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WAR and PEACE

LEO TOLSTOY

Translated from the Russian by
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AND
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With an introduction by
RICHARD PEVEAR

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INTRODUCTION

If the world could write by itself, it would write like Tolstoy.

— ISAAC BABEL

War and Peace is the most famous and at the same time the most daunting of Russian novels, as vast as Russia itself and as long to cross from one end to the other. Yet if one makes the journey, the sights seen and the people met on the way mark one’s life forever. The book is set in the period of the Napoleonic wars (1805–1812) and tells of the interweaving of historical events with the private lives of two very different families of the Russian nobility—the severe Bolkonskys and the easygoing Rostovs—and of a singular man, reminiscent of the author himself—Count Pierre Bezukhov. It embodies the national myth of “Russia’s glorious period,” as Tolstoy himself called it, in the confrontation of the emperor Napoleon and Field Marshal Kutuzov, and at the same time it challenges that myth and all such myths through the vivid portrayal of the fates of countless ordinary people of the period, men and women, young and old, French as well as Russian, and through the author’s own passionate questioning of the truth of history.

Tolstoy wrote that he “spent five years of ceaseless and exclusive labor, under the best conditions of life,” working on War and Peace. Those were the years from 1863 to 1868. He was thirty-five when he began. The year before, he had married Sofya Behrs, the daughter of a Moscow doctor, who was eighteen, and they had moved permanently to his estate at Yasnaya Polyana, in Tula province, a hundred and twenty miles south of Moscow. She bore him four children while he worked on the book, was his first reader (or listener), and was in part the model for his heroine, Natasha Rostov.

The orderliness and routine of family life and estate management were not only the best conditions for work, they were also new conditions for Tolstoy. His mother had died when he was two. His father had moved to Moscow with the children in 1830, but died himself seven years later, and the children were eventually taken to Kazan by their aunt. Tolstoy entered Kazan University in 1844 but never graduated; his later attempts to pass examinations at Petersburg University also led to nothing. In 1851, after several years of idle and dissipated life in Moscow and Petersburg, he visited the Caucasus with his brother Nikolai, who was in the army, and there took part in a raid on a Chechen village, which he described a year later in a story entitled “The Raid,”
his first attempt to capture the actuality of warfare in words. His experiences in
the Caucasus were also reflected in his novel *The Cossacks*, which he began
writing in 1853 but finished only nine years later, and in his very last piece of
fiction, the superb short novel *Hadji Murad*, completed in 1904 but published
only posthumously.

In 1852, he joined the army as a noncommissioned officer and served in
Wallachia. Two years later he was promoted to ensign and was transferred at
his own request to the Crimea, where he fought in the Crimean War and was
present at the siege of Sevastopol. His *Sevastopol Sketches*, which were pub-
lished in 1855, made him famous in Petersburg social and literary circles. They
were a second and fuller attempt at a true depiction of war.

During his army years, Tolstoy lived like a typical young Russian officer,
drinking, gambling, and womanizing. In 1854 he lost the family house in Yasn-
aya Polyana at cards, and it was dismantled and moved some twenty miles
away, leaving only a foundation stone on which Tolstoy later had carved:
*HERE STOOD THE HOUSE IN WHICH L. N. TOLSTOY WAS BORN*. In 1856
he was promoted to lieutenant but resigned his commission and returned to
the estate, where he lived in one of the surviving wings of the house and began
to occupy himself with management and the education of the peasant children.
By then, besides the works I have already mentioned, he had also published the
semi-fictional trilogy *Childhood, Boyhood*, and *Youth*.

The years from 1857 to 1862 were a time of restlessness and seeking for
Tolstoy. He had left Petersburg, disgusted by the literary life there. He made
two trips abroad. During the first, in 1857, he forced himself to witness a
public execution in Paris, and the sight shook him so deeply that he vowed
he would never again serve any government. At the beginning of the second
trip, in September 1860, he visited his beloved brother Nikolai, who was dying
of tuberculosis in the southern French town of Hyères. The death and burial
of his brother were, he said, “the strongest impression in my life.” In 1861 he
returned to Yasnaya Polyana, where he began work on a novel about the
Decembrists, a group of young aristocrats and officers who, at the death of
the emperor Alexander I in December 1825, rose up in the name of constitu-
tional monarchy, were arrested and either executed or sent to Siberia. This
novel would eventually become *War and Peace*.

Tolstoy himself later described the process of its transformation. At first he
had wanted to write about a Decembrist on his return from Siberia in 1856,
when the exiles were pardoned by Alexander II. In preparation for that, he
went back to 1825, the year of the uprising itself, and from there to the child-
hood and youth of his hero and the others who took part in it. That brought
him to the war of 1812, with which he became fascinated, and since those
events were directly linked to events of 1805, it was there that he decided to
begin. The original title, in the serial publication of the book, was *The Year*
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1805; it was only in 1867 that he changed it to War and Peace, which he may have borrowed from a work by the French socialist thinker Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, whom he had met in Brussels during his second trip abroad. All that remains of the Decembrists in the final version are some slight hints about the futures of Pierre Bezukhov and of Prince Andrei Bolkonsky’s son Nikolenka.

The book grew organically as Tolstoy worked on it. In 1865, partly under the influence of Stendhal’s Charterhouse of Parma, he revised the battle scenes he had already written and added new ones, including one of the most important; the description of the battle of Schöngraben. Coming across a collection of Masonic texts in the library of the Rumyantsev Museum, he became interested and decided to make Pierre Bezukhov a Mason. He studied the people of Moscow at the theaters, in the clubs, in the streets, looking for the types he needed. A great many of his fictional characters, if not all of them, had real-life models. The old Prince Bolkonsky and the old Count Rostov were drawn from Tolstoy’s grandfathers, Nikolai Rostov and Princess Marya from his parents, Sonya from one of his aunts. The Rostov estate, Otradnoe, is a reflection of Yasnaya Polyana. Tolstoy spent two days on the battlefield of Borodino and made his own map of the disposition of forces, correcting the maps of the historians. He collected a whole library of materials on the Napoleonic wars, many bits of which also found their way into the fabric of the book. His memory for historical minutiae was prodigious. But above all, there is the profusion and precision of sensual detail that brings the world of War and Peace so vividly to life. In his autobiographical sketch, People and Situations (1956), Pasternak wrote of Tolstoy:

All his life, at every moment, he possessed the faculty of seeing phenomena in the detached finality of each separate instant, in perfectly distinct outline, as we see only on rare occasions, in childhood, or on the crest of an all-renewing happiness, or in the triumph of a great spiritual victory.

To see things like that, our eye must be directed by passion. For it is passion that by its flash illuminates an object, intensifying its appearance.

Such passion, the passion of creative contemplation, Tolstoy constantly carried within him. It was precisely in its light that he saw everything in its pristine freshness, in a new way, as if for the first time. The authenticity of what he saw differs so much from what we are used to that it may appear strange to us. But Tolstoy was not seeking that strangeness, was not pursuing it as a goal, still less did he apply it to his works as a literary method.

I was struck, while working on the translation of War and Peace, by the impression that I was translating two books at the same time. Not two books in alternation, as one might expect from the title, but two books simultaneously. One is a very deliberate and self-conscious work, expressive of the out-
size personality of its author, who is everywhere present, selecting and manipulating events, and making his own absolute pronouncements on them: "On the twelfth of June, the forces of Western Europe crossed the borders of Russia, and war began—that is, an event took place contrary to human reason and to the whole of human nature." It is a work full of provocation and irony, and written in what might be called Tolstoy’s signature style, with broad and elaborately developed rhetorical devices—periodic structure, emphatic repetitions, epic similes. The other is an account of all that is most real and ordinary in life, all that is most fragile and therefore most precious, all that eludes formulation, that is not subject to absolute pronouncements, that is so mercurial that it can hardly be reflected upon, and can be grasped only by a rare quality of attention and self-effacement. And it is written in a style that reaches the expressive minimum of a sentence like Kápli kápli, “Drops dripped”—which makes silence itself audible. It seems to me that the incomparable experience of reading War and Peace comes from the shining of the one work through the other—an effect achieved by artistic means of an unusual sort.

The first thing a reader today must overcome is the notion of War and Peace as a classic, the greatest of novels, and the model of what a novel should be. In 1954, Bertolt Brecht wrote a note on “Classical Status as an Inhibiting Factor” that puts the question nicely. “What gets lost,” he says of the bestowing of classical status on a work (he is speaking of works for the theater), “is the classic’s original freshness, the element of surprise . . . of newness, of productive stimulus that is the hallmark of such works. The passionate quality of a great masterpiece is replaced by stage temperament, and where the classics are full of fighting spirit, here the lessons taught the audience are tame and cozy and fail to grip.”

The first readers of War and Peace were certainly surprised, but often also bewildered and even dismayed by the book. They found it hard to identify the main characters, to discover anything like a plot, to see any connection between episodes, to understand the sudden leaps from fiction to history, from narration to philosophizing. There seemed to be no focus, no artistic unity to the work, no real beginning, and no resolution. It was as if the sheer mass of detail overwhelmed any design Tolstoy might have tried to impose on it. Such observations were made by Russian critics, including Tolstoy’s great admirer, Ivan Turgenev, and when the book became known in translation, they were repeated by Flaubert and by Henry James, who famously described War and Peace as a “large loose baggy monster.”

Another cause of surprise for its first readers was the language of War and Peace. The book opens in French—not with a few words of French (as in those English versions that do not eliminate the French altogether), but with a whole paragraph of French, with only a few phrases of Russian at the end. This mixing of French and Russian goes on for another five chapters or more,
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and occurs frequently throughout the rest of the book. There are also some long letters entirely in French, as well as official dispatches, and quotations from the French historian Adolphe Thiers. There are passages in German as well. For all of them Tolstoy supplied his own translations in footnotes, as we do. But that made the question still more problematic, because Tolstoy's translations are occasionally inaccurate, perhaps deliberately so. The amount of French in the text is smaller than some early critics asserted—not a third, but only about two percent. But there is also a great deal of gallicized Russian, either implying that the speaker is speaking in French, or showing that upper-class ladies like Julie Karagin are unable to write correctly in their own language. And there are other heterogeneous elements in the composition: Tolstoy's map and commentary on the battlefield of Borodino, and his own interpolated essays, which repeatedly disrupt the fictional continuum.

The formal structure of War and Peace and the texture of its prose are indeed strange. Those who did not simply declare the book a failure, dismissing the newness, the "passionate quality" and "fighting spirit" of what Tolstoy was doing as artistic helplessness and naïveté, often said that it succeeded in spite of its artistic flaws. But that is a false distinction. War and Peace is a work of art, and if it succeeds, it cannot be in spite of its formal deficiencies, but only because Tolstoy created a new form that was adequate to his vision.

It is equally mistaken to go to the other extreme and declare, as more recent critics have done, that, far from being a magnificent failure, War and Peace is a masterpiece of nineteenth-century realism, simple and artless, a direct transcription of life, Tolstoy was well aware of the perplexities his book caused and addressed them in an article (included here as an appendix) entitled "A Few Words Apropos of the Book War and Peace," published in the magazine Russian Archive in 1868, before the final parts of the book had appeared in print. "What is War and Peace?" he asked.

