated that for the "salvation" of man it is only necessary to believe in the deity of Christ. (...) They were censured by Tolstoy in "Resurrection" and many years before that in "Anna Karenina".¹

On the basis of his novel we may conclude that Tolstoy rejected historical Christianity and in its place propagated his own religious views which to his mind were the only true answers to the question of God and man.

3. Religion

At the center of his religious philosophy he placed man himself. Rejecting all supernatural, the divinity of Christ, the eternal bliss or punishment, Tolstoy invented kingdom of heaven on earth which would be attained when all men begin to live according to the dictates of their own conscience in the light of the Sermon on the Mount.

¹V. Zhdanov, *Tvorcheskaja Istorija Romana L.N. Tolstogo "Voskresenie"*, (Moskva: Sovetskij Pisatel', 1960) p. 341.

Tolstoy thought that man was a part of a spiritual whole which he called God. However it was not a personal intelligent being as Chirstians believe, but only a force which created and sustained the universe. We read that Nekhlyudov after his decision to marry Maslova

... stopped, crossed his hands over his breast as he used to do when he was a child lifted his eyes and said, addressing someone: 'O Lord, help me, instruct me, come and take Thime abode in me and cleanse me from all impurity.'

He prayed, asking God to help him, to enter into him and cleanse him; and in the meantime that which he asked had already happened. The God who dwelt within him had awakened in his conscience. He felt himself one with Him, and therefore he was conscious not only of the freedom, the courage and joy of life, but of all the power of righteousness. All, all the best a man could do, he now felt himself capable of doing.¹

Thus it could be seen that God, in Tolstoy's opinion, dwelt in Nekhlyudov without his realization of this fact and through prayer he became conscious of God's presence in him. Nekhlyudov also suddently felt that nothing could stand in his way since unlimited moral strength pervaded his being. At this moment he felt equal to God. He imagined that he possessed unlimited power which God alone can claim.

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 142.

After his first visit to the jail, Nekhlyudov was thinking of his past:

For two years I have not kept my diary, and I thought I should never return to such childishness. Yet it was not childishness but converse with my own self, the true divine self which lives in every man. All this time I was asleep and there was no one for me to converse with. This self of mine was awakened by an extraordinary event on the 28th of April, in the law-court, where I was one of the jury.¹

In Tolstoy's opinion the moral downfall of Nekhlyudov resulted from the negligence of his own divine self which is demonstrated in man through conscience. Nekhlyudov's prayers were not directed to a divine Being distinct from man, but it was conversation with oneself, or reawakening of ones conscience. This realization of the divine self, in Tolstoy's view, always brought peace and joy to man.

In his novel Tolstoy also spoke of God as "the Master". We read that Nekhlyudov sitting on the juror's bench "felt the mighty hand of the Master" but at that time he had not recognized it:

He did not want to believe that what he saw now was his doing. But the inexorable, invisible hand held him and he already had a presentiment that he would never wriggle free.²

¹Ibid., p. 173.

²Ibid., p. 111.

This feeling of his, finally came to fruition and he had to submit to this mighty hand and to admit that Maslova's predicament resulted from his own mistreatment of her, years before.

Trying to find the causes and the meaning of life's events Nekhlyudov came to the conclusion that it could not be understood by him. He said that "to understand the Master's purpose is beyond me. But to do His will, inscribed in my conscience - is in my power, and this I know unquestioningly."¹ The only knowledge Nekhlyudov possessed was the Master's will inscribed in his conscience. Therefore to fulfill the dictates of one's conscience was Nekhlyudov's primary duty, since in it alone, he saw his own peace and joy.

Tolstoy rejected revelation of God, and the Holy Scriptures, and therefore concludes that the only moral judge of man's behavior was his own conscience. Rejecting the Bible, he also rightly rejected all possibility of knowing the reasons underlying human existence in this world since outside of the written revelation of God there is no way of knowing the ultimate in the universe and in man's life.

¹Ibid., p. 297.

Tolstoy saw in human beings two parts, spiritual and animal, and a constant struggle between the two. In the novel it is thus stated:

In Nekhlyudov, as in all of us, there were two men. One was the spiritual being, seeking for himself only the kind of happiness that meant happiness for other people too; but there was also the animal man out only for his own happiness, at the expense, if need be of the good of the rest of the world.¹

Nekhlyudov, from his youth, lived as a spiritual being, seeking happiness and good of others. For this reason his first meeting with Maslova was a union of their souls which brought happiness to both of them. Three years later, under the influence of city life, the animal being became dominant and his objective from that time on was to satisfy his own desires at the cost of others. As a result, when he met Maslova the second time his only desire was to possess her disregarding her feelings and the consequences of this act. The spiritual being within man is "alone true, alone powerful, alone eternal"² says Tolstoy, and is operating in man through his conscience. Because of this, when Nekhlyudov's

¹Ibid., p. 80.

²Ibid., p. 141.

conscience awakened in the court, he resolved that "my business is to do what my conscience demands of me"¹ and from that time on he tried to pursue this goal throughout his life.

In Tolstoy's opinion, Nekhlyudov's initial tragedy was the disobedience of his own conscience and following the precepts of others, who in their majority, were ruled by the "animal being" and disregarded the "spiritual being". Life based on the rule in ones' life of the "animal being" brings degradation, unhappiness and suffering to others, and ultimately, unhappiness and degradation to the individual.

Tolstoy's religious philosophy in the novel is best expressed by the shaggy haired man who "was basing his life on Tolstoyan faith".² N. Rjazanov expressed a similar opinion when he said:

All the points of Tolstoy's ethical and religious teachings found their full embodiment in the person of the nameless "shaggy haired" old man...I do not know whether you still remember these exceptional lines from "Resurrection" which, I repeat, are a perfect illustration of Tolstoyan religion.³

¹Ibid., p. 393.

²L. Aksel'rod-Ortodoks, L.N. Tolstoy, Sbornik Statej, (Moskovskoe Otdelenie Gosudarstvennogo Izdatel'stva, 1922), p. 107.

³N. Razjanov, "Dushevnaia Tragedija L.N. Tolstogo, kak Osnova Ego Verouchenija", in Sovremennyj Mir, 1912, vol. 11, p. 239.

When he was asked by the Nekhlyudov's driver about his faith the old man answered "I haven't faith. On account of I don't believe in no one, no one but myself".¹ Thus he was opposing all religions and followed his own brand of faith which was based on his own conscience. He claimed for himself the attribute of God saying "I always was an' I always shall be"² implying that man, being eternal, should live by the dictates of his eternal spiritual being, working in man through conscience.

In conclusion, we may say that in the novel Resurrection, Tolstoy rejected practices and dogmas of historical Christianity. D. Kvitko addressing himself to this problem said:

Tolstoy was not a reformer of the church but a demolisher of it - a through-going nihilist who believed that the church doctrine is theoretically a crafty and harmful lie, and practically a collection of the grossest superstitions and sorcery which completely conceals the whole meaning of Christ's teaching.³

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 535.

²Ibid., p. 536.

³David Kvitko, A Philosophic Study of Tolstoy, (New York: David Kvitko, 1927), p. 10.

In the novel, Tolstoy presented his own belief of the presence of a divine spirit in man which is operating through man's conscience, and that it is the duty of every man to obey his own conscience since such a person alone will live for the happiness of others and consequently will, himself, experience peace, joy and happiness. On the basis of the novel we may conclude that Tolstoy, rejecting historical Christianity, propagated his own brand of faith which is strictly an ethical teaching where the behavior of a man constitutes his religion. For this reason in the next chapter we will discuss Tolstoy's ethical teachings as they were presented in the novel Resurrection.

