

GEORGE ELIOT'S 'ADAM BEDE' AND TOLSTOY'S CONCEPTION OF 'ANNA KARENINA'

'Tolstoy created people, but he did not invent characters and situations out of his head. . . . He was no Emily Bronte. He was an intensifying not an inventive genius',¹ notes Professor R. F. Christian in summing up Tolstoy's method of creation in his study of *War and Peace*. Tolstoy drew on three sources. Many of his characters had their prototypes in real life, and his contemporaries were quick to point out sources among their acquaintances. Borrowings from memoirs and histories account for many of the scenes and situations described in *War and Peace*.² Thirdly, Tolstoy was ready to accept, if not always to acknowledge, inspiration from literature and would often become absorbed in reading before turning anew to creative writing.³ This last source gave the initial impetus to *Anna Karenina*. In a letter⁴ to N. N. Strakhov on 25 March 1873 Tolstoy related how he had by chance been reading Pushkin's stories, and on coming across the sketch, 'Гости съезжались на дачу . . .', (The guests met at the dacha . . .) 'without knowing why and what would come of it, began to think up characters and events'. On 11 May he wrote again to Strakhov to say that he was writing a novel which 'had come' to him 'involuntarily and thanks to the divine Pushkin'.⁵ The draft⁶ headed 'Молодец-баба', in fact began: 'Гости после оперы съезжались к молодой княгине Врасской.' (The guests after the opera met at the young Princess Vrasskaya's.)⁷

There is evidence to show that George Eliot's *Adam Bede* must also have profoundly influenced Tolstoy's conception of his novel *Anna Karenina* in the critical initial stages of its creation. It is to be expected that Tolstoy would have found a natural affinity with George Eliot: Henry James's opinion of her in an early review could equally well have been expressed of Tolstoy, namely that, unlike Dickens and Thackeray, Eliot was 'also a good deal of a philosopher and it is to this union of the keenest observation with the ripest reflection that her style owes its essential force'.⁸ We are less concerned here, however, with general affinities than with certain characters, situations and stylistic devices in *Adam Bede* which reappear in *Anna Karenina* characteristically expanded and intensified.

Certainly Tolstoy had been quick to recognize Eliot's power as a novelist. 'Were you in Russia now, I would send you Elliot's [sic] Scenes of Clerical Life', he wrote to A. A. Tolstaya on 12 June 1859.⁹ On 11 October in the same year he noted in his diary, 'Read Adam Bede. Very tragic, although untrue and full of one

¹ R. F. Christian, *Tolstoy's War and Peace, A Study* (Oxford, 1961), p. 86.

² R. F. Christian, pp. 59-86.

³ N. N. Gusev, *L. N. Tolstoy, Materialy 1870-1881* (Moscow, 1963), p. 193.

⁴ Jubilee Edition, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (Moscow, 1928-58), vol. 62, p. 16.

⁵ Jubilee Edition, vol. 62, p. 25.

⁶ Restoration by V. A. Zhdanov, *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, vol. 69, book 1 (Moscow, 1961), p. 423.

⁷ The influence of Pushkin's passage on the early drafts of the future *Anna Karenina* is considered in an article by N. K. Gudziy, *Istoriya pisaniya i pechataniya Anny Kareninoy* in the Jubilee Edition, vol. 20, pp. 584-5.

⁸ Quoted by Leon Edel, *Henry James, The Untried Years. 1843-1870* (1953), p. 266.

⁹ Jubilee Edition, vol. 60, p. 300.

thought'.¹ He was to return to George Eliot's novels throughout his life. In a letter to M. M. Lederle on 25 October 1891 in which he listed the works which had made an impression on him between the age of thirty-five and fifty, he included, 'George Eliot. Novels. Great impression'.² This is substantiated by his son Sergey Tolstoy who noted in his memoirs³ of his father, 'It is well known that he placed Dickens above all other English novelists. He found Thackeray somewhat cold, and from the other novels praised "Adam Bede" and "The Vicar of Wakefield"'. Eliot was to remain a favourite novelist. G. A. Rusanov recorded the following conversation with Tolstoy in 1890: 'Dickens', said the latter, 'is in the top rank, Thackeray a step lower down and Trollope still lower.