It is not a novel, still less an epic poem, still less a historical chronicle. War and Peace is what the author wanted and was able to express, in the form in which it is expressed. Such a declaration of the author's disregard of the conventional forms of artistic prose works might seem presumptuous, if it were premeditated and if it had no previous examples. The history of Russian literature since Pushkin's time not only provides many examples of such departure from European forms, but does not offer even one example to the contrary. From Gogol's Dead Souls to Dostoevsky's Dead House, there is not a single work of artistic prose of the modern period of Russian literature, rising slightly above mediocrity, that would fit perfectly into the form of the novel, the epic, or the story.

Two things in this passage are especially characteristic of Tolstoy: first, the negative definition of the genre; and second, the assertion that his departure
from artistic convention was not premeditated. Both might be taken as disingenuous, but I do not think they are. Tolstoy was trying to express something which, to his mind, had never been expressed before, and which therefore required a new form that could only define itself as he worked. By excluding the known forms of extended narrative, he leaves an empty place in which an as yet unknown form, indefinable and unnameable, may appear. (He uses the same negative method throughout War and Peace itself.) But this procedure was not premeditated—that is, as Pasternak rightly said, it was not a literary method, not a play with form for its own sake in the modernist sense. He found it necessary for the task he had set himself.

What was that task? What was it that Tolstoy "wanted to express" in his book, which he deliberately does not call a novel? Boris de Schloezer, a fine critic and philosopher, wrote in the preface to his French translation of War and Peace (1960) that Tolstoy's one aim, from the beginning, was "to speak the truth" as perceived by his eye and his conscience. "All the forces of his imagination, his power of evocation and expression, converge on that one single goal. Outside any other religious or moral considerations, Tolstoy when he writes obeys one imperative, which is the foundation of what one might call his literary ethic. That imperative is not imposed on the artist by the moralist, it is the voice of the artist himself." As early as the sketch "Sevastopol in May" of 1855, Tolstoy had asserted, "My hero is truth." In War and Peace he wanted to speak the truth about a certain period of Russian life—the period of the Napoleonic wars of 1805 to 1812. He wanted to say, not how that period could be made to appear in a beautiful lie, an entertaining or instructive story, a historical narrative, but how it was. He wanted to capture in words what happened the way it happened. But how does happening happen? How can words express it without falsifying it? How can one capture the past once it is past? These were questions that Tolstoy constantly brooded on. He had already posed them for himself in 1857, in his very first literary work, the fragment "A History of Yesterday." The composition of War and Peace was his fullest response to them.

Poète et non honnête homme, wrote Pascal, meaning that a poet cannot be an honest man. Tolstoy fully agreed with Pascal; he tried all his life to be honnête homme et non poète. Nabokov, in his lecture notes on Anna Karenina, speaks of "Tolstoy's style with its readiness to admit any robust awkwardness if that is the shortest way to sense." Yet Tolstoy found that the truth could not be approached directly, that every attempt at direct expression became a simplification and therefore a lie, and that the "shortest way to sense" was rather long and indirect. He was acutely aware of the inadequacy of all human means of speaking the truth, but his artistic intuition told him that those means might be composed in such a way as to allow the truth to appear. Against his will, he found that to be an honest man he had to be a poet.
In the fifth section of "A Few Words," Tolstoy freely embraces that role, discussing the differences between the historian and the artist. "A historian and an artist, describing a historical epoch, have two completely different objects... For a historian, considering the contribution rendered by some person towards a certain goal, there are heroes; for the artist, considering the correspondence of this person to all sides of life, there cannot and should not be any heroes, but there should be people." And further on: "A historian has to do with the results of an event, the artist with the fact of the event." And again: "The difference between the results obtained is explained by the sources from which the two draw their information. For the historian (we continue the example of a battle), the main source is the reports of individual commanders and the commander in chief. The artist can draw nothing from such sources, they tell him nothing, explain nothing. Moreover, the artist turns away from them, finding in them a necessary falsehood." Neither here nor elsewhere, however, does Tolstoy say what sources the artist does draw from. To compound the problem, he says at the end of the same section: "But the artist should not forget that the notion of historical figures and events formed among people is based not on fantasy, but on historical documents, insofar as historians have been able to amass them; and therefore, while understanding and presenting these figures and events differently, the artist ought to be guided, like the historian, by historical materials." The difference lies not in the figures and events that are seen, but in the way of seeing them: the artist sees not heroes but people, not results but facts, and considers a person not in terms of a goal, but "in correspondence to all sides of life"—with what Pasternak calls "the passion of creative contemplation," which Tolstoy wisely avoids defining.

This leads to a crucial if paradoxical reversal: the most real and even, in Tolstoy's sense, historical figures in War and Peace turn out to be the fictional ones; and the most unreal, the most insubstantial and futile, the historical ones.* Tolstoy undermines the idea of significant action, though it was the foundation of virtually all narrative before him. He does not say that all action is insignificant, but that the only significant actions are the insignificant ones, whose meaning lies elsewhere, not in the public space but in absolute solitude. For Prince Andrei there is something in the infinite sky above him, but it is not a general idea, and he is unable to communicate it to anyone else. In her comparison of Homer and Tolstoy (On the Iliad, translated by Mary McCarthy, New York, 1947), Rachel Belsaloff wrote: "Great common truths are disclosed to man only when he is alone: they are the revelation made by solitude in the thick of collective action." Tolstoy grants this intimate but immense reality to each of his major characters, and to many of the minor ones (who then

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*The great exception to this rule is Field Marshal Kutuzov, who for Tolstoy is "historical" in both senses of the word and thus becomes a touchstone figure in the book.
cease to be minor). Yet there is nothing very remarkable about these charac-
ters. Turgenev complained that they were all mediocrities, and in a sense he
was right. They are ordinary men and women. Tolstoy was aware of that; it
was what he intended. As Rachel Bespaloff observed: "Tolstoy's universe, like
Homer's, is what our own is from moment to moment. We don't step into it;
we are there."

* * *

A few words about translation and this translation.

It is often said that a good translation is one that "does not feel like a trans-
lation," one that reads "smoothly" in "idiomatic" English. But who deter-
mines the standard of the idiomatic, and why should it be applied to something
so idiolectic as a great work of literature? Is Melville idiomatic? Is Faulkner? Is
Beckett? Those who raise the question of the "idiomatic" in translation do not
seem to realize that they are imposing their own, often very narrow, limits on
the original. A translator who turns a great original into a patchwork of ready-
made "contemporary" phrases, with no regard for its particular tone, rhythm,
or character, and claims that that is "how Tolstoy would have written today in
English," betrays both English and Tolstoy. Translation is not the transfer of a
detachable "meaning" from one language to another, for the simple reason
that in literature there is no meaning detachable from the words that express it.
Translation is a dialogue between two languages. It occurs in a space between
two languages, and most often between two historical moments. Much of the
real value of translation as an art comes from that unique situation. It is not
exclusively the language of arrival or the time of the translator and reader that
should be privileged. We all know, in the case of War and Peace, that we are
reading a nineteenth-century Russian novel. That fact allows the twenty-first
century translator a different range of possibilities than may exist for a twenty-
first century writer. It allows for the enrichment of the translator's own lan-
guage, rather than the imposition of his language on the original.

To move from that fertile ground towards either extreme—that is, towards
interlinear literalness or total accommodation to the new language—is to lose
the possibilities that exist only in the space between two times and languages.
Tolstoy's prose has been much praised and much criticized. He scorned fine
writers, calling them "hairdressers," yet we know from the many drafts he pre-
served that he constantly worked over his texts, revising and refining them,
bringing them closer to what he wanted to express. Tolstoy's prose is an artis-
tic medium; it is all of a piece; it is not good or bad Russian prose, it is Tol-
stoyan prose. What the translator should seek in his own language is the
equivalent of that specific artistic medium. He must have the freedom in his
own language to be faithful to the original.

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says: "From the point of view of language and style, Tolstoy has been better served by his translators than many of his fellow-countrymen. Nevertheless, standards fall a long way short of perfection. Clumsiness and simplicissime apart, no English version of War and Peace has succeeded in conveying the power, balance, rhythm and above all the repetitiveness of the original. Perhaps it is repetition which is the most characteristic single feature of Tolstoy's prose style." He illustrates his point with two passages, the second of which, in our translation, reads as follows (italics added):

... thought Prince Andrei, waiting among many significant and insignificant persons in Count Arakcheev's anteroom.

During his service, mostly as an adjutant, Prince Andrei had seen many anterooms of significant persons, and the differing characters of these anterooms were very clear to him. Count Arakcheev's anteroom had a completely special character. The insignificant persons waiting in line for an audience in Count Arakcheev's anteroom... 

Without mentioning the parallel play on "significant and insignificant persons," Christian notes that the Russian word priémnaya ("anterior") recurs five times in as many lines, and that the Maude translation (1927) glosses over that fact by omitting the word once and using three different words for the rest. I will add that in Ann Dunnigan's translation (1968) the repetitions are treated in exactly the same way as in the Maudes'; that Anthony Briggs, in his 2005 version, omits the repeated word twice and varies it twice; while Constance Garnett (1904) omits it once, but otherwise keeps the repetitions. This passage is a fairly restrained example of what I have called Tolstoy's "signature style," but it does illustrate how the balance and rhythm of his prose depend on repetition. These qualities are lost when the general principle of avoiding repetitions is mechanically applied to it. Tolstoy also had a fondness for larger rhetorical structures based on repeated triads of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on. We have made it a point to keep his repetitions, as well as other devices of formal rhetoric (for instance, chiasmus) that Tolstoy consciously used and that his translators have often ignored. Tolstoy once boasted that in writing War and Peace he had used every rhetorical device of the old Latin grammarians, which means they are not there by chance.

The other extreme of Tolstoy's style is exemplified by the short sentence (the shortest in War and Peace) that I have already quoted: "Drops dripped." It is the first sentence of a paragraph made up of four brief, staccato sentences, four quite ordinary observations, which acquire a lyrical intensity owing solely to the sound and rhythm of the words: Kápli kápli. Shyól tikhii govor. Lóshadi zarzháli i podráliš. Khrapél któ-to. "Drops dripped. Quiet talk went on. Horses neighed and scuffled. Someone snored." It is a night scene, and one of the most haunting moments in the book. Other English versions translate the
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first sentence as “The branches dripped,” “The trees were dripping,” or, closer to the Russian, “Raindrops dripped.” They all state a fact instead of rendering a sound, which (by a stroke of translator’s luck) comes out almost the same in English as in Russian.

Here is another example of the same stylistic compactness, this time expressing a psychological insight rather than a sense impression. It describes the moment when Natasha, who has almost cut herself off from all life, suddenly has to take care of her grief-stricken mother. Tolstoy says simply: Prosnúlas lyubóv, i prosnúlas zhízn. “Love awoke, and life awoke.” All that Tolstoy leaves unsaid about Natasha’s inner life in these few words is implied by their very matter-of-factness, expressed in the exact rhetorical balance of the phrasing. Other English versions read: “Love was awakened, and life waked with it,” “Love awoke, and so did life,” or “When love reawakened, life reawakened.” They convey the same general meaning, but hardly the same sense as the original.