CHAPTER II

L. TOLSTOY'S ETHICAL VIEWS

Tolstoy, in his life, was preoccupied with the question of religion and finally came to the conclusion that true Christianity is but a set of ethical propositions made by Christ and recorded in the Gospels. The idea of pre-eminence of ethics in Tolstoy's philosophy of life was best expressed in his work What I believe¹ and became one of the main themes in his novel Resurrection.

S. Bychkov notes that "his ethical ideals permeated with the conviction of the high calling of art in life, Tolstoy tried to embody in his novel."² Tolstoy advocated in this work regeneration of society through moral resurrection of individual members within the society. N.K. Gudzij

¹L.N. Tolstoy, The Works. The Centenary Edition. op. cit., vol. 11.

²S. Bychkov, L.N. Tolstoy, Ocherk Tvorchestva, op. cit., p. 420.

says that "the moralistic tendency in the novel is reduced to the preaching of ethical self-perfection as the only means of struggle against the evil."¹

Regeneration of Maslova and Nekhlyudov were completely divorced from faith in God and were carried out on the ethical plain. V. Ermilov notes that "the theme of Nekhlyudov is a theme of conscience, a theme of personal responsibility for the world."² One of the reasons for Tolstoy's rejection of historical Christianity was, in his opinion its laxity in the realm of morals, and one of his main objections to the Russian Orthodox Church was in the field of ethics. Tolstoy, in the face of prevailing libertinism in Russian society preached moral continence and service to others. On this account Ernest J. Simmons said that

More than any of his novels, "Resurrection" evokes in us a feeling of brotherly love and of the common purpose of the life of all humanity - a striving to achieve spiritual and moral perfection through service to others.³

¹N.K. Gudzij, Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, izdanie 2-e ispravlenoe, 1956), p. 93.

²V. Ermilov, Tolstoy Romanist, op. cit., p. 500.

³Ernest J. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, The Years of Maturity 1880-1910, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 281.

Reading the novel one feels this strong propagation of ethical perfection and sacrifice of self for the good of one's fellow man.

In this chapter we will look at Tolstoy's ethical views as they were expressed in his novel Resurrection.

1. Anger

In his quest for the Kingdom of God on earth, Tolstoy visualized a society where one of the main pillars had to be a control of one's emotions. He realized that anger, as a negative emotion, in many cases led people to hatred and violence and therefore stood in the way of peace and understanding among men.

In one of his ethical works he wrote of his own coming to the realization of the evil of anger and said:

Christ showed me that the first temptation which destroys the good of life is enmity, anger against other men. I cannot but believe this, and therefore can no longer deliberately bear ill-will to others; I cannot, as I used to do formerly, take pleasure in my anger, be proud of it, inflame it, and justify it by considering myself important and wise and other people insignificant, lost and senseless.¹

¹L.N. Tolstoy, The Works, The Centenary Edition, op. cit., vol. 11, p. 525.

In the novel we find many examples of evil brought on the people on account of anger. Maslova realizing that she was pregnant became hateful of everybody and everything. She was angry with herself and the whole world, and in such a state, left her home and began her downward trend of degradation and despair. All her life, experiences could have been of a different nature had she preserved calmness and self control at that particular moment in her life. Later on she realized her mistake and afterwards "repented bitterly" her action at the moment.¹ The author suggested that Maslova's anger, which was responsible for her irrational behavior, was as much to blame for all her suffering as Nekhlyudov's mistreatment of her.

Maslova, becoming a prostitute, reasoned that "in this way she could be revenged on her first betrayer, and the shop assistant, and all the other people who had wronged her."² In her anger towards the people she became blind to the facts of life and in thinking that by prostituting herself she would revenge those who wronged her, she actually, through her behavior, brought her own moral destruction.

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 27.

The author notes that from that "moment there begun for Maslova that life of chronic violation of every commandment divine and human"¹ which culminated in her trial.

For many years she continued to hate Nekhlyudov and when he realized his responsibility and offered her his help, Maslova refused even to consider his proposition. At the time of his second visit her true feelings became evident: "her whole face distorted with anger", she cried out "You disgust me - with your spectacles and your fat ugly mug. Go away, go away."²

After Nekhlyudov's departure she felt miserable and became drunk once again. Her anger with Nekhlyudov brought her no moral relief. On the contrary, through it she punished her own soul. The reality became unbearable so Maslova got drunk in order to ease her own conscience.

While working in the prison hospital and thinking about her past

... all her old bitter fury against him rose inside her and she wanted to revile, to upbraid him. She was sorry she had missed the opportunity of telling him again

¹Ibid., p. 28.

²Ibid., p. 553.

today that she knew the sort of man he was and she wasn't going to submit to him, that she would not let him make use of her spirituality as he had done physically, nor would she allow herself to be an object for any magnanimity on his part. Pity for herself and futile condemnation of him made her so wretched that she longed for drink.¹

Thus we find her inner being constantly agitated because of her hate for Nekhlyudov. She could not divorce herself from the past but blindly blamed him for her misfortune. In no way could Maslova have helped herself by such a state of mind, on the contrary, she lost her peace, gave in to drink and felt miserable.

The political prisoners, whom she met on the way to Siberia made a strong impression on Maslova and to a great degree, through their influence, she became a changed person. Her relationship with Nekhlyudov became civilized and even friendly. Maslova no longer hated him, her whole attitude towards him now was based on reason and understanding. She was courteous but refused to marry him in order to set him free and not to be in the way of his happiness². She began to appreciate everything he had done for her.³ When Maslova became a resurrected person and being indifferent to her own

¹Ibid., p. 552.

²Ibid., p. 552.

³Ibid., p. 553.

feelings, instead of hate and anger she had understanding and consideration for other people.

Nekhlyudov had a high opinion of himself and was accustomed to be respected by others. When he began pilgrimage of regeneration he had to cope with his old habits and attitudes. We find him on many occasions expressing anger towards people. Thinking of his past after Maslova's trial and his own part in it

... suddenly he realized that the aversion he had lately, and particularly today, felt for people - for the prince, and Sophia Vassilyevna, and Missy, and Korney - was aversion for himself. And strange to say, in this recognition of his own baseness there was something painful, and at the same time something pleasurable and soothing.¹

In his heart Nekhlyudov, at the moment, hated all people. Maslova's trial revealed to him the decadence of the judiciary system and the society as a whole. His anger was indiscriminately directed at everybody. He even hated himself since he was a part of this decadent society. Finally the realization of his own sinfulness brought him relief from hatred and set him on the road of moral salvation.

¹Ibid., p. 140.

It took Nekhlyudov some time to control his feelings. Thus we see him angry at the jail teller who slapped Nekhlyudov on the back;¹ he was angry with the public prosecutor who refused to accept his resignation from the jury,² and he also hated his brother-in-law Rogozhinsky who never understood Nekhlyudov.

Nekhlyudov's moods constantly shifted in his relationship with Maslova. We read:

The feelings of solemnity and joyful regeneration which he had experienced after the trial and after his first meeting with Katusha, had vanished completely, to be replaced - after their last interview - by dread and even disgust of her.³

It was not an easy task for Nekhlyudov to reform himself especially in the field of emotions since, as Tolstoy suggested, his pride stood in the way. When Nekhlyudov heard Maslova's supposed involvement with the doctor's assistant we find:

The cruel feeling of wounded pride rose to the surface again with renewed force when she mentioned the hospital. 'He, a man

¹Ibid., p. 189.

²Ibid., p. 170.

³Ibid., p. 253.

of the world, whom any girl from high society would consider herself lucky to marry, had offered himself as a husband to this woman, and she could not even wait but had to start an intrigue with a doctor's assistant,' he thought, and looked at her with hatred.¹

Nekhlyudov, the prince, still was present in him, and he constantly had to struggle with himself in order to free himself of this evil emotion. Only the realization of his own moral decadence and moral responsibility to Maslova helped him moderate his feelings of superiority and gradually free himself of this unethical, in Tolstoy's view, behavior.