— And George Eliot? I asked.

— Oh, that one is on a par with Dickens, in the same rank as he is — Lev Nikolayevich hastened to answer.⁴ As late as 21 August 1900 he noted in his diary, 'Read George Eliot and Ruskin and appreciated them very much'.⁵

It was in George Eliot's *Adam Bede*, as we shall seek to show, that Tolstoy found, whether unconsciously or not, a model for Anna Karenina, a character which has proved elusive. His most recent Soviet biographer, N. N. Gusev, states: 'Anna is undoubtedly a composite character. It is impossible to indicate any definite prototypes either for Anna's external portrait, or for her psychological make-up'.⁶ The only suggestion made of an original model has been in the memoirs of T. A. Kuzminskaya in which she maintained that Pushkin's daughter, Maria A. Gartung 'was his model for Anna Karenina — not by her character, nor in her life, but in her appearance. He himself admitted this'.⁷

Let us first consider what is known about the creation of Anna's character. The first draft⁸ dated 18 March 1873 shows us a completely different female character from the Anna of the published novel. Here, she is Tatyana Sergeevna Stavrovich who is not drawn sympathetically by a Tolstoy who thunders against her 'diabolic behaviour' and her 'crime'. Her appearance is vague: 'There was something challenging and saucy about her dress and brisk walk, and at the same time something simple and serene about her beautiful rosy face with the large, black eyes and her brother's lips and smile'.⁹

In the second draft¹⁰ which was given the heavily ironical heading 'Молодец-баба' (Fine old girl!), Karenina is Anastasiya (Nana) Arkadevna who is

ugly with a low forehead, a small, almost snub nose and too fat. So fat, that a little more and she would be monstrous. If it were not for her huge black eyelashes adorning her grey eyes, her black enormous (?) hair adorning her forehead, her svelte waist, the grace of her movements like her brother's and the tiny hands and feet, she would be ugly.

As she comes into the room she 'screws up her eyes which are so small and narrow (so that only her thick black eyelashes are visible) as she looks into people's faces.

¹ Jubilee Edition, vol. 48, p. 22.

² Jubilee Edition, vol. 66, pp. 67-8.

³ S. L. Tolstoy, *Ocherki bylogo* (Moscow, 1956), p. 79.

⁴ G. A. Rusanov, 'Vospominaniya. Poyezdka v Moskvu', in *L. N. Tolstoy v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1955), p. 251.

⁵ Jubilee Edition, vol. 54, p. 35.

⁶ N. N. Gusev, p. 301.

⁷ T. A. Kuzminskaya, *Moya zhizn' doma i v Yasnoy Polyane* (Tula, 1958), pp. 464-5.

⁸ *Literaturnoye Nasledstvo*, p. 404.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

A low, very low forehead, small eyes, thick lips and a nose of unattractive appearance'.¹

In later drafts, however, the vulgar, unattractive Nana became the beautiful, graceful Anna Karenina. She also became a character whose appearance is surprisingly similar to that of Hetty Sorrel in George Eliot's *Adam Bede*. In this apparent re-creation the intensity of Tolstoy's visual appreciation of character becomes strikingly evident; it is the kind of awareness which he describes in Anna's portrait painter Mikhailov who 'swallowed' everything he saw and kept it in his artistic memory.² Hetty's portrait has two elements: precise physical details are given — black, curly hair in rings, dark grey eyes, long luxuriant eyelashes, rounded neck and arms, delicate hands and feet; and an elusive impression of softness and animal toughness. Both elements are present in the characterization of Anna Karenina: the precise physical details correspond exactly and the impression created by both is the same.