A final example. Tolstoy describes children playing in their room when their mother comes in: Dyéti na stúlyakh yékhali v Moskvú i priglasit yeyó s sobóyu. “The children were riding to Moscow on chairs and invited her to go with them.” To translate the first phrase as “The children were sitting on chairs playing at driving to Moscow,” or “The children were playing at ‘going to Moscow’ in a carriage made of chairs,” or “The children were perched on chairs playing at driving to Moscow,” as has been done, is to miss both the rhythm and the point. The charm of Tolstoy’s sentence comes from the fact that he does not explain in an adult way what the children are doing; he enters into the spirit of their game by the phrasing he uses to describe it, and the whole atmosphere of the moment is suddenly there, naïve, natural, and alive.

I do not mean to suggest that Tolstoy calculated these effects. They are not “effects” at all, they are what he saw and felt, as he wanted and was able to express it. But to translate what he saw and felt, one must also translate, as far as possible, the way it is expressed. These examples will give at least an idea of how we have gone about that task. We have kept all the French and German as Tolstoy had it, as well as the mixed voicings, the Gallicisms, Germanisms and implied foreign accents, as they play throughout the book. We have tried to be true to Tolstoy’s rhetorical power, his sharp irony, and his astonishing delicacy.

—RICHARD PEVERAR
PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

Russian names are composed of first name, patronymic (from the father's first name), and family name. Formal address requires the use of first name and patronymic; diminutives are commonly used among family and friends and are for the most part endearing, though in a certain blunt form (Katka for Katerina, Mitka for Dmitri) they can be rude or dismissive; the family name alone can also be used familiarly or casually, and on occasion only the patronymic is used, usually among the lower classes. In speech, the patronymic can also take a shortened form: Andreich instead of Andreievich, or Kirilych instead of Kirillovich. The accented syllables of Russian names are long, the others very short. We also give the French forms of first names as Tolstoy uses them.

BEZÚKHOV, COUNT KIRÍLL VLADÍMIROVICH
   COUNT PÝOTR KIRÍLLOVICH or KIRÍLICH (Pierre), his son
   PRINCESS KATERÍNA SEMYÓNOVNA (Catiche), his niece

BOLKÓNSKY, PRINCE NIKOLÁI ANDRÉEVICH or ANDRÉICH
   PRINCE ANDRÉI NIKOLÁEVICH (Andryúsha, André), his son
   PRINCESS MÁRYA NIKOLÁEVNA (Másha, Máshenka, Marie), his daughter
   PRINCESS ELIZAVÉTA KÁRLOVNA, née Meinen (Líza, Lizavéta, Lise), the “little princess,” Prince Andrei’s wife
   PRINCE NIKOLÁI ANDRÉEVICH (Níklushka, Nikólenka, Coco), their son

ROSTÓV, COUNT ILYÁ ANDRÉEVICH or ANDRÉICH (Élie)
   COUNTESS NATÁLYA (no patronymic) (Natalia), his wife
   COUNTESS VÉRA ILYÍNICHNA (Verúshka, Vérochka), their elder daughter
   COUNT NIKOLÁI ILYÍCH (Níklushka, Nikólenka, Nikoláshka, Kólya, Nicolas, Coco), their elder son
   COUNTESS NATÁLYA ILYÍNICHNA (Natásha, Natalie), their younger daughter
   COUNT PÝOTR ILYÍCH (Pétya, Petrúsha), their younger son
   SÓFYA ALEXÁNDROVNA (no family name) (Sónya, Sophie), orphaned cousin of the younger Rostovs
Principal Characters

Kurágin, Prince Vassíly Sergéevich
Prince Ippolít Vassílievich (Hippolyte), his elder son
Prince Anatóle Vassílievich, his younger son
Princess Eléna Vassílievna (Lélya, Hélène), his daughter

Drubetskóy, Princess Ánna Mikháilovna
Prince Borís (no patronymic) (Bórya, Bórenka), her son

Akhrosímov, Márýa Dmítrievna, Moscow society matron

Alpátych, Yákov (no family name), steward of the Bolkonsky estates

Bazdéev, Ósip (Iósif) Alexéevich, an important figure in the Masons

Berg, Alphónse Kárlovich or Kárlych (later called Adólff), a young Russian officer

Bouriénne, Amália Evgeniévná (Amélie, Bourriénka), Princess Marya’s French companion

Denísóv, Vassíly Dmítrich (Váská), a hussar officer, friend of Nikolai Rostov

Dólokhov, Fyóدور Ivánovich (Fédyá), a Russian officer

Karágín, Julie (no Russian first name or patronymic), a wealthy heiress

Karatáev, Platón, peasant foot soldier befriended by Pierre Bezukhov

Lavrúshka (no patronymic or family name), Denisov’s and later Nikolai Rostov’s orderly

Schérer, Ánna Pávlovna (Annette), hostess of an aristocratic salon in Petersburg

Tíkhon (no patronymic or family name) (Tishka), old Prince Bolkonsky’s personal manservant

Túshin (no first name or patronymic), captain of Russian artillery at the battle of Schöngraben

Willárski (no first name or patronymic), Polish count and Mason
APPENDIX

A Few Words Apropos of the Book War and Peace

Publishing a work on which I have spent five years of ceaseless and exclusive labor, under the best conditions of life, I would like in a preface to that work to state my view of it and thereby forestall those perplexities which may arise in readers. I would like readers not to see or seek in my book what I did not want or was not able to express, and to pay attention to precisely what I wanted to express, but on which (given the conditions of its production) I did not consider it appropriate to dwell. Neither time nor my skill allowed me to fully carry out my intention, and I avail myself of the hospitality of a specialized journal to state, however briefly and incompletely, for those readers whom it might interest, the author’s view of his work.¹

(1) What is War and Peace? It is not a novel, still less an epic poem, still less a historical chronicle. War and Peace is what the author wanted and was able to express, in the form in which it is expressed. Such a declaration of the author’s disregard of the conventional forms of artistic prose works might seem presumptuous, if it were premeditated and if it had no previous examples. The history of Russian literature since Pushkin’s time not only provides many examples of such departure from European forms, but does not offer even one example to the contrary. From Gogol’s Dead Souls to Dostoevsky’s Dead House,² there is not a single work of artistic prose in the modern period of Russian literature, rising slightly above mediocrity, that would fit perfectly into the form of the novel, the epic, or the story.

(2) The character of the time, as some readers expressed to me when the first part appeared in print, is insufficiently defined in my work. To this reproach I have the following rejoinder. I know what this character of the time is that people do not find in my novel—the horrors of serfdom, the immuring of wives, the whipping of adult sons, Saltychikha,³ and so on; and this character of that time, which lives in our imagination, I do not consider correct and did not wish to express. Studying letters, diaries, legends, I did not find all the horrors of that brutality in a greater degree than I find them now or at any other time. In those times, too, people loved, envied, sought truth, virtue, were carried away by passions; there was the same complex mental and moral life, sometimes even more refined than now, among the upper classes. If in our minds we have formed an opinion of the arbitrariness and crude force characteristic of that
time, it is only because the legends, memoirs, stories, and novels that have come down to us record only the most outstanding cases of violence and brutality. To conclude that the prevailing character of that time was brutality is as incorrect as it would be for a man who sees only treetops beyond a hill to conclude that there is nothing but trees in that region. There is a character of that time (as there is of every epoch), which comes from the greater alienation of the upper circles from the other estates, from the reigning philosophy, from peculiarities of upbringing, from the habit of using the French language, and so on. And this character I have tried as far as I could to express.

(3) The use of French in a Russian work. Why is it that in my work not only the Russians but also the French speak partly in Russian, partly in French? The reproach that people speak and write in French in a Russian book is similar to the reproach made by a man who, looking at a painting, notices black spots in it (shadows) that are not found in reality. The painter is not to blame if the shadow he has made on the face in the painting looks to some like a black spot that does not exist in reality, but is to blame only if those shadows are laid on incorrectly and crudely. Studying the period of the beginning of the present century, portraying Russian figures of a certain society, and Napoleon, and the French, who took such a direct part in the life of that time, I was involuntarily carried away more than necessary by the form of expression of that French way of thinking. And therefore, without denying that the shadows I laid on are probably incorrect and crude, I wish only that those to whom it seems very funny that Napoleon speaks now in Russian, now in French, should know that it seems so to them because, like the man looking at the portrait, they see not a face with light and shadow, but only a black spot under its nose.

(4) The names of characters—Bolkonsky, Drubetskoy, Bilbin, Kuragin, and others—resemble well-known Russian names. In juxtaposing nonhistorical characters with other characters who are historical, it felt awkward to my ear to make Count Rastopchin talk with Prince Pronsky, Strelsky, or some other princes or counts with invented double or single last names. Bolkonsky and Drubetskoy, though they are neither Volkonsky nor Trubetskoy, have the ring of something familiar and natural in a Russian aristocratic circle. I was unable to invent names for all my characters, such as Bezukhov and Rostov, that did not seem false to my ear, and could not get around this difficulty otherwise than by taking the last names most familiar to a Russian ear and changing some letters in them. I would be very sorry if the similarity of the invented names to real ones should give anyone the idea that I meant to describe this or that real person; especially because the literary activity that consists in describing persons who really exist or existed has nothing in common with that which I was engaged in.

M. D. Akhrosimov and Denisov are exceptional characters to whom I involuntarily and thoughtlessly gave names that closely resemble those of two par-
particularly distinctive and dear real persons of the society of that time. That was my mistake, which came from the particular distinctiveness of these two persons; but my mistake in this regard was limited to the introducing of these two characters alone; and readers will probably agree that nothing resembling reality happens to these characters. All the rest of the characters are completely invented and for me do not even have any specific prototypes in tradition or reality.

(5) The divergence between my descriptions of historical events and the accounts of historians. It is not accidental, but inevitable. A historian and an artist, describing a historical epoch, have two completely different objects. As a historian would be wrong if he should try to present a historical figure in all his entirety, in all the complexity of his relations to all sides of life, so an artist would not fulfill his task by always presenting a figure in his historical significance. Kuruzov did not always ride a white horse, holding a field glass and pointing at enemies. Rastopchin did not always take torch in hand and set fire to his Voronovo house (in fact he never did it at all), and the empress Maria Feodorovna did not always stand in an ermine mantle, her hand resting on the code of law; but that is how they are pictured in the popular imagination.

For a historian, considering the contribution rendered by some person towards a certain goal, there are heroes; for the artist, considering the correspondence of this person to all sides of life, there cannot and should not be any heroes, but there should be people.

The historian is sometimes obliged, by bending the truth, to bring all the actions of a historical figure under the one idea he has put into that figure. The artist, on the contrary, sees the very singularity of that idea as incompatible with his task, and only tries to understand and show not the famous figure but the human being.