Nekhlyudov, we find, after all his experiences in life recalled the teaching of Christ which stated that one must not "be angry with his brother or call him a fool, and if he should quarrel with anyone, he must be reconciled with him before offering his gift to God, that is before praying."² Thus a regenerated person, who works for bringing the Kingdom of God on earth to consummation, will control anger since it contradicts the ethics of the Kingdom.

We read in the novel, that anger led Korableva and Beauty to fighting, thereby, increasing their own suffering.³

¹Ibid., p. 396.

²Ibid., p. 566.

³Ibid., p. 156.

The officer in anger, for no good reason, flogged an innocent and helpless prisoner.¹ It is apparent that anger always brought mental and physical suffering to those concerned, and in Tolstoy's view, it was unreasonable and unnecessary.

An example of an emotionally well adjusted man was Nabatov who had been unjustly arrested and abused many times, yet Tolstoy writes: "All these adventures had in no way embittered him".² Nabatov was a practical man who, dis- regarding the future, applied himself to have a reasonable life in the present. He had complete self-control and therefore no one could have disrupted his inner peace.

As an ideal example of a man who could not be offended by anyone the author presents the old man. In his encounter with Nekhlyudov at the latter's pleading for forgiveness he said: "Bain't nothing to forgive. You 'aven't offended me."³ This man came to a state where no longer he could have been offended and this is, in Tolstoy's view, an ideal state for a regenerated man.

Maslova and Nekhlyudov experienced the agony of anger which brought discord and suffering into their lives. They finally reached the ideal state where no longer people or

¹Ibid., p. 468.

²Ibid., p. 503.

³Ibid., p. 535.

circumstances could have aroused their emotions. Maslova became reconciled with Nekhlyudov and bore no hate for anyone. As a resurrected person she reached the state of peace of heart and mind. Likewise Nekhlyudov abandoned his pride and became indifferent to the treatment by others. For both of them this was one of the aspects of regeneration. Nekhlyudov finally realized that in the light of the Gospels this was the only way for a renewed man.

In conclusion it could be said that Tolstoy, in his novel, by word and example, pointed to the fact that anger brings misery and destroys civilized interrelationships among men. The ideal man, who will inherit the Kingdom of God on earth will be free from negative emotions especially from anger expressed by word and deed. A true resurrection, as Tolstoy saw it, included freedom from anger and hatred, a complete emancipation from the rule of evil passions and a life controlled by reason.

2. Marriage

Tolstoy in his quest for perfection considered moral purity to be of a primary importance. Addressing himself to this question he said:

Christ has shown me that another snare ruining my welfare is lustfulness - that is to say, desire to another woman and not for her with whom I have united. I cannot but believe this, and therefore cannot, as I used to, consider adulterous lust a natural and noble quality in man.¹

Janko Lawrin took note of this aspect of Tolstoy's teaching and stated:

It could be unjust to pass over in silence Tolstoy's sincere crusade against contemporary laxity¹ of morals, against the decay of motherhood and modern family life in general, as well as against all those factors and institutions which directly or indirectly foster depravity.²

Tolstoy condemned libertinism prevailing in Russian society and propagated moral chastity as a mode of reasonable behavior. In his view, man had this capacity by nature.

Nekhludov, in his youth had puritanic views of women:

¹L.N. Tolstoy, What I believe, The Works, The Centenary Edition, op. cit., vol. II. p. 526.

²Janko Lawrin, Tolstoy: A Psycho-Critical Study, (London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1924), p. 202.

Brought up under his mother's wing, Nekhlyudov at nineteen was still an innocent boy. If a woman figured in his dreams at all it was only as a wife. All the women who, according to his ideas, could not be his wife, were not women but just people¹.

As a young man Nekhlyudov had no particular interest in the opposite sex. At that time all women were a mystery to him. For this reason, when he met Maslova for the first time, she was to him like a sister, and a thought never crossed his mind to dishonour her. Several years later, under the influence of his friends, his outlook of women completely changed: "now his idea of a woman, of any woman, except such as were of his own family or the wives of his friends, was precisely defined: Women were a familiar means of enjoyment."² Living in the city, because of his new outlook, he had many affairs with women. At the very first opportunity he seduced Maslova.

The society in general encouraged such behavior and even his family was pleased to hear that Nekhlyudov successfully took away a woman from his friend. Tolstoy speaking of this event said:

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 69.

²Ibid., p. 73.

While he had been chaste and had meant to remain so till he married, his family had been afraid for his health, and even his mother was not distressed but rather pleased when she found out that he had become a real man and had taken a certain French lady away from one of his comrades.¹

By now his mentality was so slanted that even at the trial, when his conscience began to trouble him, Nekhlyudov tried to console himself by reasoning that everybody else, including his father who had an illegitimate son, behaved in a similar manner. He thought to himself:

But what else could I have done? It is always that way. It was like that with Schonbock and the governess he was telling me about, and the uncle Grisha, and father when he was living in the country and had that illegitimate son Mitenka by a peasant woman.²

His friend Schonbock approved his seduction of Maslova and stated that given an opportunity he would have behaved in a similar manner.³ Agrafena Petrovna, his mother's maid, hearing of Nekhlyudov's decision to marry Maslova on account of his mistreatment of her, was surprised at his decision and said that there was no reason for him to take upon himself the blame "since such thing can happen to everybody."⁴

¹Ibid., p. 74.

²Ibid., p. 95.

³Ibid., p. 94.

⁴Ibid., p. 161.

Tolstoy saw in Russia a sensuous society which constantly sought pleasure and gratification of its physical desires. Speaking of Maslova's life's experiences he said:

The women she came in contact with all tried to make money out of her, and the men from the old district police officer to the prison warders, looked upon her as an instrument for pleasure. And no one in the world cared for anything else but pleasure, just this pleasure.¹

Maslova's mother was a victim of lust and Maslova constantly experienced similar temptation from pleasure hungry men. After her seduction by Nekhlyudov, she was used by a police-officer, next she was abused by a married forester, then she lived with a writer, after him followed a shop assistant and finally she found herself in a house of prostitution.² The obsession with sex was evident even among the convicts and Maslova was pestered in prison by them. On her return to jail all the male convicts, we read, "stared hungrily at Maslova, and some, their faces distorted with lust, came up to her and brushed against her in passing".³

¹Ibid., p. 154.

²Ibid., p. 465.

³Ibid., p. 43.

Back in her cell Maslova told of her impression of the court and the day's experiences to the cell-mates. One factor stood out in her mind, namely, the fact that wherever she went everybody wanted her. She saw this in men's lustful eyes and in their desire to be in her presence.¹

Tolstoy in his novel painted Russian society in a state of complete moral degradation; the convicts, the escort soldiers and the jailers, all sought physical gratification at the expense of women. Because of her attractive appearance and her past Maslova had to be constantly on guard in order to keep men off and to avoid sexual exploitation.²

The writer also suggested that those who judged Maslova were partly responsible for her degradation. The assistant public prosecutor before the trial spent the night "in the very house where Maslova had been until six months ago"³. It is probable that he could have been there many times before, thereby condoning prostitution which led Maslova to her misfortune. The fact was that some of the

¹Ibid., p. 154.

²Ibid., p. 465.