Hetty Sorrel is introduced when she is first seen by Arthur Donnithorne in the dairy:

It is little use for me to tell you that Hetty's cheek was like a rose petal, that dimples played about her pouting lips, that her large dark eyes hid a soft roguishness under their long lashes and that her curly hair though all pushed back under her round cap while she was at work stole back in dark, delicate rings on her forehead and about her white, shell-like ears. (Book I, Chapter VII)

Here is Anna as she is seen by Vronsky at their first meeting, an Anna, who like Hetty, is also 'slyly conscious that no turn of the head is lost':

Блестящие, казавшиеся темными от густых ресниц, серые глаза дружелюбно, внимательно остановились на его лице, как будто она признавала его, и тотчас же перенеслись на подходящую толпу, как бы ища кого-то. В этом коротком взгляде Вронский успел заметить сдержанную оживленность, которая играла в ее лице и порхала между блестящими глазами и чуть заметной улыбкой, изгибавшею ее румяные губы. (Part I, Chapter XVIII) (The shining, grey eyes which seemed dark under their thick lashes, came to rest on his face, friendly and searching, as if recognizing him, and then immediately turned away to the gathering crowd as if looking for someone. In that short glance Vronsky managed to catch the restrained vivaciousness which played on her face, and fluttered between the shining eyes and the scarcely perceptible smile that curved her red lips.)

They have more in common than being victims of their own sensual natures, this seventeen year old orphan on a Midlands yeoman farm and the mature, married woman from Petersburg high society. Both have the same dark grey eyes under long lashes. Their other traits are more elusive, yet their very elusiveness makes their similarity all the more striking. One is Hetty's 'soft roguishness' in her eyes which corresponds with Anna's 'сдержанная оживленность' (variously translated as 'the peculiarly restrained, vivacious expression',³ 'suppressed animation',⁴ 'subdued vitality',⁵ 'restrained vivacity'.⁶) Both authors seek to express a curious fusion of reserve and brazenness in the characters, a paradox which was the one individualizing feature of Tatyana Stavrovich in the first draft. Equally vague and elusive, but extremely expressive of innocence and sensuality, is George

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

³ R. S. Townsend, (London, 1912).

⁵ J. Carmichael, (New York, 1960).

² *Anna Karenina*, Part 5, Chapter x.

⁴ R. Edmonds, (London, 1954).

⁶ D. Magarshack, (New York, 1961).

Eliot's description of Hetty's mouth: 'dimples played about her pouting lips.' Most striking is Tolstoy's description of Anna's mouth which again fuses innocence with sensuality and, in the light of Hetty's portrait, appears to be a brave attempt to put the untranslatable English into Russian: 'чуть заметной улыбкой, изгибавшею ее румяные губы.' (A scarcely noticeable smile which had curved her red lips.)

For a glimpse of Anna's hair we have to wait for the ball scene where Kitty studies her carefully and notices that,

Прическа ее была незаметна. Заметны были только, украшая ее, эти своевольные, короткие колечки курчавых волос, всегда выбивавшиеся на затылке и висках. (Part 1, Chapter xxii) (Her hair-style was unremarkable. The only remarkable feature which added to her beauty were the wilful short rings of curly hair, constantly straying over her nape and temples.)

This, again, is the picture of Hetty's hair in the dairy.

Furthermore, both Hetty and Anna have white, firm, rounded arms and neck. The dark eyes, normally bright and attractive, can also express the hardness of both women. The 'devilish glint' which Tolstoy saw in the eyes of Tatyana Stavrovich still returns to Anna occasionally as at the ball when Kitty notices the 'дрожащий, вспыхивающий блеск в глазах' (Part 1, Chapter xxiii) (A flickering sparkle flaring up in her eyes.), and Hetty in her final despair looks into the mirror to see a change: 'A hard and even fierce look had come in the eyes, though their lashes were as long as ever and they had all their dark brightness' (Book 5, Chapter xxxvii).

We would stress that we have not attempted to select features which are common to both portraits. Not in a single detail do the appearances diverge. Hetty is much younger than Anna, but otherwise the convergence is complete.

More so than in the case of Hetty Sorrel, Anna's character and mental processes are revealed through her unruly curls, the dark eyes under their long lashes, the curved mouth, the rounded neck and arms and graceful, energetic movements. There is intensification here, but there are occasions when this characteristic device of Tolstoy recalls Eliot's treatment of Hetty.