The distinction is still sharper and more substantial in the description of events themselves.

A historian has to do with the results of an event, the artist with the fact of the event. A historian, describing a battle, says: the left flank of such-and-such army was moved against such-and-such village, cut down the enemy, but was forced to retreat; then the cavalry, going into the attack, overthrew... and so on. The historian cannot speak otherwise. And yet these words have no meaning for an artist and do not even touch upon the event itself. The artist, using his own experience, or letters, memoirs, and accounts, derives for himself an image of the event that took place, and quite often (in a battle for example) the conclusion which the historian allows himself to draw about the activity of such-and-such army turns out to be the opposite of the artist's conclusion. The difference between the results obtained is explained by the sources from which the two draw their information. For the historian (we continue the example of a battle), the main source is the reports of individual commanders and the
commander in chief. The artist can draw nothing from such sources, they tell him nothing, explain nothing. Moreover, the artist turns away from them, finding in them a necessary falsehood. To say nothing of the fact that with every battle the two enemies almost always describe it in a totally opposite way from each other, in every description of a battle there is a necessity for falsehood which comes from the need to describe in a few words the actions of thousands of men, scattered over several miles, who are in the most intense moral agitation under the influence of fear, shame, and death.

In descriptions of battles it is usually written that such-and-such army was sent to attack such-and-such point and was then ordered to retreat, and so on, as if supposing that the discipline that makes tens of thousands of men obey the will of one man on the drill ground will have the same effect where it is a matter of life and death. Anyone who has been to war knows how incorrect that is;* and yet official reports are based on this supposition, and military descriptions on them. Make the rounds of a whole army right after a battle, even on the second or third day, before the reports have been written, and ask all the soldiers, the senior and junior officers, how it went; they will tell you what all these men experienced and saw, and you will form a majestic, complex, infinitely diverse, oppressive, and vague impression; and from no one, least of all the commander in chief, will you learn how it all went. But after two or three days, the reports begin to be submitted, talkers begin telling how what they did not see happened; finally, a general account is put together, and the general opinion of the army is put together from this account. It is a relief to everyone to exchange his doubts and questions for this false but clear and always flattering picture. After a month or two, question a man who took part in the battle—you no longer feel in his story that raw material of life which had been there before; his account follows the report. So I was told about the battle of Borodino by many living, intelligent participants in that affair. They all told me the same thing, and all following the incorrect descriptions of Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, Glinka, and others; even the details they recounted were the same, though the narrators had been several miles from each other.

After the loss of Sevastopol, the artillery commander Kryzhanovsky sent me the reports of the artillery officers from all the bastions and asked me to put those more than twenty accounts together into one. I am sorry I did not make copies of those reports. It was the best example of that naive and necessary military falsehood from which descriptions are put together. I suppose that many

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*After the publication of my first part and the description of the battle of Schöngraben, the words of Nikolai Nikolaevich Muravyov-Karsky were conveyed to me about this description of the battle, which confirmed my conviction. N. N. Muravyov, a commander in chief, said that he had never read a more faithful description of a battle, and that his own experience had convinced him that it was impossible to carry out the orders of a commander in chief during a battle. (Tolstoy's note.)
of my comrades who put together those accounts then will laugh, having read these lines, at the recollection of how, on orders from their superiors, they wrote something they could not have known. Everyone who has had the experience of war knows how capable Russians are of doing their duty in war and how little capable they are of describing it with the boastful falsity necessary to the task. Everyone knows that, in our armies, this duty of writing reports and accounts is for the most part carried out by our non-Russians.

I say all this in order to show the inevitability of falsehood in the military descriptions which serve as material for military historians, and therefore to show the inevitability of frequent disagreements between artists and historians in understanding historical events. But, besides the inevitability of untruths in their setting forth of historical events, I encountered in the historians of the epoch that interested me (probably as a result of the habit of grouping events, expressing them briefly, and conforming to the tragic tone of the events) a particular inclination to high-flown speech, in which falsehood and distortion often touch not only the events, but also the understanding of the meaning of an event. Often, in studying the two main historical productions of that epoch, Thiers and Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky, I would become perplexed at how these books could be printed and read. Not to speak of the setting forth of the same events in the most serious, significant tone, with references to the materials, and yet diametrically opposed to each other, I encountered in these historians such descriptions that I did not know whether to laugh or weep when I remembered that these two books are the sole memorials of that epoch and have millions of readers. I will give only one example from the book of the famous historian Thiers. Having told how Napoleon brought counterfeit money with him, he says: "Relevant l'emploi de ces moyens par un acte de bienfaisance digne de lui et de l'armée française, il fit distribuer des secours aux incendiés. Mais les vivres étant trop précieux pour être donnés longtemps à des étrangers, la plupart ennemis, Napoléon aimait mieux leur fournir de l'argent, et il leur fit distribuer des roubles papier."*

This passage, taken separately, strikes one by its deafening, one cannot say immorality, but sheer meaninglessness; but within the book as a whole it does not strike one, because it corresponds perfectly to the high-flown, solemn tone, lacking in any direct meaning, of its overall style.

And so the tasks of the artist and the historian are completely different, and the disagreements with historians in the description of events and figures in my book should not strike the reader.

*Augmenting the use of these means by an act of charity worthy of himself and of the French army, he had aid distributed to the victims of the fire. But food supplies being too precious to be given for long to foreigners, most of them enemies, Napoleon preferred to furnish them with money, and he had paper roubles distributed to them.
Appendix

But the artist should not forget that the notion of historical figures and events formed among people is based not on fantasy, but on historical documents, insofar as historians have been able to amass them; and therefore, while understanding and presenting these figures and events differently, the artist ought to be guided, like the historian, by historical materials. Wherever in my novel historical figures speak and act, I have not invented, but have made use of the materials, of which, during my work, I have formed a whole library, the titles of which I find it unnecessary to set down here, but for which I can always give the reference.

(6) Finally, the sixth and for me the most important consideration concerns the small significance which, to my mind, so-called great men have in historical events.

In studying an epoch so tragic, so rich in the enormity of its events, and so near to us, of which such a variety of traditions still live, I arrived at the obviousness of the fact that the causes of the historical events that take place are inaccessible to our intelligence. To say (which seems quite simple to everyone) that the causes of the events of the year twelve are the conquering spirit of Napoleon and the patriotic firmness of the emperor Alexander Pavlovich, is as meaningless as to say that the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire are that such-and-such barbarian led his people to the west, and such-and-such Roman emperor ruled his people badly, or that an immense mountain that was being leveled came down because the last workman drove his spade into it.

Such an event, in which millions of men set about killing each other and killed half a million, cannot have the will of one man as its cause: just as one man alone could not undermine a mountain, so one man cannot make five hundred thousand die. But what then were the causes? Some historians say that the cause was the conquering spirit of the French, the patriotism of Russia. Others speak of the democratic element that Napoleon’s host spread about, and of the necessity for Russia to enter into relations with Europe, and so on. But how is it that millions of men set about relations with Europe, and so on. But how is it that millions of men set about killing each other? Who ordered them to do it? It seems clear to everyone that no one would be the better for it, but all would be the worse; why then did they do it? A countless number of retrospective conjectures can be made and are being made about the causes of this senseless event; but the enormous number of these explanations and their convergence on one goal only proves that there is a countless multitude of these causes and that none of them can be called the cause.

Why did millions of men set about killing each other, if it has been known ever since the world began that it is both physically and morally bad?

Because it was so inevitably necessary that, in fulfilling it, men were fulfilling that elementary zoological law which the bees fulfill by exterminating each other in the fall, and according to which male animals exterminate each other. No other answer can be given to this terrible question.
This truth is not only obvious, but is so innate in every man that it would not be worth proving, if there were not another feeling and consciousness in man, which convinces him that he is free at every moment as he performs some action.

Examining history from a general point of view, we are unquestionably convinced of the pre-eternal law according to which events take place. Looking from a personal point of view, we are convinced of the opposite.

A man killing another, Napoleon giving the order to cross the Niemen, you and I applying for a job, raising and lowering our arm, are all unquestionably convinced that each of our acts is based on reasonable causes and our own will, and that it depended on us to act that way and not otherwise, and that conviction is so inherent and dear to each of us that, despite the arguments of history and the statistics of crime, which convince us of the involuntariness of other people's actions, we extend the consciousness of our freedom to all our acts.

The contradiction seems insoluble: in committing an act, I am convinced that I am committing it according to my own good pleasure; examining this act in terms of its being part of the common life of mankind (in its historical significance), I am convinced that this act was predetermined and inevitable. Where does the mistake lie?

Psychological observations of man's ability to make an instantaneous retrospective adjustment of a whole series of allegedly free conjectures to an accomplished fact (I intend to set this forth in more detail elsewhere), confirm the assumption that man's consciousness of freedom in the committing of acts of a certain sort is mistaken. But these same psychological observations prove that there are acts of another sort in which the consciousness of freedom is not retrospective, but instantaneous and unquestionable. Whatever the materialists may say, I can unquestionably commit an action or refrain from it, in so far as that action concerns me alone. By my will alone I have unquestionably just raised and lowered my arm. I can presently stop writing. You can presently stop reading. Unquestionably, by my will alone and outside any obstacles, I can mentally transport myself right now to America or to any mathematical problem. Testing my freedom, I can raise and forcefully lower my arm in the air. I have just done so. But there is a child standing beside me: I raise my arm over him and want to lower it with the same force upon the child. I cannot do that. A dog attacks the child: I cannot help raising my arm against the dog. I stand in the ranks and cannot help following the movements of the regiment. In battle, I cannot help attacking with my regiment and fleeing when everyone around me flees. When I am standing in court as defender of an accused man, I cannot help speaking or knowing what I am going to say. I cannot help blinking when a blow is aimed at my eye.

And so there are two sorts of acts. One depends, the other does not depend
on my will. And the mistake that produces a contradiction comes only from the fact that I wrongly transfer the consciousness of freedom, which legitimately accompanies any act connected with my I, with the highest abstraction of my existence, to my acts committed jointly with other people and depending on the coinciding of other wills with my own. To determine the boundaries of the domains of freedom and dependence is very difficult, and the determining of those boundaries is the essential and sole task of psychology; but, observing the conditions of the manifestation of our greatest freedom and greatest dependence, it is impossible not to see that the more abstract our activity is and therefore the less connected with the activity of others, the more free it is, and, on the contrary, the more our activity is connected with other people, the more unfree it is.

The most strong, indissoluble, burdensome, and constant connection with other people is the so-called power over other people, which in its true meaning is only the greatest dependence on them.