³Ibid., p. 43.

servants of the state machine frequented institutions which were responsible for the degradation of Russian women. In the case of the assistant public prosecutor, being pre-occupied with sexual activities, he even neglected his duties - he had no time to prepare himself adequately for the trial.¹

Tolstoy also spoke of immorality of married couples and pointed out that in some cases, because marriage did not bring a complete satisfaction to those concerned, gratification was sought outside of marriage. The presiding judge is a good example of such a case. He was seeking sexual fulfilment with the Swiss governess and was anxious to close the case as soon as possible so that he could meet her before six o'clock.² In this case both of the partners were dissatisfied with their marriage and had agreed to a complete freedom in their private affairs.

We also read of Nekhlyudov's friend Selenin who married his wife because it "gave him pleasure" to have "a nice young girl of good family".³ However, later on, he became

¹Ibid., p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 41.

³Ibid., p. 363.

disillusioned and unhappy in his life, "his home life" became "a burden" to him.¹ The same could be said of Mariette who was flirting with Nekhlyudov and "playing with that enchanting, revolting and dreadful passion".²

Tolstoy disliked everything that suggested sensualism and this attitude was expressed by Nekhlyudov. We read that in his house there was his mother's portrait, and Nekhlyudov looking at it, noticed that she was painted half-naked with a prominent bosom with "the shadow between the breasts". To him it was "disgraceful and disgusting".³

Nekhlyudov also disapproved the marriage of his sister Nataly. He disliked her husband and without reason had an aversion for their children. "Each time he heard she was pregnant he felt like condoling with her for having been again infected with something evil".⁴

Because of Nekhlyudov's opposition to loose morality he singled out Novodvorov from among all the prisoners and

¹Ibid., p. 304.

²Ibid., p. 391.

³Ibid., p. 137.

⁴Ibid., p. 405.

continually detested him because Novodvorov accepted the idea of free love. Consequently, Nekhlyudov "was unable to overcome his strong antipathy for the man".¹

Tolstoy, talking of these anomalies in the field of sex and family relationships in Russia, also expressed in the novel his own ideals of sex and family life through Maslova, Simonson and Marja Pavlovna. We find that Simonson

... had a theory of his own in regard to marriage: to increase and multiply seemed to him only a lower function of man, the higher function being to serve all already existing life.²

Marja Pavlovna had similar view of sex and even a slightest hint that one was interested in her was frightful to her. Although she was conscious of her good looks she was afraid of the impression she made on men and "was disgusted and horrified by affairs of the heart".³ Maslova, eventually came to the same conclusion and on this basis she became attached to Marja Pavlovna.

¹Ibid., p. 514.

²Ibid., p. 474.

³Ibid., p. 471.

The author notes:

The two women were also drawn together by the loathing they both felt for sexual love. One hated it because she knew all its horrors, while the other, having never experienced it, regarded it as something incomprehensible and at the same time repugnant and offensive to human dignity.¹

On the basis of the novel we may conclude that Tolstoy condemned free love and sex exploitation. He revealed the decadence of Russian society: its striving for pleasure and the evil consequences it brought. Maslova was a product of such society.

In Tolstoy's view, man by his nature tended to be pure, as was the case with Nekhlyudov and Maslova at their first meeting. However, family and community mores were such that it was almost impossible for young people to stay morally pure. Tolstoy accepted family union as an answer to the problem of sex drive for those who could not contain themselves. He also considered marital relationship outside of wedlock to be a transgression of the moral law. To him a family unit had to be unbreakable since it preserved morality of the nation. For this reason Nekhlyudov was amazed when he heard of sectarians who were to be

¹Ibid., p. 473.

separated. He said "but how is it that in the name of religion the fundamental conditions of morality are violated - families broken up".¹

Tolstoy also pointed out that marriage had not solved everybody's problems. Many people were unhappy in their families and therefore abnormal sex relationships existed. The fact was that marriage did not provide a complete satisfaction of all human needs, neither did it completely eradicate immorality among married couples.

As an ultimate goal Tolstoy projected a complete sexual abstinence. Maslova, Simonson and Marja Pavlovna have reached such a higher plain of life. John Bayley speaking of this problem said:

We almost have the feeling in "Resurrection" that Tolstoy would have to prefer Robespierre, the sexless man of power, to the libertine Danton, so emphatic is his criterion that power and influence over fellows should only be exercised by the sexually pure.²

¹Ibid., p. 386.

²John Bayley, Tolstoy and the Novel (London:Chatto & Windus, 1966), p. 259.

Maslova, being a resurrected person, abhorred sex and decided to marry Simonson who held similar views and who loved her with Platonic love.

The hero of the novel, Nekhlyudov, finally came to realize

... that a man must not only refrain from committing adultery: he must avoid the enjoyment of woman's beauty, and if he has once come together with a woman he could never be faithless to her.¹

The ideal goal, therefore, was a complete avoidance of sex, but for those who could not control their passions, a marriage for a lifetime was suggested. However, at no time in the novel had Tolstoy approved free love and laxity of sex. On the contrary, he ascribed many evils within the society to the complete freedom in the realm of sex. Thus, he thought that man, by nature, had a capacity to stay morally pure. It was also demanded by man's reason for the sake of moral preservation of the nation.

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 566.

3. The Oaths

One of Tolstoy's ethical premises was abstinence from oath taking which breaks the Law of God and therefore he considered it immoral. In his work What I believe he stated that after reading the Gospels it became evident to him that "every oath is exorted to evil ends".¹ This opposition of the author to the oath taking is evident in his novel Resurrection.

In the court during Maslova's trial we find the following description of oath-taking:

When the jury had all mounted the platform, the priest, bending his bald grey head to one side, wormed it through the greasy opening of his stole and, arranging his scanty hair, addressed the jurors. 'Rise your right hand and put your fingers thus,' he said in his tremulous old voice, lifting his pudgy hand with dimples on every finger and putting the thumb and first two fingers together as if taking a pinch of something. 'Now repeat after me,' he said, and began: 'I promise and swear by Almighty God, before His holy Gospels and the life-giving Cross of the Lord, that in this matter which ...' he said, pausing after every comma.²

¹L.N. Tolstoy, The Works, the Centenary Edition, op. cit., vol. 11, p. 390.

²L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

The little priest, taking an oath with his sallow, yellowish face with sallow legs, dressed in a greasy stole, the cross and the medal on his chest makes an impression of a caricature rather than the saintly servant of the Church performing an important duty. He was portrayed physically unattractive, and mentally dull, with an exaggeration of his own importance in life. In his forty seven years he had not done anything else but taken oaths at the courthouse. He was a man, who in Tolstoy's estimation, had an erroneous judgement of values in life priding himself in his duties which could have offended a spiritually sensitive man. In Tolstoy's opinion he performed a duty which was a transgression of God's law. The priest was meticulously fulfilling his obligation yet one feels that he went about his duties with a mechanical air.

The oath taking procedure left a good impression on all participants and at this point even Nekhlyudov was satisfied that he discharged a very important responsibility. It gave moral support and assurance for the jurors that they also were involved in an important public service, when in reality they were involved in a disservice to the people. They carelessly condemned an innocent person to imprisonment. They also broke their oaths since they did not faithfully perform their duties, and rather superficially dealt with the life of another human being.

Speaking of oath taking Tolstoy commented that in the Gospels "all oaths are expressly forbidden"¹ and yet the old priest's conscience had not bothered him. Moreover, he enjoyed his work. These examples bear out the fact that Tolstoy objected to the practice of oath taking. In his opinion it contradicted the teaching of Christ. Swearing on the Gospels resulted in the breaking of the commandment explicitly expressed in the same said Gospel.

Tolstoy noted a similar act where witnesses were sworn in by the priest who, "with the same tranquil assurance that he was performing an exceedingly useful and important function, administered the oath".² In this case, the author also notes that the priests have decided to administer the oath. It seems, that the whole responsibility for this act rested with the religious leaders who, contrary to their priestly calling, contravened the biblical teachings and Christian ethics by administering oaths.