Anna, after deciding to reveal her pregnancy to Vronsky, is yet full of a vague fear for the changes that this revelation will bring. Even when launched into her declaration, her instinct is to conceal the fact. Tolstoy conveys the intensity of her emotions by concentrating on the dark eyes under their long lashes and her trembling hand playing with a leaf torn from a tree. It is the leaf that stands at the centre of the picture (Part 2, Chapter xxii). The moment when Hetty's world is destroyed and she is beset by the uncertainty of the future is when Adam Bede tells her of Arthur Donnithorne's decision to break with her. Here again the dominant emotion in Hetty is a fear for the future, and the woman's instinct is to conceal her true feelings, but they will break out. Unlike Tolstoy, George Eliot gives a direct description of Hetty's feelings but it is still the dark eyes and the torn leaf in her trembling hand that communicate them:

Adam paused and looked at Hetty who was plucking the leaves from the filbert trees and tearing them up in her hand. Her little plans and preconcerted speeches had all forsaken her, like an ill-learned lesson under the terrible agitation produced by Adam's words. There was a cruel force in their calm certainty which threatened to grapple and crush her flimsy hopes and fancies. She wanted to resist them — she wanted to throw them off with angry

contradiction — but the determination to conceal what she felt still governed her. It was nothing more than a blind prompting now, for she was unable to calculate the effect of her words.

“You’ve no right to say as I love him,” she said faintly but impetuously, plucking another rough leaf and tearing it up. She was very beautiful in her paleness and agitation with her dark, childish eyes dilated and her breath shorter than usual. (Book 4, Chapter xxx)

It is astonishing, as George Eliot pointed out with a touch of her irony how a country beauty’s ‘mental processes may resemble those of a lady in society and crinoline who applies her refined intellect to the problem of committing indiscretions without compromising herself’ (Book 4, Chapter xxx).

The striking similarity between the likenesses of Hetty Sorrel and Anna Karenina alone suggests that the novel *Adam Bede* entered somewhere into Tolstoy’s conceptions of his future *Anna Karenina* in March 1873.¹ Other correspondences seem to confirm this view. A central theme present in the first draft appears to have sprung from *Adam Bede*. In contrast to the long period of research and vacillations before the writing of *War and Peace* and the projected novel on the times of Peter I, Tolstoy had indicated the main outlines of his new novel with no indecision and in them a horse-race was to be one of the high points. The young seducer Balashov (the future Vronsky), deeply shaken by the realization that his gentleman’s honour had been compromised by his mistress’s pregnancy, seeks solace in the race on his horse Tiny (the future Frou-Frou) and in a fall the horse breaks its back.²

In *Adam Bede* too the young seducer seeks to dispel the same low spirits occasioned by a disabused sense of honour by a hard ride on his Meg. Here again is an example of Tolstoy’s expansion of material gleaned elsewhere, if in Eliot’s sketch of Meg is the image from which Tolstoy’s magnificent picture of Frou-Frou grew:

The pretty creature arched her bay neck in the sunshine and pawed the gravel and trembled with pleasure when her master stroked her nose and patted her and talked to her even in a more caressing tone than usual. He loved her the better because she knew nothing of his secrets. But Meg was quite as well acquainted with her master’s mental state as many others of her sex with the mental condition of the nice young gentlemen towards whom their hearts are in a state of fluttering expectation. (Book 4, Chapter xxix)

Both creatures are bay mares and it is significant that in the early drafts Frou-Frou was given the English name of Jim and then Tiny, and that the horse should have an English groom, Cord. Not only do Donnithorne and Vronsky feel a special tenderness towards their animals, but, more remarkable, both Meg and Frou-Frou are endowed with a peculiar knowledge of their master’s state of mind. If ‘Meg was quite as well acquainted with her master’s mental state etc.’, then, ‘Вронскому по крайней мере показалось, что она (Фру-Фру) поняла все, что он теперь, глядя на нее, чувствовал’. (Part 2, Chapter XXI) (It seemed to Vronsky at least that she (Frou-Frou) understood everything, which he now felt, as he looked at her.) Both men over-ride their mounts:

Faster and faster went the sensitive Meg, at every slight sign from her rider till the canter had passed into a gallop. “I thought they said th’young master war took ill last night”,

¹ As well as being seduced, both women are made originally to look for deliverance from their suffering by suicide through drowning. Hetty contemplates drowning herself in a pool. (*Adam Bede*, Book 5, Chapter xxxvii). In Tolstoy’s first draft, Tatyana Stavrovich drowns herself in the Neva. Initially he wrote, ‘нашли в Неве ее тело.’ (they found her body in the Neva) and later he inserted, ‘нашли под рельсами тело’ (they found the body under the rails) (*Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, p. 423).