Mistakenly or not, having become fully convinced of that in the course of my work, it was natural that, in describing the historical events of 1805, 1807, and especially of 1812, in which this law of predetermination* stands out most prominently, I could not ascribe importance to the activity of those people who fancied they were governing events, but who introduced less free human activity into them than all the other participants in the events. The activity of those people was interesting to me only as an illustration of that law of predetermination which, in my conviction, governs history, and of that psychological law which makes a person who commits the most unfree act adjust in his imagination a whole series of retrospective conjectures aimed at proving his freedom to himself.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY
The Russian Archive
March 1868

*It is worth noting that almost all the writers who have written about the year twelve have seen something special and fateful in those events. (Tolstoy’s note.)
NOTES

VOLUME I

Part One

1. Gênes et Luques... la famille Buonaparte: In 1797, after his first Italian campaign, Napoleon made Genoa into the Ligurian Republic, which was annexed to France in 1805. Lucca was taken by the French in 1799, and in 1805 became the center of a principedom which Napoleon bestowed upon his sister Marie-Anne-Elisa (1777–1820), married to Felix Bacciochi, who thus became prince of Lucca and Pionbino. Anna Pavlova scornfully uses the Corsican form of Napoleon's family name, as others will later. He will also be referred to as "Boonapart" and "Bonapartius."

2. la dépêche de Novosiltov: In 1804–1805 England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and the kingdom of Naples planned to form a coalition against France. Napoleon, learning of the plan, made an offer of peace to England. England asked the Russian emperor, Alexander I, to mediate in the negotiations, and he sent his special emissary, Novosiltsev (here and further on called "Novosiltsov"), to Paris for that purpose. On reaching Berlin on 15 June 1805, Novosiltsev learned of Napoleon's taking of Genoa and Lucca, sent that information in a dispatch to the emperor, and remained in Berlin. No peace was concluded, and in the fall of 1805 war began between France and the Austrian-Russian coalition.

3. Austria... betraying us: Austria had separated itself from Russia in several previous wars, with Turkey in 1787–91, with the French after the Italian campaign of 1799, and in 1801, when Austria signed the peace of Lunéville, which dissolved the second coalition against France.

4. the righteous one: The reference is to the murder of Louis-Antoine, duc d'Enghien (1772–1804), of the princely house of Condé, who lived in emigration in Germany after the revolution. Falsely accusing him of taking part in a plot to assassinate him, Bonaparte had him arrested, condemned by a summary court-martial, and shot. Alexander I was the only European monarch to protest openly against this act.

5. to evacuate Malta: The Mediterranean island of Malta, which since the sixteenth century had belonged to the order of the knights of St. John, was taken by Napoleon in 1798 and by England in 1800. The English refusal to quit the island led to new hostilities in 1803, in which Russia participated against the French.

6. Hardenberg... Haugwitz: Prussia delayed in joining the coalition against Napoleon, who was in the process of conquering the southern and western German principalities. In 1805, Alexander I, sending Russian troops to Austria, ordered them to cross Prussian territory without permission and to act against the Prussian army in case of resistance. In 1805, Hardenberg was the Prussian minister of foreign affairs; Haugwitz was a Prussian diplomat.

7. our dear Wintzingerode: In May 1805 Alexander I sent General F. F. von Wintzingerode to Austria with an overall plan of action for the coalition against Napoleon; it was hoped that he would be able to convince Prussia to join them.

8. the good émigrés: Many members of the French nobility sought refuge abroad during the revolution. Tolstoy's Mortemart is a composite figure; the actual Mortemarts were a branch of
the house of Rochechouart. Montmorency and Rohan are indeed among the highest French nobility.

9. The famous Prince Bolokovsky: Tolstoy took many features of the old Prince Bolokovsky from his maternal grandfather, Prince Nikolai Sergeevich Volkonsky (1753–1821), a high military dignitary under the empress Catherine the Great, who was disgraced under her son, the emperor Paul I, and retired to his estate. Tolstoy similarly drew features from his paternal grandfather, Count Ilya Andreivich Tolstoy (1757–1820), in portraying Count Ilya Andreivich Rostov. The old prince Bolokovsky is called “the king of Prussia” because he continued, contrary to the new fashion, to wear a powdered “pigtail and bag” wig, knee breeches, and so on, like the Russian king Frederick II, the Great (1712–86).

10. With a monogram: Gowns embroidered with the monograms of the tsaritsa were worn by the ladies-in-waiting of the imperial court.

11. Plan for eternal peace: Tolstoy’s abbé Morio is based on the Italian abbé Scipio Piatalli, sometime tutor to Prince A. A. Czartoryski. The prince became a councillor to the young Alexander I and in 1804–1806 served as minister of foreign affairs, giving Piatalli access to the highest circles in Petersburg, where he presented his plan for eternal peace by means of a European union against Napoleon.


13. Kutuzov... appointed commander in chief: In 1802 Kutuzov was dismissed from his post as military governor of Petersburg, but in the summer of 1805 he was made commander in chief of the 50,000-man Russian army that was sent to Austria for the war with Napoleon.

14. Sacre de Milan: In 1805 Napoleon proclaimed himself king of Italy and was crowned in Milan on 28 May.

15. Louis XVI... la reine... madame Elisabeth: Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette were condemned to death by the Convention and beheaded in 1793, Elisabeth de France, the sister of Louis XVI, in 1794.

16. The Condés: The family of Condé was a collateral branch of the French royal house of Bourbon; many of its members played an important part in the history of France (see also note 4).

17. Contrat social: Rousseau’s theoretical work, Du Contrat social (“Of the Social Contract”), published in 1762, caused a considerable stir and helped to inspire the French revolution. Its central idea is that social life is based on a contract in which each party resigns his freedom to the community and agrees to submit to the expression of the general will.

18. The eighteenth Brumaire: On 9 November 1799 (18 Brumaire of the year VIII according to the French republican calendar), Napoleon, having returned from Egypt, overthrew the Directoire in a bloodless coup d’état and instituted the Consulat, consolidating all power in his own hands as first consul.

19. The prisoners... in Africa: Four thousand Turkish soldiers, who had surrendered to Napoleon at the siege of the Palestinian port city of Jaffa in 1799 on condition that their lives would be spared, were shot on his orders, supposedly in punishment for the killing of a French peace envoy.

20. The bridge of Arcole... plague victims: On 17 November 1796, fighting the Austrians in northern Italy, Napoleon, at the head of his grenadiers and with a banner in his hand, charged onto the bridge at Arcole to keep the enemy from taking it. The plague that was raging in Jaffa (see previous note) when the French stormed the city afflicted both the local population and the French army. Napoleon visited the plague victims in the hospital with his marshals Berthier and Bessières, an incident commemorated by the French painter Jean-Antoine Gros (1771–1835) in The Plague Victims of Jaffa (1804).

21. Commentaries: That is, De Bello Gallico (“The Gallic Wars,” ca. 50 B.C.), a year-by-year account of the Roman conquest of Gaul by the general and statesman Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.), who carried out the conquest.

22. A Mason: A member of the fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, derived ultimately from the medieval guild of stonemasons. In London in 1717 four of its “lodges” formed themselves into a “grand lodge” with a new constitution, a special ritual, and a system of secret signs, and from London it spread to many countries of the world. Masonry was (and is) a society of mutual aid and brotherhood, but in the eighteenth century it acquired political dimensions and
was of some significance in the beginnings of the French revolution. Masonry was alternately embraced and banned in a number of countries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Pierre's connections with Masonry will play a considerable part in what follows.

23. *Break the grip*: It was the Russian custom for those making a bet to join hands and have a third person separate them.

24. *the name day of the Natalyas*: On the day commemorating a certain saint, everyone bearing the name of that saint would celebrate.

25. *Forty thousand souls*: Before the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, Russian estates were evaluated in terms of the number of adult male serfs, or "souls," living on them. Forty thousand souls was a very large number; they would have been divided among a number of estates.

26. *a raspberry-colored collar*: Russian university students wore uniforms with stiff round collars, the color of which denoted their subject or school of study.

27. *in the archives and all*: Comfortable posts in the state archives were given to young noblemen at the end of their studies, while they waited to make a career.

28. *as a junker*: In the Russian army, the German term *Junker*, the equivalent of the English *cadet*, was used for young gentlemen who entered the service without a commission.

29. *the straw-laid street*: It was an old custom in Russia and Europe to lay straw over the cobblestones of a street where a person lay gravely ill in order to deaden the noise of carriage wheels.

30. *his last duty*: A dying man's "last duty" was to confess to a priest and receive holy communion and extreme unction.

31. *Boulogne expedition . . . Villeneuve*: In 1805-1806 Napoleon set up a large military camp in Boulogne, on the English Channel, and prepared for a landing of troops in England. In the fall of 1805 he ordered Admiral Villeneuve to move his ships from the Mediterranean to the Channel and join the squadron already there, but Villeneuve, blockaded in the Mediterranean by the English, was unable to carry out the order. On 21 October 1805, at the battle of Trafalgar, Admiral Nelson destroyed the allied French-Spanish fleet, and at the same time news came that Russia was sending troops to aid the Austrians, at which point Napoleon abandoned the Boulogne expedition and moved his army to Austria.

32. *manifesto . . . recruitment*: The manifesto of Alexander I about the war and recruitment was announced in Moscow on 1 September 1805, but on 10 August the Russian army, under Kutuzov's command, had already left Petersburg and gone to join the Austrians. Thus the manifesto could be talked about at the Rostovs' party on 26 August before its official announcement.

33. *when chance smiled on him*: Tolstoy uses a special eighteenth-century expression for men who made quick careers at court. During the reign of Catherine the Great, such men were usually her lovers.

34. *the achievement of that intention*: An actual quotation from the September 1 manifesto, taken from the entry for 7 September 1805 in *Diary of a Student*, by S. P. Zhikharev, which Tolstoy had in the library of his estate at Yasnsaya Polyan.
son; the priest himself enumerates the standard human sins in the unconscious man’s ear and proceeds to give him absolution.


42. the capitals: It was customary to refer to Russia as having two capitals, the old capital of Moscow and the new imperial capital of Petersberg, founded in 1703 by a decree of Peter the Great, which became the administrative center of the country.

43. Héloïse: The old prince is referring sarcastically to the epistolary novel Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse (1761), by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which had considerable influence on the evolution of sensibilities in the later eighteenth century. Tolstoy based the letters of Princess Marya and Julie Karagin on a large collection of similar letters exchanged by two young ladies, M. A. Volkov and B. I. Lanskii, which he read with great interest in 1863.

44. Key to the Mystery: The occult treatise A Key to the Mysteries of Nature, by Bavarian-born Karl von Eckartshausen (1752–1803), was widely read in Europe during the latter eighteenth century and was translated into Russian several times. It was especially popular in Masonic circles. Eckartshausen was a prolific writer on such spiritual topics as magic, alchemy, and number mysticism.

45. a Dusek sonata: The Czech composers František Xaver Dusek (1731–99) and Jan Ladislav Dusek (1760–1812) both wrote piano sonatas.

46. Mikhailson...Tolstoy...Sweden...Pomerania: Wintzingerode’s complex general plan (see note 7) involved attacking the French from several sides, with armies led by Mikhailson from the east, P. A. Tolstoy from the north, and Kutuzov from the south. The coalition of Swedish, English, and Russian troops led by Tolstoy was to cross from Sweden to Pomerania (a region on the Baltic, formerly part of Germany, now of Poland) and on through Hanover.

47. Malbrough...revienda: Lines from a French popular song going back to the Wars of Spanish Succession in the Low Countries in the early eighteenth century, in which the English armies were led by John Churchill, duke of Marlborough (1650–1722).