In his discussion of the political prisoner Nabatov, "who was sentenced to exile in Yakutsk for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the new Tsar"³ Tolstoy underlined

¹Ibid., p. 50.

²Ibid., p. 97-98.

³Ibid., p. 502.

the fact that the oath taking, in some cases, was a violation of man's conscience, therefore, unethical. Furthermore, it was used for evil ends since a person under oath, serving the Tsar, had to be completely subjugated to the will and whims of his superiors disregarding his own conscience which, in Tolstoy's view, should be the only guide in man's life.

In conclusion while Tolstoy in Resurrection had not dedicated much space to the problem of oath taking, nevertheless, clearly stated that it was a practice which contravened the teaching of the moral law of the Gospels. Nekhlyudov, who initially found pleasure in oath taking, in the final stage of his ethical resurrection came to the understanding that "we must not seal a promise with an oath".¹ In Tolstoy's view, participation in oath taking was unethical; it contradicted the teaching of the moral law given men by Christ and, in some cases, demanded of men to abrogate dictates of their own conscience, which according to Tolstoy, should actually be the only basis of moral judgment for every individual.

¹Ibid., p. 566.

4. Nonresistance

One of the major precepts in Tolstoy's ethics was the postulate of nonresistance to evil. Tolstoy, in one of his works, wrote:

Christ has shown me that a fourth temptation depriving me of welfare is that of resisting evil by means of violence applied to other people. I cannot but believe that this is an evil to me and to others and ¹ therefore I cannot consciously employ it.

This idea was also propagated by the author in the novel.

One of the Soviet scholars noted that in Resurrection

The author and the hero do not see the need for a major change of life, but limit themselves to a process of moral perfection expressed in "nonresistance by force to evil".²

Tolstoy saw in the army and in the Russian judiciary system, with its police force and penitentiary institutions, a powerful organization created by the state to eradicate evil from the society by force. However, it became evident that the government failed to reach its objective, and instead of controlling lawlessness, these institutions became a contributing factor in the moral decadence of the

¹L.N. Tolstoy, "What I Believe", in The Works, The Centenary Edition, op. cit., vol. 11, p. 530.

²N.I. Kravtsov (ed), Istoriya Russkoy Literatury Vtoroy Poloviny XIX Veka, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Prosveshchenie", 1966), pp. 601-602.

Russian population. For this reason the author strongly criticized judges, the police, the army, and the corrective institutions, showing that they not only failed in their task of curbing evil but created such conditions for the people whereby criminals became hardened in their evil ways and those innocent, in many cases, through their contact with the law and degrading conditions in the penal institutions turned to lawlessness and immorality. G.R. Noyes rightly observed:

Into Resurrection Tolstoy pours out all his contempt for government institutions, above all for courts of law and for prisons. He pictures judges and advocates, who condemn men for crimes for which they themselves are spiritually responsible.¹

In Tolstoy's judgement, the whole Russian judiciary system, since it used force desiring to eradicate evil, transgressed his ethical precept of nonresistance to evil. Speaking to the public prosecutor, Nekhlyudov said that he wanted to resign from the jury because he considered "all law-courts not only useless but immoral".² Tolstoy saw all men imperfect, therefore, they were "unfitted either to punish or to reform others".³

¹Georhe Raphael Noyes, Tolstoy, (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1968), pp. 320-321.

²L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 170.

³Ibid., p. 564.

The laws of the country were also, in the writer's view, unethical inasmuch as they perpetrated the domination of one group of people over the rest of the population permitting the use of force, and were devised to protect possessions and the safety of the few privileged.

The Russian courts were presented as places of gross error and injustice. The best example of this was Maslova's trial, which, unjustly sentenced her to prison.¹ In her case, the carelessness of the jury and the circumstances decided her fate more than anything else. However she was not the only one who was unjustly punished. There were many others in jails either awaiting trial or already sentenced without committing a crime. Because of the unjust treatment of people and punishment of the innocent, Tolstoy thought that the courts contributed to the immorality and crime in Russia and therefore, in his opinion themselves were evil.

Tolstoy, for many reasons, criticized Russian penitentiaries. His main objection was based on the fact that they were considered to be the tools used by the state to limit evil by force. Revealing conditions in the jails, their influence on those in police custody and the type of people forcefully detained, Tolstoy tried to prove to the readers that one cannot eradicate evil using instruments of force.

¹Ibid., p. 117.

Nekhlyudov found five categories of people in jails. There were those entirely innocent, those who committed crime under the influence of alcohol, in a fit of jealousy or under some other strain; people who were jailed for what others made to be a crime; individuals who were kept in prison for their high moral standards, namely the sectarians and the political prisoners, and lastly, the outcasts of the society: thieves and murderers who became criminals under the influence of the society itself.¹ Thinking of the prisons, Nekhlyudov came to the conclusion "that over half of the people sentenced by the courts are innocent".²

Tolstoy revealed in his novel prevailing conditions in jails and pointed to the evil influence they had on the prisoners. The prisons were overcrowded, dirty and full of vice. Nekhlyudov, commenting on jail conditions, said, "it is just as if the problem had been set: to find the best and surest means of corrupting the greatest number of people".³ Consequently, many of the imprisoned, were put in such circumstances that they had to abandon morality and for self-preservation were almost forced to do evil.

¹Ibid., pp. 400-401.

²Ibid., p. 410.

³Ibid., p. 526.

However, in Tolstoy's estimation, of greatest consequence was the mental and spiritual strain experienced by those arrested. Imprisonment meant not only loss of freedom and separation from the family but a complete dehumanization of people. Lidija's aunt, who lived through such an experience said:

To lose my freedom and be parted from my child and husband was hard enough, but it was nothing compared with what I felt when I realized that I wasn't a human being any longer, and had become a thing.¹

In consequence many of those detained could not bear this degradation and prematurely died, some lost their minds and some committed suicide.² It is evident that Tolstoy tried to convince people that the whole judiciary system, opposing his ethical premise of nonresistance and using force to curb evil, contrary to its goals and claims, became, to a great degree, a contributing factor in the spreading of evil. As a result, Tolstoy, apart from opposing punishment, considered punishment immoral, a crime in itself. As A.S. Goldenweiser notes "in his eyes punishment is the most flagrant of crimes. A crime, not similar to those for which transgressors are tried, but a crime of human society itself".³

¹Ibid., p. 380.

²Ibid., p. 479.

³A.S. Goldenweiser, Crime a Punishment and Punishment a Crime, op., cit., p. 49.

Tolstoy also saw that a great majority of men were tainted with the inclination to evil and given an opportunity would commit injustice. Because of this fact, those in charge of Russian governmental institutions, having power invested in them by the state, disregarding the ethical law of nonresistance, contributed to the spreading of lawlessness and immorality. For this reason in the novel we also find criticism of the bureaucrats who were in charge of the law and the penal institutions. Much of the suffering of the population was a direct result of decisions made by men who, themselves, were not completely free from evil and were not capable of honest and impartial judgement. A.S. Goldenweiser, in this connection, wrote:

One of the leading ideas of the 'Resurrection' is that judges and other officials look at everything through the eyes of their vocation, and lose the ability to understand things in natural manner.¹

The members of the jury who were responsible for the unjust verdict, psychologically were not suited for their positions since all of them were preoccupied with their own problems and had no time to impartially judge the cases before them. Maslova was sentenced because of the misleading summation by the presiding judge, the physical and mental

¹Ibid., p. 41.

state of the judges, and their desire to get home as soon as possible. In Maslova's case justice was not done since the guilty verdict, as it was evident to all, was not based on the facts.¹ Similar situations existed among the higher echelon of public servants. The Minister of State, Count Ivan Mikhajlovich, had no set values and was completely indifferent to the suffering of people since he had "no general principles or rules of morality, either public or private".² Skovorodnikov completely disregarded the law and opposed setting free Maslova because he opposed Nekhlyudov's intention to marry her.³ Senator Wolf, the executioner of Polish patriots, had one goal in his life, to fulfill the demands of the state disregarding completely the rights of the individual citizens and the law.⁴ Tolstoy also spoke of civil servants who had stolen money and committed all sorts of crimes. On the basis of so many innocent people being imprisoned, and on the other hand, law breakers holding official government positions, Tolstoy came to a conclusion that the only suitable place for an honest man in Russia at that time was prison.⁵ In his view,

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 117.