² *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, p. 416.

said sour old John, the groom, at dinner time in the servants' hall. "He's been ridin' fit to split the mare i'two this forenoon." (Book 4, Chapter xxix)

Although in the final version it is included in the narrative, in Tolstoy's first draft it is Cord who announces that Tiny had broken its back: 'Корд говорил, что лошадь сломала спину.'¹

Arthur Donnithorne of the Loamshire Militia and Vronsky, the guards officer, were both young, spoilt and lived within a code of honour of which the arbiter was Society.² Their rationalizations of their positions before the purging rides on horseback follow a similar thread, although they are expressed characteristically by Eliot more in a reasoned argument, and by Tolstoy more in the form of a broken interior monologue.³

Both have suffered a social shock which for them is the greatest affront:

For with Arthur's sensitiveness to opinion, the loss of Adam's respect was a shock to his self contentment which suffused his imagination with the sense that he had sunk in all eyes.

In Vronsky's case:

Да, все это было тоже и тоже. Все, его мать, его брат, все находили нужным вмешиваться в его сердечные дела.

(Yes, it was the same old thing, the same old thing. Everyone, his mother, his brother, everyone found it necessary to interfere in the affairs of his heart.)

The sense of social affront aroused bitterness. As far as Arthur was concerned, 'If there was any bitterness in his nature it could only show itself against the man who refused to be conciliated by him. And perhaps the time was come for some of that bitterness to rise.'

As for Vronsky: 'Это вмешательство возбуждало в нем злобу — чувство, которое он редко испытывал.' (This interference aroused in him bitterness — a feeling which he rarely experienced.)

The bitterness is there because both are aware that their accusers are right, that they have infringed their code of honour and that this is irrevocable.

[Adam] stood like an immovable obstacle against which no pressure could avail; an embodiment of what Arthur most shrank in believing in — the irrevocableness of his own wrongdoing.

Он [Вронский] сердился на всех за вмешательство именно потому, что он чувствовал в душе, что они, эти все, были правы. Он чувствовал, что любовь, связывавшая его с Анной, не была минутное увлечение, которое пройдет, как проходят светские связи, не оставив других следов в жизни того и другого кроме приятных или неприятных воспоминаний. (He was angry with everyone for interfering precisely because he felt in his heart that they, all these people, were right. He felt that the love binding him to Anna was not the amusement of a moment which would pass, as all society liaisons pass without leaving any traces in the life of one or the other, apart from pleasant or unpleasant memories.)

Bitter at the thought that there was no hope of salvaging their code of honour entirely, both seek instinctively 'the right thing to do'. It is here, perhaps, that we have the strongest indication that these parallel rationalizations are not purely

¹ *Literaturnoye Nasledstvo*, p. 416.

² Ironic descriptions of this code are found in *Adam Bede*, Book 1, Chapter xii, and *Anna Karenina*, Part 3, Chapter xx.

³ The following quotations are taken respectively from *Adam Bede*, Book 4, Chapter xxix, and *Anna Karenina*, Part 2, Chapter xxi.

coincidental, for Tolstoy's irony strikes at the very sore point where George Eliot's irony drives home, and the form it takes is strikingly similar:

[Arthur] must persuade himself that he had not been very much to blame; he began even to pity himself for the necessity he was under of deceiving Adam; it was a course so opposed to the honesty of his own nature.

[Вронский] живо вспомнил все те часто повторявшиеся случаи необходимости лжи и обмана, которые были так противны его натуре; вспомнил особенно живо не раз замеченное в ней чувство стыда за эту необходимость обмана и лжи. (Vronsky vividly recalled all the oft repeated occasions when it was a necessity to lie and to deceive, which were so opposed to his nature; he recalled especially vividly the feeling of shame which he had noticed in her¹ more than once at this necessity to deceive and to lie.)