48. Suwov...Moreau: Prince Andrei misstates the facts about Suwov, perhaps deliberately (see note 35). Not only was he not caught in Moreau’s trap, but his troops defeated Moreau at the battle of Cassano in 1799.

49. Hofs-kriegs-wurst-schnapps-rath: The old prince makes fun of the Austrian Court Council of War (Hofkriegsrath), and of the German language, by calling it the “Court-war-sausage-schnaps-council.”

50. their own: A play on the Slavonic translation of John 1:11: “He came unto his own, and his own received him not.”

51. the German Pahlen...Moreau: Moreau was exiled for taking part in a conspiracy to overthrow Napoleon in 1804 and went to America. In 1805 Alexander I sent Count P. A. von Pahlen to invite him to serve in the Russian army, but von Pahlen turned back when he received news of the battle of Austerlitz and the end of the war.

52. As Sterne says: The English writer Laurence Sterne (1713–68) had a marked influence on the young Tolstoy, particularly with his Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy (1768), which stands behind Tolstoy’s first piece of fiction, “A History of Yesterday” (1831), and part of which Tolstoy translated. Sterne’s novel The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman (1760–67) has been seen as a formal precursor of War and Peace.

53. a Lombard note: “Lombard” was a general term for a private banker, money changer, or pawnbroker.

Part Two

1. the Tsaritsyn Field: A square in Petersburg used as a parade ground. In 1818 the name was changed to Marsovo Pole (“the Field of Mars”).

2. Izmail comrade: Kutuzov served under Suwov in the war with Turkey during the reign of Catherine the Great. In 1790 they took the Turkish fortress of Izmail on the Danube delta.
Notes to pages 120–172

3. the Germans sent us carriages: That is, the Austrians (who, along with other central Europeans, are often referred to by Russian soldiers under the general name of "Germans"). On 13 August 1805, the Russian army began to march slowly from Radzivilov in the Ukraine; the Austrians also moved slowly, thinking that Napoleon's army was still in Boulogne. When it was discovered in early September that the French were already on the Rhine, Kutuzov's troops were loaded onto wagons and the officers were given carriages to speed up their progress.

4. so er verdient: Tolstoy took this letter from A Description of the First War of the Emperor Alexander with Napoleon in 1805, by A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky (St. Petersburg, 1844).

5. a Vladimir with a bow: The civil and military order of St. Vladimir was founded in 1782 by Catherine the Great to commemorate the twentieth year of her reign; it was named for St. Vladimir, Grand Prince of Kiev (ca. 958–1015), who converted Kievan Rus to Orthodox Christianity. The military decoration was worn with a special bow in the ribbon.

6. Lambach, Amstetten, and Mölk: These three battles were given by a detachment of 6,000 men under Bagration, whom Kutuzov sent to delay the French while the Russian army retreated from Krems to Znaim. The same detachment also fought at Schöngrabern.

7. our ambassador in Vienna: The Russian ambassador in Vienna at that time was Count Razumovsky, who is best known now for the "Razumovsky" string quartets he commissioned from Beethoven. He built a fine neoclassical embassy in Vienna at his own expense, and was the chief Russian negotiator at the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, which reorganized Europe after the fall of Napoleon.

8. Orthodox Russian armed forces: An ironic reference to a phrase that occurs in the litanies of various church services.


10. those who invented gunpowder: Russians say of a stupid person that he "won't invent gunpowder." Bilibin's mot reverses the saying.

11. the meeting in Berlin . . . a new Campo Formio: In October 1805, Alexander I went to Berlin to try to persuade the Prussian king Friedrich-Wilhelm III to join the war against Napoleon. They reached a secret agreement in Potsdam, but before the Prussian envoy Haugwitz could reach Napoleon with an ultimatum, the Russian-Austrian alliance had already been defeated, and it was Napoleon who dictated the terms of the peace. Eight years earlier, on 17 October 1797, in the Italian town of Campo Formio, a peace agreement had been signed between the French republic and the Austrian empire which ended Napoleon's campaign in Italy.

12. pour les beaux yeux . . . separately: In accordance with the treaty of Turin (1796), the king of Sardinia, Victor-Amadeus III, had to yield Nice, Savoy, and other fortresses and towns to the French. One of the conditions of the Potsdam ultimatum (see previous note) was recompense for the king of Sardinia. Before the French took Vienna, the Austrian emperor Franz I indeed sent an ambassador to Napoleon with an offer of a separate peace, and on the eve of abandoning the capital, he sent Napoleon another offer of a truce. Neither offer was accepted.

13. Démophène . . . bouche d'or: The greatest of the Athenian orators, Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.) was said to have had a speech defect as a boy and to have corrected it by learning to speak clearly while holding a pebble in his mouth.

14. here was that Toulon: Napoleon's first victory was the taking of Toulon, which had become the center of French royalist resistance, in 1793. Following it he was promoted from captain to general.

15. I'm not joking . . . ni hâtese, ni lâchetsé: The historical facts of the French taking of the bridge of Tabor in Bohemia (now the Czech Republic) are very close to Bilibin's version.

16. touched a Leiden jar: The Leiden jar was the first electrical condenser, invented in 1745 by Pieter van Musschenbroek, professor of physics at Leiden University in the Netherlands. It is a jar partly filled with water with a copper wire projecting through its cork. Charged with static electricity by friction, it can give a painful shock when touched.

17. Napoleon: Tolstoy took this letter from L'Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire ("The His-
tory of the Consulate and the Empire"), by the French statesman and historian Adolphe Thiers, which was one of his main sources in the writing of War and Peace.

18. only atmosphere: The officers' conversation about immortality has its source in an article entitled "Man Is Created To Expect Immortality," by the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803). A Russian version, printed in the July 1804 issue of the Vestnik Evropy ("European Messenger"), has been preserved in Tolstoy's library at Yasnaya Polyana.

19. Napoleon . . . St. Helena: The source of Napoleon's words is Le Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène ("The Memorial of St. Helena"), a journal of conversations with Napoleon during his last years in exile on the island of St. Helena (1815–21), kept by Emmanuel, comte de Las Cases (1766–1842) and published in Paris in 1823–24.

20. a unicorn: A smooth-bored muzzle-loading cannon that tapered towards the mouth.

Part Three

1. Potsdam . . . enemy of the human race: See note 11 to Part Two.

2. Vinesse: A French miniaturist known to have been living in Petersburg in 1812.

3. Arnauti: A Turkish name for the Albanians, who served the Turks as cavalrymen.

4. lost his Latin: Since Dolgorukov is speaking in French, Tolstoy literally translates this French saying for him, which means "to be at a loss" or "to be all at sea."

5. the old cunctatores: The nickname of cunctator (from the Latin cunctatio ["delay"] was given to the Roman general Fabius (ca. 275–203 B.C.), because of his tactic of avoiding direct confrontation with the Carthaginian general Hannibal (247–183 B.C.) as the latter marched towards Rome. Russian and Austrian generals gave the same nickname to Kutuzov.

6. Psch . . . Psch: Bilbain is trying to pronounce the name of the Polish general Przebyszewski, who will be named later.

7. Hollabrunn: This is the French name for the battle that Tolstoy refers to elsewhere as Schöngraben, from the nearby village of that name.


9. the Tsaritsyn Field: See note 1 to Part Two.

VOLUME II

Part One

1. the English Club: Founded in Moscow in 1770, the English Club was a meeting place for the high nobility, modeled on gentlemen's clubs in England.

2. Ilyushka the Gypsy: Nickname of Ilya Osipovich Sokolov (d. 1848), who for forty years conducted a famous Gypsy choir in Moscow and was admired by Pushkin, Liszt, and Denis Davydov.

3. the treachery . . . Langeron: All the reasons given here for the defeat at Austerlitz are wrong, apart from bad provisioning. Przebyszewski and his column of Russian soldiers surrendered to the French at the start of the battle; there was no treachery on the part of A. F. Langeron, a Frenchman serving in the Russian army, nor on the side of the Austrians, where there was only cowardice, poor strategy, and bad leadership.

4. Bagration . . . Italian campaign . . . Suvorov: Bagration had been one of Suvorov's closest associates during the campaign of 1799–1800 against the French revolutionary forces in northern Italy, which was a series of brilliant victories for the Russian generals.

5. parodying . . . Voltaire: Voltaire's famous phrase was S'il n'était pas Dieu, il faudrait l'inventer ("If there were no God, he would have to be invented").
6. in powdered wigs and kaftans: That is, dressed in the fashion of the previous century.

7. had cowered like a cock: Field Marshal Suvorov was indeed known for several oddities of behavior, one of which was crowing like a cock.

8. Glorify . . . The verses are by N. P. Nikolev (d. 1815), well-known in the eighteenth century as a poet and playwright. Tolstoy found them in Zhikharev's Diary of a Student (see note 34 to Volume I, Part I), the entry for 4 March 1806, from which he also drew many details of the banquet itself. Riphetus was the companion of Aeneas in Virgil's Aeneid; Alcides ("son of the mighty one") was one of the surnames of Hercules, whose father was the god Zeus. The line of the polonaise that follows ("Thunder of victory resound . . . ") is from a victory ode by the great eighteenth-century poet G. R. Derzhavin (1743–1816) celebrating the taking of Izmail in 1790, which was set to music by Osip Kozlovsky (1751–1813).

9. lenten and non-lenten: The banquet falls within the Great Lent, the forty-day period of fasting preceding Holy Week and Easter in the Orthodox Church. Count Ilya Andreich graciously allows for those who keep the fast and those who do not.

10. Pavel Ivanovitch Kutuzov: Not the general, Mikhail Ilariounovich Kutuzov. He was a minor poet of the time, and his "cantata" was indeed performed during the banquet for Bagration, at which the author himself handed out copies to the guests.

11. Louis XVI . . . Robespierre: Louis XVI was arrested while trying to flee France in June 1791. Accused of treason, he was tried by the National Convention a year later and executed on 21 January 1793. Maximilien de Robespierre, a leading member of the Convention and of the Committee of Public Safety, which brought about the bloody "Reign of Terror" in France, was overthrown on 27 July 1794 and executed in his turn.

12. que diable . . . dans cette galerie: A line spoken by Géronte in Les Fourberies de Scapin (1671), by Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, known as Molière (1622–73). It means literally "What the devil was he going to do in that gallery?" but has become proverbial in a more general sense.

13. Great Russia: The old name for Russia proper, centered on Moscow, as distinct from the southern provinces of Little Russia (Malorossia) and White Russia (Belorossia).

14. as for one of the living: In the Orthodox tradition, there are special prayers for the living and for the dead, as there are special commemorations of the living and the dead in the sacrament of communion.

15. wedding candles: In the Russian Orthodox marriage service, the bride and groom hold candles, often specially decorated, which are carefully kept after the wedding.

16. sat in another room: It was traditional in Russia for the real parents not to participate in the baptismal ceremony, being replaced by the godparents. It was also customary to stick the baby's hair, cut during the ceremony, to melted wax and drop it into the baptismal font. If the hair floated, it meant the child would live.