²Ibid., p. 328.

³Ibid., p. 359.

⁴Ibid., p. 335.

⁵Ibid., p. 392.

civil service made people hardened, indifferent to the sufferings of others, and in many instances, unethical.¹

A.S. Goldenweiser rightly said that "their official duties make them insensible to the mandates of humanity".² Public servants, trying to resist evil by force, in Tolstoy's opinion, were contributing to the totality of evil in the Russian society.

The same held true regarding the enlisted men who were used to contain evil by force. Tolstoy stressed the fact that the military life made men subservient to the state at the cost of their own conscience and morality, thereby multiplying evil in society. Military service made men cruel and indifferent to the needs of other human beings, as was the case with Nekhlyudov, who mistreated Maslova, and with the soldiers, who were indifferent to the needs and sufferings of the convicts. Although the prisoners were physically exhausted, and some of them died from the heat on the way to the station, the officers remained unheeding "their only worry was to carry out all that law required of them."³

¹Ibid., p. 447.

²A.S. Goldenweiser, Crime a Punishment and Punishment a Crime, op. cit., p. 46.

³L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 437.

The same attitude was also evident in the case of the officer who was irritated because a convict objected to his being handcuffed while carrying his child. As a result, he was beaten up "for not obeying at once".¹ Thus, in Tolstoy's estimation, the army brought moral degradation, made men pitiless, robbed them of their own free will, and made them blind servants of the state, which used them as a blind tool, supposedly to curb evil, but in reality multiplying lawlessness and vice.

In Tolstoy's opinion, there was given by Christ a clear commandment which forbade violence. We read that Christ "had even prohibited any kind of violence, saying that He came to set at liberty those that were captive".² For this reason, in the whole novel, we do not see a single violent act on the part of those who were undergoing the process of resurrection. They were conscious of the evil in the society, yet obeying Tolstoyan precept of nonresistance by force to evil, were not actively engaged in trying to eradicate evil in their fellow men. The same could be said about political prisoners and the sectarians. We read that Simonson "considered it a crime to destroy life and was opposed to war, capital punishment and killing of every sort".³

¹Ibid., p. 468.

²Ibid., p. 184.

³Ibid., p. 474.

As we have seen, Tolstoy pointed out that the establishment attempted by force to uphold the law, but, since men were short of being perfect, many grave errors were committed. However, correctional institutions which by force tried to restore a criminal to the society, have not succeeded. On the contrary, prisons, judges and the army, using force to eradicate evil, multiplied the evils in society. The regeneration of Maslova and Nekhlyudov took place in their own souls and in Tolstoy's opinion, this was the only way to effectively remove evil from society. To achieve such a change by force is impossible. L. Aksel'rod-Ortodoks rightly said that

The resurrection of personality should take place under the influence of a true mind, it is designed by its own inner laws. Consequently there follows a complete condemnation of all the laws and governmental institutions which have as their aim the preservation of an animal personality in man.¹

It is evident that the author stressed in the novel the absurdity of trying to curb evil by force. As we have seen all the efforts by the government to eradicate lawlessness in Russia were not only fruitless, but as a result, evil was greatly increased. The only solution to this question as

¹L. Aksel'rod-Ortodoks, L.N. Tolstoy; Sbornik Statej, (Moskva: Moskovskoe Otdelenie Gosudarstvennogo Izdatel'stva, 1922), p. 105.

Tolstoy saw it, was strict observance of the commandment of nonresistance. Nekhlyudov finally saw this law of Christ which "enjoins us not to demand an eye for eye but to offer cheek when we are smitten on one",¹ and Nekhlyudov decided in the future to live by Tolstoyan commandment of nonresistance to evil.

5. Love

One of the most important principles in Tolstoy's ethics was love for fellow men. This principle is one of the major precepts found in the novel Resurrection. In his work O Zhizni, Tolstoy thus defined love:

Love is only truly love when it means self-sacrifice. Only when a man sacrifices his time, strength, and even his own body for the benefit of the loved one, sacrifices his own life, this alone we all accept as love and in such love we find a worthy recompensation for our love.²

Commenting on Tolstoyan love as it was expressed in Resurrection V. Ermilov stated that

The poetical idea of the novel itself is resurrection of every individual and of

¹L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 566.

²L.N. Tolstoy, O Zhizni in Polnoe Sabranie Sachinenij pod Redaktsiej i s Primečanijami P.I. Birjukova, (Moskva: Izdanie T-va I.D. Sytina, 1913), p. 320.

the mankind as a whole, a resurrection, of course, in a Tolstoyan way, in the spirit of love to everyone.¹

Thus, as it could be seen, in Tolstoy's view, love was not based on feelings or physical attraction, but it was a calculated consideration of others even at the cost of one's own well-being. It was true Christian love based on self-denial for the benefit of others regardless of their state or status within the society. Because of this fact, the novel Resurrection, to R. Rolland was "one of the most beautiful poems of human compassion".²

This type of love was present in the first meeting of Nekhlyudov and Maslova. It was a happy occasion for both of them since they loved one another with pure love. They found happiness in the fact of being together without seeking physical gratification. We read that at that point

... Nekhlyudov loved Katusha with an innocent love, and his love was his main shield against his downfall and against hers. He not only had no desire to possess her physically but the very thought of such a possibility filled him with horror.³

¹V. Ermilov, Tolstoy Romanist, op. cit., p. 451.

²Romain Rolland, Tolstoy, Translation by Bernard Miall, (London: T. Fisher University, 1911), p. 195.

³L.N. Tolstoy, Resurrection, op. cit., p. 72.

Thus, in Tolstoy's opinion, this spiritual love was the best protection against moral sin and degradation for both of the heroes. This love was the expression of man's true nature "one of the manifestations of the joy of life"¹ which Nekhlyudov wanted to share with other human beings. According to Aksel'rod-Ortodoks this love "was a pure happiness of spiritual relationship between two god-like beings".² The Russian society, as a whole, had moral standards which were contrary to those initially held by the hero. Therefore, under the pressure of the social life, Nekhlyudov was not able to keep his moral purity and his initial god-like, innocent love. Most of the Russian people were looking for their own satisfaction at all costs, disregarding completely the good of other people. Maslova herself learned this lesson and began to live according to the prevailing mores in the Russian society, and instead of seeking the good of someone else she was "reflecting how she could best make use of him".³ Tolstoy suggested that most of the officials had no true love for other men, and he stated that it was "terrible to see men devoid of the chief human attribute - love and pity for one another".⁴

¹Ibid., p. 72.

²L. Aksel'rod-Ortodoks, L.N. Tolstoy, *Sbornik Statej*, (Moskva: Moskovskoe Otdelenie Gosudarstvennogo Izdatel'stva, 1922), p. 109.

³L.N. Tolstoy, *Resurrection*, op. cit., p. 198.