Irony in Tolstoy is often a sign that he is examining his own nature and here we can sense perhaps the nature of the imprint left on him by *Adam Bede*.²

Only the 'right thing to do' differs in the two novels: Arthur must break with Hetty as surely as Vronsky must cling to Anna. And yet as Arthur parades his arguments for 'the right thing', Vronsky's defiant decision is there — 'And across all this reflection would dart every now and then a sudden impulse of passionate defiance towards all consequences. He would carry Hetty away and all other considerations might go to. . . .' Likewise, although in the end Vronsky decides to disdain all other considerations, the decision is reached after far too much protesting that Anna was not 'that sort of thing', not 'a sordid Society liaison', not 'a toy', not 'a passing fancy of the moment'.

These young men, one of whom admires Arthur Young, and one who introduces modern English farming to his Russian estate, both handsome, charming and accustomed to the admiration of Society, both ardently desire to be dearly beloved squires and are both trapped by the same double standard of social morality.

If the Midlands orphan and squire of 1799 were recreated for the Petersburg of 1870, then it is possible to point to other devices which are common to both novels. One of these is the use of animals as a dumb but sentient chorus to the human actions. It has already been shown how Meg and Frou-Frou responded to their masters' moods. Indeed Frou-Frou 'была одно из тех животных, которые, кажется, не говорят только потому, что механическое устройство их рта не позволяет им этого' (Part 2, Chapter XXI), (was one of those animals which, it seems, do not speak only because the mechanical equipment of their mouth does not permit it). Tolstoy appears to be echoing Dinah's opinion of Adam Bede's dog, Gyp:

Poor dog! . . . I've a strange feeling about the dumb things as if they wanted to speak and it was a trouble to 'em because they couldn't. I can't help feeling sorry for the dogs always, though perhaps there's no need. But they may well have more in them than they know how to make us understand, for we can't say half what we feel, with all our words. (Book 1, Chapter XI)

And Gyp, Juno, Pug, Vixen, Trip, the bulldog, the black and tan terrier, Alick's sheep dog, the small white and liver coloured spaniel stalk and gambol through the

¹ The pronoun, which is usually read as a reference to Anna, could possibly stand for 'his nature'.

² Tolstoy had read *Adam Bede* by 11 October 1859. In the previous summer of 1858 he had himself seduced a young, married peasant woman, Aksinya Bazykina, who bore him a son, Timofey. Three months before his death, Tolstoy told P. I. Biryukov that the memory of this illicit union had tormented him throughout his life. The episode is described by Ernest J. Simmons, *Leo Tolstoy* (New York, 1960), vol. 1, p. 189.

novel expressing joy, agony, unease, friendship, snobbish dispassion, and once even 'a keen sense of opprobrium'. The animal chorus is constantly present to remind us of man's bestiality and his own dumbness when he seeks to express his more intense emotions. They constantly remind us of the natural laws of life which can sweep away any shallow aristocratic code. It is a device that Tolstoy seized upon. Frou-Frou, Levin's dog Laska and Oblonsky's dog Crack can all love, understand and reproach their masters, for they too are subject to what Eliot called 'the terrible coercion of the things of this world' which occasionally bring the humans back to animal dumbness as when Vronsky bleats inhumanly at Frou-Frou's death or Kitty howls inhumanly in childbirth.

The children who play the part of an instinctive, indulgent chorus in *Adam Bede* are present in *Anna Karenina* as well, although in the latter work they react more positively to good and evil in the adults around them. They are more often 'the magnifying glass of evil' as Tolstoy called them, and the picture of them is far less indulgent.