17. war with Napoleon: In September 1806 Napoleon won significant victories over the Prussians at Jena and Auerstädt and occupied Berlin before the Russians could offer help. With the French army so close, Alexander I began preparations for defending his borders, including a new conscription of troops.


19. receiving tickets for lessons: The Moscow dancing master Iogel arranged balls which he counted as lessons for his pupils, who were admitted with personal tickets which he then exchanged for money.

Part Two

1. Mme Souza . . . Amélie de Mansfield: Adelaide Filleul, marquise de Souza (1761–1836), gathered a brilliant salon in Paris before the revolution, which included Talleyrand among its habitués. She fled to England in 1792, but her husband was arrested in Boulogne and guillotined, after which she supported herself by writing novels. In his notes for War and Peace Tolstoy men-
tions the popularity of Mme de Souza's novels as a characteristic of Russian society of the early nineteenth century. *Amélie de Mansfield*, however, is a novel by her younger contemporary, Sophie Cotin (1773–1807).

2. *overturned glass . . . sugar*: Russians sometimes drink tea from a glass instead of a cup. It was a custom among lower-class people to turn the glass upside down to show that they had finished their tea, as it was a custom to nibble from a lump of sugar instead of stirring it into the tea.

3. *Freemasons*: See note 22 to Volume I, Part One. In the fall of 1866, Tolstoy found a large collection of Masonic texts in the Rumiantsev Museum in Moscow, which he drew from for his descriptions of Masonic ceremonies in what follows.

4. *Bazdeev . . . Martinists . . . Novikov's time*: Tolstoy based his portrayal of Osip (later Iosif) Alexeevich Bazdeev on the actual figure of the well-known Moscow Mason Osip Alexeevich Pozdeev (d. 1811). The Martinists were followers of the theosophist and Rosicrucian teachings of the French writers Martines de Pasqually (1727–73) and his disciple, Louis Claude de Saint-Martin (1743–1803), who were both closely connected with Masonry. N. I. Novikov (1744–1818) was a Russian journalist, publisher, and devoted Mason, who spent time in prison for his beliefs. In 1785 he published Saint-Martin's first work, *Des Erreurs et de la vérité* (“On Errors and the Truth”).

5. *Thomas à Kempis*: A German mystical writer and Benedictine monk (1379–1471), author of the *De Imitatione Christi* (“Of the Imitation of Christ”), one of the most widely read Christian devotional works.


7. *kill the fattened calf*: In Christ's parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15: 11–32), the father kills the fattened calf in celebration of his son's return.

8. *our second war with Napoleon*: See note 17 to Volume I, Part Two. The Prussian army was virtually annihilated at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, and well-supplied fortresses were surrendered one after another without resistance as the French army moved east into Poland. In November 1806, the vanguard of the Russian army, under the command of General Bennigsen, entered Warsaw.

9. *Tu l'as voulu . . .*: A line spoken by the protagonist in Molière's comedy *Georges Dandin, ou Le mari confondu* (see note 12 to Volume II, Part One), which has become proverbial.

10. *Vienne . . . Vienne*: A slight anachronism. The treaty of Bartenstein between Prussia, Austria, and Russia on the one side and France on the other was being negotiated in April 1807, after Napoleon's army fought several indecisive battles. Friedrich-Wilhelm III, who felt somewhat encouraged by Napoleon's unsuccess, found the French conditions too stiff.

11. *l'homme à l'esprit profond*: Tolstoy's mistake. Shitov is *l'homme de beaucoup de mérite*; the Danish envoy himself is *l'esprit profond*.

12. *pour le Roi de Prusse*: In French, to do something *pour le Roi de Prusse* is to go to a lot of trouble for nothing.

13. *Preussisch-Eylau*: The battle of Preussisch-Eylau took place on 8 February 1807. On the Russian side, Bennigsen lost more than a third of his men, but there were also heavy losses on the French side. Both claimed the victory.

14. *bread and salt*: The meeting of guests (including sovereigns) with an offering of bread and salt was traditional in Russia, bread being the staff of life and salt, which had to be imported, being a luxury.

15. *Peter and Paul*: Pierre's patron saint is Peter, but the Orthodox Church gives the same feast day to Peter and Paul (29 June), who are often portrayed together on icons, and therefore they are both his patron saints.

16. *marshal*: Marshal of the nobility was the highest elective office in a Russian province before the reforms of the 1860s. Governors and administrators were appointed by the sovereign.

17. *freed of state . . . fetters*: The Russian Orthodox Church was traditionally headed by the patriarch of Moscow, who was elected by the bishops of the Church. In 1700, at the death of the patriarch Adrian, Peter the Great stopped the election of a new patriarch, and in 1721 he issued a decree effectively making himself the head of the Church, which was administered by a synod of bishops under a lay “procurator” appointed by the emperor. This “synodal” period lasted until the 1917 revolution.
19. wanderers: In Russian popular religious life, “wanderers” were people who left home and went on a sort of perpetual pilgrimage to various holy places, praying and living on charity.
20. to partake of the holy, heavenly mysteries: A naively ornate way of saying that she took communion, the central Christian sacrament of bread and wine.
21. a holy fool: A “holy fool” (or “fool in God,” or “fool for Christ’s sake”—yurodivyi in Russian) could be a harmless village idiot, but there are also saintly persons or ascetics whose saintliness is expressed as “folly.” Holy fools of that sort were known from early in Orthodox tradition.
22. the Mother of God of the Caves: That is, the icon of the Mother of God from the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, founded in the eleventh century by St. Anthony of the Caves, which became the most famous cultural center of the Kievian period of Russian history. The relics of many saints are venerated there, as Pelageyushka mentions in the next chapter.
23. the battle of Friedland: The Russian advance, begun with successful actions by Bagration and Platov, ended with defeat in June 1807 at the battle of Friedland in East Prussia.
24. lint: Noble ladies would get together and contribute to the war effort by shredding lint, which was used for dressing wounds.
25. Tilsit: Napoleon and Alexander I met at Tilsit on 25 June (13 June by the Julian calendar, used in Russia until 1917) to conclude a peace. The negotiations, to which the king of Prussia was not invited, took place during the night in a pavilion on a raft in the middle of the Niemen River. The peace lasted for five years.
26. The emperors exchanged decorations . . . Preobrazhensky battalion: The order of the Légion d’honneur was instituted by Napoleon in 1802 in recognition of military and civil services. The first class of the order of St. Andrew (the patron saint of Russia) was the highest award given in Russia. The Russian emperor traditionally held the rank of colonel in his Preobrazhensky regiment, which is why that specific battalion was honored by the French emperor’s guards.

Part Three

1. Erfurt . . . meeting: In September 1808, Alexander I, Napoleon, and some German monarchs met in Erfurt to confirm the validity of the Tilsit treaty and make a public show of the strength of the Franco-Russian alliance. Napoleon wanted assurance of Russia’s support in case of a new war with Austria, but did not obtain it.
2. free plowmen . . . quartet: The status of “free plowmen” was introduced by law in Russia in 1803, but only a few landowners released their peasants from serfdom. Serfs owed their masters a certain amount of labor on the land (the corvée), but some landowners allowed them to pay rent in place of the services required of them.
3. the young Speransky: Speransky was head of the Ministry of the Interior from 1803 to 1807. In 1808 he became the closest associate of Alexander I on questions of internal policy. In 1809 Speransky developed a plan for reform, An Introduction to the Code of State Law, only part of which was implemented.
4. Peterhof: A splendid complex of palaces, gardens, and fountains southwest of Petersburg, planned as a summer residence by Peter the Great and considerably enhanced in the mid-eighteenth century by the empress Elizabeth I, who employed the Italian architect Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700–71) on her building projects.
5. court ranks . . . state councillor: In 1809 Speransky issued a decree abolishing the privilege of the nobility to have court rank from childhood and obliging courtiers to be in government service, and another decree on examinations for administrative ranks: for the eighth rank (collegiate assessor) a university diploma was required; for the fifth rank (state councillor), in addition to that, ten years of government service were required. As a result, many old officials had to retire, and others bought themselves diplomas.
7. Sila Andreich: A jocular name for Arakcheev. “Andreich” is the familiar form of his patronymic Andreevich; “Sila” is Russian for “strength” or “power.”
8. an insignificant seminarian: Russian seminary education was open to poorer people who
could not afford private tutors or expensive schools, and did not necessarily mean that the student was preparing for a church career. Speransky was of humble origin, the son of a village priest.

9. **Code Napoléon ... Justiniani**: The French code of civil law, or Code Napoléon, was established by the revolutionary assemblies, Napoleon, and his jurists in 1804 and is still the basis for most European civil law. The Codex Justiniani was the most important code of Roman law in the late empire, compiled and first issued in 529 at the order of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (ca. 483–565). It has formed the basis for the study of law in Europe since the twelfth century.

10. **The figures on Solomon's temple**: King Solomon's temple in Jerusalem was ornamented with carved or molded cherubs, palm trees, open flowers, pomegranates, lilies, gourds, lions, oxen, wreaths, and so on (see the description in I Kings 6–7).

11. **Illuminism**: The sect of the Illuminati (in German Illuminaten), founded in 1776, at Ingolstadt in Bavaria, by Prof. Ada Weishaupt, was close to the Masons in ideology and structure, but in addition had republican political goals. It was suppressed by the Bavarian government in 1785.

12. **And the life ... comprehended it not**: Pierre quotes John 1:4–5.

13. **The Song of Songs**: Also known as "The Song of Solomon," a collection of mystical-erotic poems dating in its recorded form to the third century B.C. but containing much more ancient material.

14. **The Finnish war**: At the instigation of Napoleon, who wanted to punish Sweden for its alliance with England, Alexander I began a war with Sweden in February 1808, which ended with the Russian annexation of Finland.

15. **The English Embankment**: This section of the Neva embankment in Petersburg, just downstream from the imperial Winter Palace, was lined with wealthy palaces and mansions.

16. **The Taurichesky Garden**: This mansion and garden, east of the city center, in the large bend of the Neva, was at that time the residence of the dowager empress Maria Feodorovna.

17. **Marya Antonovna**: Princess Marya Antonovna Naryshkin (1779–1854) was for a long time the mistress of the emperor Alexander.

18. **The State Council**: At Speransky's suggestion, a State Council was instituted in Russia as an advisory body to the emperor, to examine legislative, administrative, and judicial matters. It met for the first time on 1 January 1810 and continued in existence until 1906.

19. **Speransky's modest private house**: This scene is based on the memoirs of Speransky's daughter, published in The Life of Count Speransky, by M. A. Korff (1861), which was in Tolstoy's library at Yasnaya Polyana. Tolstoy adds an ironic tone that is not found in Korff's book.

20. **Napoleon's Spanish campaign**: To establish a total blockade of England from European trade, Napoleon crossed the Pyrenees in 1807 and invaded Spain. In 1808 he placed his brother Joseph, then king of Naples, on the throne of Ferdinand VII and made his brother-in-law, Marshal Murat, King of Naples. But by 1813 the English under Wellington and the Spanish partisan forces (whose tactics were the origin of the word guerrilla, or "little war") had driven the French out of Spain.