⁴Ibid., p. 449.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the lower strata of society. We read of Maslova's mother that she was even heartless to her own children who one after another, were allowed to die from starvation.¹

There is a description in the novel of the tragic life of one of the convicts, the red-haired woman, who, all her life, "had had nothing but abuse, jeers, insults and blows".² This woman never experienced true love, compassion and understanding in her life, and even those who seemingly loved her proved that they only sought gratification of their own desires, disregarding completely her life and feelings.

The same lack of love is evident in the treatment of all of the prisoners. They were treated harshly and in some cases even cruelly. Because of this lack of love and compassion for other human beings on the part of the penal administration, they were sent out in a very hot day and some of them died on the way to the station. The doctor thus explained it to Nekhlyudov:

¹Ibid., p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 158.

They keep 'em locked up all through the winter, without exercise, without light, and suddenly bring 'em out into the sun, and on the day like this, too, and march 'em in a crowd so that ther's not a breath of air, and the result is sunstroke.¹

Thus, it seems to us, that the whole society as it was portrayed in the Resurrection, held the attitude that one ought to love oneself, and in some cases, his family, disregarding completely the rest of the people.

Because of these influences of the society, Nekhlyudov, meeting Maslova for the second time, was already a spiritually dead person. Although seeing the pure love and innocence of Maslova, he made one more attempt to control his passions, but he was not successful.² In this state of his soul, the only thing that counted was his own ego and he was ready to use all his power and ability to this end. The main tragedy in Tolstoy's view, was the fact that Nekhlyudov "did not consider Katusha's feelings now and what could become of her".³ This complete absence of true love, that is, lack of consideration for Maslova, was one of the greatest evils committed by Nekhlyudov. Ten years later at the court Nekhlyudov realized that he was responsible for

¹Ibid., p. 436.

²Ibid., p. 89.

³Ibid., p. 94.

Maslova's downfall, and at that moment, the process of his spiritual resurrection began. He never demonstrated any sentimental feelings towards Maslova, nevertheless, Nekhlyudov decided to fulfil his duty of love and to marry her. Speaking to Simonson of his desire to marry Maslova, he said "I wanted to do what I regarded as my duty, and I also wanted to make life easier for her".¹ From now on, he was completely occupied with Maslova's future and he was willing to sacrifice much in order to expiate his sin against pure love. In the process of pursuing this goal he even began to love her, however, "it was a feeling that had nothing personal in it: He did not want anything from her for himself".² At this point, Nekhlyudov, once again, was in the grip of Tolstoyan love which demonstrated itself through pity and tenderness, not only towards Maslova but towards the whole world. Now he experienced "quiet joy, peace and love towards all men as he never experienced before", and "he loved her, not selfishly, but for her own sake and for God's".³ Maslova, to him, was just another human being whom he at one time wronged, and now she was included in this universal love filling his soul.

¹Ibid., p. 517.

²Ibid., p. 200.

³Ibid., p. 397.

Nekhlyudov realized that his main offense against Maslova consisted of his destruction of pure love in her soul, and now, "all he wanted was that she should cease being what she was now, that she could awaken and become what she had been before".¹ To this end, he dedicated his own life.

Approaching the end of his journey of moral resurrection, Nekhlyudov finally came to a state where this love became constant within his own soul, and he came to the conclusion that life, law and order exist only because of love², and at the culminating point of his spiritual resurrection, he finally realized that one ought to fulfil the commandment of love which "enjoys us not merely not to hate our enemies or fight them but love, help and serve them".³

Maslova, on her part, because of Nekhlyudov, lost not only love but faith in God and people. Therefore, from that time on her only concern was her own life. She looked on all the people as objects that could be profitable to her. It was in this mental state that Nekhlyudov found her in the court and decided to help her back to the former state of love and joy.

¹Ibid., p. 200.

²Ibid., p. 565.

³Ibid., p. 566.

His proposal to marry her surprised Maslova, for it was the first time in a long time that someone offered her help without expecting anything in return. Because of this, it took her time to get convinced that Nekhlyudov was honest in his undertaking. Gradually her attitudes changed and a new philosophy of life took hold of her. On his second visit, Maslova was ready to do as he wished. She was willing to transfer to the prison hospital and even promised Nekhlyudov to stop drinking. Now he noticed that she was a different person and as a result, concluded that love was undestructable.¹

Maslova not only changed her attitude toward Nekhlyudov, but, by this time, started to take interest in other people, and asked him to help those jailed who were innocent. We see Maslova gradually regaining her former state of love. At the next meeting with Nekhlyudov, when he told her that he will be going to Petersburg to continue his undertaking on her behalf, she was "trying to hide the elation she felt".² However, her main concern until now was Nekhlyudov and she directed all her attention to him. Her love was not yet perfect since it was selfish. At its center was her own well-being.

¹Ibid., p. 255.

²Ibid., p. 318.

Finally, she came to a point where she became a new person, and at that moment Maslova refused to marry Nekhlyudov. Marja Pavlovna told him that Maslova loved him "in the right way"¹, and for that reason, could not marry him. Now she was concerned for Nekhlyudov's life, and being a regenerated person, possessed true love which at its center had the good of other people. Thus Maslova

... loved him and thought that by uniting herself to him she would be spoiling his life, but that by staying with Simonson she was setting Nekhlyudov free, and while rejoicing that she had done what she meant to do she found it painful to part from him.²

Maslova knew that Nekhlyudov wanted a family and she could not have shared this idea with him. Besides, he only wanted to help her and to put her back on the resurrection road since he counted it as his duty. Furthermore, Maslova knew that her marriage to him would bring Nekhlyudov unhappiness. Therefore, she refused him. She was willing now to sacrifice herself for others³, and this testified that true love of the highest nature was again present in Maslova. She was a completely resurrected person.

¹Ibid., p. 518.

²Ibid., p. 554.

³Ibid., p. 417.

In the novel the author spoke of sensual love which, in his opinion, was of a lower nature and unbecoming to those living on the higher spiritual plane. It stood in the way of growth of the spiritual being in man. This is why Nekhlyudov detested his brother-in-law.¹

Tolstoy also singled out those who based their lives on the principle of this perfect love. Marja Pavlovna impressed Maslova

... by the fact that this beautiful girl, who belonged to the family of a rich general and could speak three languages, lived like an ordinary working woman and gave away everything that her wealthy brother sent her.²

The main Characteristic of Marja Pavlovna was her care and love for others at the cost of her own utility.

Simonson belonged to this group of people and he loved Maslova with this spiritual love. He was not seeking self-gratification in his relationship with Maslova, but it was love based on mutual understanding and respect.³

Tolstoy, in his novel, strongly underlined the importance of love in the lives of individuals and within the community.

¹Ibid., p. 405.

²Ibid., p. 471.

³Ibid., p. 475.

He said that

... mutual love is the fundamental law of human life. It is true that a man cannot force himself to love in the way he can force himself to work, but it does not follow from this that men may be treated without love, especially if something is required from them.¹

This love, in his estimation, was not a feeling or sentimentality, but, man's attitudes and practical interrelationship among men. Only those who possessed this kind of love had the right to be involved in professions where one had to deal with people. Otherwise, much harm could have been done to those concerned.

Tolstoy saw salvation from crimes not in the prisons but in perfect love permeating every member of the society. If a person, even for a moment, disregarded love, such a person was capable of doing all kinds of evil.

Speaking of love as it was presented in the novel, H.I. Fausset said:

Here, as so often again, Tolstoy embodied that exquisite rapture of the senses which reaches out beyond a radiant awareness of the physical world to a height, bounded indeed physically, but remote and immaterial.²

¹Ibid., p. 450.

²Hugh, Ianston Fausset, Tolstoy: The Inner Drama, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), p. 320.

We can definitely say that Tolstoy, through the process of regeneration of the heroes in his novel, spoke of pure love, which alone, in his view, could bring happiness to men and could remove all the evil from society.