One more sketch from *Adam Bede* which might have prompted one of Tolstoy's large-canvas scenes in *Anna Karenina* is that of the haymakers. Tolstoy's own experience of mowing and haymaking is of course, sufficient reason for the splendour of the haymaking scenes, yet that awareness of the communal joy might have been deepened by his acquaintance with Arthur Donnithorne's reaction to the swirling sound of the scythe, the feeling that 'there is something so healthful in the sharing of a joy that is general and not merely personal' (Book 1, Chapter xvi). What effect, one wonders, did the following passage have on Tolstoy?:

All hands were to be out in the meadows this morning as soon as the dew had risen; the wives and daughters did double work in every farmhouse, that the maids might give their help in tossing the hay; and when Adam was marching along the lanes with his basket of tools over his shoulder, he caught the sound of jocose talk and ringing laughter from behind the hedges. (Book 2, Chapter xix)

What Tolstoy saw were 'Maids with rakes on their shoulders, resplendent with bright colours and with their ringing, merry voices bursting forth, followed the loads of hay'. (Бабы с граблями на плечах, блестя яркими цветами и треща звонкими, веселыми голосами, шли позади возов) (Part 3, Chapter xii). Was Levin's envy for the healthy merriment of his haymakers conceived when Tolstoy read that, 'Men's muscles move better when their souls are making merry music, though their merriment is of a poor blundering sort, not at all like the merriment of birds' (Book 2, Chapter xix)?

When the words and images are laid down side by side in this fashion it is no surprise to find that Mr Poyser makes hay in his Big Meadow and Levin in his Большой Луг (Big Meadow), or that Oblonsky's English governess is named Miss Elliot.

Given that *Adam Bede* played some considerable part in the initial conception of Tolstoy's novel, then the following conclusions may be made:

1. The prototype for Anna Karenina is Hetty Sorrel.
2. If Hetty is accepted as Tolstoy's model, then it is possible to see in a clearer light the relationship between the first sketches of Tatyana Stavrovich, Anastasiya (Nana) Karenina and the final character of Anna Karenina. The first two have some of Hetty's characteristics — the glint in the grey eyes, huge dark eyelashes, gracious movements and tiny hands and feet — but the model has been aged and

coarsened by repellent details. Like Hetty, they are characterized by a combination of sauciness and serenity which is, however, crude and obvious. In the final portrait of Anna Karenina, Tolstoy removed the repellent details and returned to a portrait which is much more faithful to the model. The sauciness and serenity were not juxtaposed, but fused and conveyed with as much delicacy as in Hetty's case.

Until now critics have generally maintained that Tolstoy changed his mind about his heroine's character between the initial drafts and the later ones.¹ We would suggest that there was no change in conception: Tolstoy, whose initial conception of the heroine's likeness was prompted by that of Hetty Sorrel, attempted to expand and change it in the first drafts, but in the end returned to his original conception.

3. Similarly, it is no longer possible to agree with the existing critical view summed up by Mr M. B. Khrapchenko in a recent monograph:

It is well known that the initial idea of a novel about contemporary life, the characters of the main protagonists in the early drafts are essentially different from the creative conception and the painting of the heroes in the final text of *Anna Karenina*.²

The inclusion of the horse-race scene and the characteristics of the future Anna Karenina (Hetty Sorrel) in the original drafts indicate that the basic conception remained essentially unaltered. The heavy satire directed against high society and the unfavourable traits given to the likeness of the fallen woman are Tolstoy's glosses. In the further development of the novel, Tolstoy is not breaking away in a new direction after a false start, but abandoning his glosses and returning to a basic conception formed to some degree from *Adam Bede*.

4. Recent criticism has attempted to show that Tolstoy conceived of his novel as a 'family novel' only after the first two drafts had been written, and stresses that this again was a new departure.³ But this view is unacceptable if the family themes of *Adam Bede*, one of whose main stages is Mrs Poyser's kitchen in Hall Farm, are borne in mind.

5. The expansion of the novel into a panorama of contemporary Russian society is also generally seen as a new departure, but this could well have been prompted by the precise and imaginative social documentation of Eliot's part of England which is such a vital part of *Adam Bede*.

W. GARETH JONES

BANGOR

¹ See V. A. Zhdanov, *Tvorcheskaya istoriya 'Anny Kareninoy'* (Moscow, 1957); and N. K. Gudziy, Jubilee Edition, vol. 20, pp. 584-5.

² M. B. Khrapchenko, *Lev Tolstoy kak khudozhnik* (Moscow, 1963), p. 190.

³ M. B. Khrapchenko, p. 192, maintains that, 'The reconstruction of the initial plan of the novel tells first of all in a new illumination of the family theme'. This is treated fully by N. N. Gusev, pp. 301-44.