Summing up our discussion of Tolstoy's ethics as they were presented in Resurrection, we may say that it is quite evident that his main ethical ideas permeate his work. Tolstoy underlined the negative influences on the people of the state approved ethics. The following statement in our opinion bears this out.

The amazing triumph of "Resurrection" is that it demonstrates that official Russia, and the European upper classes generally, have elaborated a complex structure of state-regulated morality, equally false in relation to the facts of the people's life and the needs of their souls.¹

Throughout his novel, Tolstoy propagated his ethical views of containment of anger, fidelity in family life, immorality of swearing, nonresistance by force to evil, and love of all men. Tolstoy's ideal man lived according to these ethical precepts. Maslova and Nekhlyudov, the heroes of the novel, at the end of their spiritual journey reached this goal of Tolstoyan ethical perfection.

¹G & E Garnett, "Tolstoy and Resurrection" in North American Review, April 1901, vol. 172, p. 512.

CONCLUSION

Tolstoy, in the latter years of his life, dedicated his talent to spreading his religious and ethical views. His last novel, Resurrection, definitely belongs to this category of literature. It is saturated with his views on religion and morality.

In his discussion of the Russian Orthodox Church in the novel, Tolstoy degraded the practices of the Church as they were demonstrated in the public worship - the Mass, rejected Orthodox Church dogmas, ridiculed the language used in the services, downgraded the Holy Eucharist and the prayers, degraded all the symbols of the Church singling out the crosses and the ikons which were extensively used by the Russian Orthodox Church. Tolstoy also bantered the priesthood of the official Church for its worldliness, materialistic outlook on life, and its subservience to the state at the cost of their spiritual calling. Tolstoy

came to the conclusion that the Russian Orthodox Church contradicted in all its aspects of theology and practice the teachings of Christ. Therefore, in his opinion it reflected very little on true Christianity as it was expounded by its founder Jesus Christ.

In Resurrection, Tolstoy addressed himself also to the question of the Protestant Church. His main objection was its theology, namely, its doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ. He also criticized Protestants for their hypocrisy evident in the lives of some of its adherents in Russia, and for their indifference to the suffering and physical needs of men.

Tolstoy, downgrading historical Christianity, in its place proposed his own brand of religion based on the conviction that in every man there is the presence of the Eternal Spirit which is working within a human being through conscience. The duty of every man was to obey his conscience alone, since, in this lay happiness of every individual and of society as a whole. Because of this indwelling spirit, the heroes of the novel reach their complete resurrection from their moral degradation by introspection and reasoning through the workings of their own willpower without any kind of supernatural intervention.

Tolstoy's philosophical teaching concerned itself only with man's life on earth. His religion could be summed up by a set of ethical propositions which were initially expounded by Christ and written down in the Gospels. Tolstoy thought that through the fulfilment of these moral commandments men could bring the Kingdom of God to this earth. At the center of his ethics was the Sermon of the Mount, and a good measure of time was given in the novel to the problem of interrelationships among men.

Tolstoy presented to the readers the downgrading influence on society of the conventional morality, and the rejection of the commandments of Christ as they were interpreted by him. Anger, in his opinion, brought physical suffering and degradation to the individual, and multiplied evil in the society. A truly spiritually resurrected person, he claimed, remained indifferent to all insults and persisted under a complete emotional control in all the circumstances of life.

Tolstoy opposed the libertine spirit pervading Russian society and all the evils it brought to the people. Nekhlyudov and Maslova were a product of such a society. However, to eradicate this evil he proposed complete chastity or for those who could not have contained themselves he suggested a lifetime marriage-bond and faithfulness of both partners.

The author in Resurrection, also discussed the problem of oath taking, and he was of the opinion that making promises not only contradicted the commandments of Christ, but also supported the state machinery, making those under the oath slaves of their superiors and indifferent to the plight of their fellow countrymen.

In Resurrection, we are faced with the conviction of the author that the use of force was unethical since it brought hardship to men and stood in the way of their spiritual development. The army, the civil service, the penal system and the criminal law did not curb the crimes and had not rehabilitated the offender, but rather the use of force hardened the criminal and multiplied evil. Tolstoy argued that since the use of force in itself was evil, it followed that one could not eradicate evil by evil.

Tolstoy, in his novel, spoke of evil brought on the society by sensual free love. He suggested that it was contrary to man's true nature and proposed life based on a higher, spiritual love, which, at its center, had the interest and the welfare of other human beings, even at the cost of one's own suffering. This spiritual love cannot be exclusive but must be outgoing without discrimination to all men.

Thus, in conclusion, we may say that in his last novel, Resurrection, Tolstoy presented himself to the readers as a religious and moral teacher, who, in an artistic form, expounded religious and ethical views, which, in his estimation, alone, could have brought peace and happiness to all mankind. Nekhlyudov and Maslova, the main heroes of the novel, after many disappointments in life, finally reached this goal in their lives.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of Lev Tolstoy's last novel (1899), Resurrection, with a detailed study of his religious and ethical views as they were presented in that work.

In the novel, Tolstoy conveys his outlook on religion and morality through the main heroes Maslova and Nekhlyudov, whom he raises from a complete moral degradation to a new life based on his ethics. The change which takes place in the lives of the main protagonists bears itself out in the title of the work.

In the introduction, a general survey of available critical works on the topic of this thesis is made, the procedures of his research outlined, and the problems to be discussed stated.

The first part of the thesis deals with a detailed study of Tolstoy's attitude towards historical Christianity. He is known for his criticism of the Russian Orthodox Church and for his strong objections to the Protestant and Catholic Churches. These attitudes of the author are ever-present in the novel. In his work the author downgrades the Russian Orthodox Church for its superficial treatment of the teaching of Christ, criticizes its dogmas and the Mass, objects to the Slavonic language used in the services,

ridicules the Holy Eucharist and the prayers and degrades the symbols, especially the crosses and the ikons, used by the Russian Church. He also directs his criticism at the Church hierarchy - the priests and the bishops. In his opinion they neglected their spiritual calling using their office for their own material benefit and faithfully served the state paying little attention to the sufferings and spiritual needs of their followers. Tolstoy comes to the conclusion that the Russian Orthodox Church, claiming to be the only true Church of Christ, in reality had very little in common with his teachings.

It is evident that in his novel Tolstoy also rejects the Protestant Church as being the Church of Christ. His main objection regarding this religious denomination concerned its doctrine of salvation through faith in Christ. He also felt that some of the Russian Protestants were hypocritical, and being preoccupied with spiritual matters, neglected physical needs and sufferings of men disobeying Christ's commandment of love.

As a substitute for the historical Christianity, Tolstoy, in his novel, proposes his own brand of religion which consists mainly of a set of ethical rules based on "the Sermon on the Mount".

The second part of this study deals with Tolstoy's ethics as they are presented to the reader in Resurrection. The author strongly opposed conventional ethics prevailing in the Russian society, which, in his opinion, led to many vices and moral degradation. To hasten the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth it is necessary to morally purify mankind. To reach this goal he redefines the main ethical tenets of Christian faith and hopes for their acceptance by the general public. These ethical rules propagated for years before the publishing of Resurrection, and strongly emphasized in his last novel, include fidelity in marriage, nonresistance to evil by force, love and forbearance for enemies, and obstinence from oaths and anger. The main hero - Maslova, at the conclusion of the novel demonstrates her acceptance of the new life by sacrificing herself for the good of others by forgiving her adversary Nekhlyudov and by refusing to marry him because of deep true love filling her soul and the realization that her marriage will bring him unhappiness and unfulfillment of his deepest desire to have a family. Nekhlyudov also accepts Tolstoyan ethical principles realizing that they alone can ensure his happiness in the future life.