22. **Map of love**: Mlle Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701) set the style for the "precious" salons in seventeenth-century Paris. The "map of love," or "map of the land of tenderness" (la carte du tendre), first made its appearance in her novel Clélie (1654) and then in her salon, where it became a very popular game, as it did later in Russia.

23. **Killed in Turkey**: At the negotiations in Tilsit and Erfurt, Napoleon had promised to give the east to Alexander I and take the west for himself. In the spring of 1809, the Russians resumed their military activity against the Turks on the lower Danube and in the Caucasus.

24. **In chains**: Ascetics would sometimes wear heavy lengths of chain wrapped about their bodies as a form of mortification of the flesh.

25. **No sorrow ... bliss**: Words reminiscent of a prayer for the dead from the Orthodox burial and memorial services: "Give rest with the Saints, O Christ, to the soul of thy servant, where there is neither sickness, nor sorrow, nor sighing, but life everlasting."
Part Four

1. In the sweat of our face: In cursing Adam, God says, “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground: for out of it wast thou taken” (Genesis 3:19).
2. get an Anna: The Order of St. Anna, named for the mother of the Virgin Mary, was founded in 1735 by Karl-Friedrich, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, in honor of his wife, Anna Petrovna, daughter of the Russian emperor Peter the Great. It had four degrees, two civil and two military.
3. Vain ... Russians: The first line of P. I. Kutuzov’s “cantata” (see note 10 to Volume II, Part One).
4. raising his cap: A conventional sign among hunters indicating that the game has been sighted.
5. represented Diana: The Roman goddess Diana, daughter of Jupiter, was a huntress.
6. “Barinya”: The title of this popular song means “lady” or “mistress.”
7. the musician Dimmler: E. K. Dimmler is mentioned a number of times in Zhikharev’s Diary of a Student (see note 34 to Volume I, Part One). He gave piano lessons in Moscow in the early nineteenth century.
8. The Water-Carrier: The opera Les Deux journées (“The Two Days”), better known as The Water-Carrier, by Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), who directed the Paris Conservatory for twenty years and was known for his religious works, operas, and quartets. It was first produced in Vienna in 1805 and was much admired by Beethoven.
9. Monsieur Field: John Field (1782–1837) was an Irish-born composer who made his career in Petersburg, where he lived from 1804 to 1831. He was the first composer of “nocturnes” for the piano, which had a great influence on Chopin.
10. quietly pouring wax: A method of divination by pouring melted candle wax into water and interpreting the resulting shapes (which Tolstoy calls “shadows”).

Part Five

1. Iverskaya Chapel: The Iverskaya Chapel, built on to the Voskresensky Gate of Red Square in Moscow, houses a copy—made in 1648 at the request of the tsar Alexei Mikhailovich (1629–76)—of a miracle-working icon known as the Iverskaya Mother of God, thought to have been painted in Byzantium in the eighth century and kept in the Iveron (“Iberian”) Monastery on Mount Athos. One of the holiest sites in Moscow, the chapel was demolished in Soviet times and replaced by a statue of a worker, but it was rebuilt in 1999 and the icon has been put back.
2. an illegitimate wife: In 1809, Napoleon managed to annul his marriage to Josephine Beauharnais (1763–1814). After making unsuccessful overtures for the hand of the Russian grand duchess Ekaterina Pavlovna, in 1810 he married the archduchess Maria-Louisa of Austria (1791–1847), whose father, the emperor Franz I, had suffered a serious defeat in his last war with Napoleon and hoped that the marriage would improve the position of his empire.
3. The Spanish ... the fourteenth of June: The reference is probably to the battle of Talavera de la Reina in July 1809, at which the French were defeated by a coalition of Spanish, Portuguese, and English troops under the command of Wellington.
4. Astrea ... Manna Seekers ... an authentic Scottish rug ... charters: “Astrea” and “Manna Seekers” were the names of two Masonic lodges in Petersburg. One of the necessary accessories of a Masonic lodge was a rug with symbolic images, and each lodge sought to obtain such a rug from a venerable Masonic organization (the first lodges emerged in England and Scotland), along with “charters” listing the rites and regulations of the order.
5. the duke of Oldenburg: In 1810 Napoleon abolished the independence of the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, in the north of Germany, because they did not or could not observe the strictures of his continental blockade, and for the same reason he drove out the duke of Oldenburg and seized his lands. The duke had been hastily married to the sister of Alexander I to make it impossible for her to marry Napoleon (see note 2 above), and this conflict, which broke the Tilsit accord, greatly displeased the Russian court. The emperor sent a note of protest to all the courts of Europe.
6. To overthrow the head of the Catholic religion: On 17 May 1809 Napoleon proclaimed the annexation of Rome and the Papal States to the French empire. On 10 June French troops entered Rome, and Pope Pius VII was arrested and taken to Savona on the Gulf of Genoa and later to Fontainebleau. He remained Napoleon’s hostage until 1814.

7. Peter the Great’s old cudgel . . . Kunstkamera: The Kunstkamera on the University Embankment in Petersburg was founded by Peter the Great in 1714 as a museum to house natural and human curiosities and rarities. Among the collections are various mementos of its founder—some clothes, a copy of his death mask, a cast of his right hand, and his cudgel, suggestive of his forceful way of ruling Russia.

8. Her album: Russian girls used to keep personal albums in which their friends and acquaintances would draw or write things for them.

9. Poor Liza: A novel by the Russian writer and historian Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766–1826), published in 1792. It marked the shift in Russian literature from classicism to “sensibility.”

10. Over-Shameless: Marya Dmitrievna plays on the name of the French dressmaker Mme Aubert-Chalmer. The Russian reads Ober-Shelma, which means something like “Super-Rogue.” Napoleon put the dressmaker in charge of his table when he was in Moscow, and she set up a kitchen in the cathedral of the Archangel in the Kremlin. When the French left Moscow, she went with them.

11. Everything will be forgiven her . . . much fun: A common distortion of the sense of Christ’s words in Luke 7:47: “Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much.” The woman in question is sometimes taken to be Mary Magdalene.

12. The Dormition on Mogiltsy: A modest neoclassical church which still stands on Chisty Lane in the Arbatskaya section of Moscow, dedicated to the Dormition (Assumption) of the Mother of God, built in 1799 on the site of an older church. While digging the foundation, the builders came upon deep pits filled with many human bones; hence the name of the church, which means “Dormition on the Graves.”

13. Her criminal love for her son: Mlle George is obviously reciting from the title role of the tragedy Phèdre, by Jean Racine (1639–99), for which she was famous. The actress, whose real name was Marguerite-Josephine Weymer (1787–1867), performed in Moscow and Petersburg in 1808–12.

14. Towards the front corner: Icons are traditionally hung in the right corner opposite the entrance to a room. Balaga, being a good peasant, crosses himself towards the icon(s) on coming in.

15. We have to sit down: It is a Russian custom for people to sit down together for a few moments of silence and prayer before leaving on a journey or moving out.

16. Styoshka: The Gypsy singer Stepanida Soldatova (Styasha or Styoshka) was famous in Moscow in the early nineteenth century and greatly admired by the musical (and nonmusical) elite.

17. Speransky . . . Moscow: After a period of almost unlimited authority following the treaty of Tilsit, Speransky was abruptly dismissed by Alexander I in 1812 and exiled to Perm. In foreign policy, he had been a strong advocate of alliance with France, and as a new war with France became inevitable, he was suspected of collusion with Napoleon and even of treason.

VOLUME III

Part One


2. As he said . . . St. Helena: See note 19 to Volume I, Part Two.
3. the legitimists of that time: Those who upheld the rights of the legitimate ruling dynasty, in case the Bourbon.

4. The hearts of kings. See Proverbs 21:1: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will."

5. the movement of troops into Prussia. an armed peace. In 1811, as Napoleon was preparing for war with Russia, he asked Prussia to support him with troops, but Prussia hesitated. Napoleon then told Marshal Davout to enter and occupy Prussia at the first sign from him. In 1812 a treaty was signed in Paris in which Prussia agreed to participate on Napoleon's side in his future wars.

6. honors in Dresden. Napoleon spent the month of May 1812 in Dresden in the company of his new allies the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, the king of Saxony, and the sixteen German princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, which was put together by Napoleon following his victory at Austerlitz, and which lasted from 1806 to 1813.

7. another wife had been left in Paris. See note 2 to Volume II, Part Five.

8. Légion d'honneur. On founding the order of the Legion of Honor, Napoleon made himself its first grand chancellor (see note 26 to Volume II, Part Two).

9. Quos vult perdere — dementat: An abbreviated form of the saying Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat ("Those whom God wants to destroy, he first drives mad").

10. a separate commander in chief. Barclay de Tolly was commander in chief of the first army in the west (later replaced by Kutuzov); Bagration of the second, further to the south; and Tormasov of the third, a reserve force being drawn up near the Austrian border.

11. Kourakine... passeports. On 25 April 1812, the Russian ambassador in Paris, Prince A. B. Kurakin, conveyed to Napoleon the request of Alexander I that he withdraw his troops from Prussia. The request was denied, and Kurakin then asked for papers allowing him to leave France.

12. Mameluke Rustan. The Mamelukes were a military force, originally formed of Circassian slaves, who seized control of Egypt in 1254 and remained a power until 1811, when they were crushed by the Egyptian viceroy Mohammed Ali (1769–1849). Napoleon had defeated them at the battle of the Pyramids on 21 July 1798, and had brought one of the prisoners, Rustan, back to France as a bodyguard.

13. peace with the Turks. Moldavia and Wallachia. Finland. Following a series of victories and diplomatic efforts, Kutuzov signed a peace treaty with the Turks in Bucharest on 16 May 1812, to the great annoyance of Napoleon, who was hoping to make use of the Turkish army in his war on Russia. In the treaty, part of Moldavia (Bessarabia) went to the Russians, but the rest of Moldavia and Wallachia remained under Turkish rule. For Finland, see note 14 to Volume II, Part Three.

14. the Steins, the Armfelt, the Wintzingrode, the Bennigsen... Alexander. The Russian minister Baron von Stein, banished by Napoleon for sympathizing with Spain and seeking to free Prussia from French occupation, was living in Russia in 1812. The Swedish general and statesman G. M. Armfelt, who had been in the service of Russia since 1811 as president of the committee for Finnish affairs and was a member of the State Council, intrigued against Speransky and played a part in his exile. He accompanied Alexander I during the 1812 campaign. General Wintzingrode could be called a "French subject" only because Napoleon had included his native Hesse in the Confederation of the Rhine; he had been in service to Russia since 1799. General Bennigsen had been defeated by Napoleon at the battle of Friedland in 1807, but "terrible memories" is a reference to his participation in the plot to assassinate Alexander's father, the emperor Paul I.

15. Bernadotte... Russia. In 1810 the French marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte was adopted as his heir by King Charles XIII of Sweden, who hoped to use French influence to get Finland back, but in 1812 Bernadotte went over to the anti-French alliance.

16. that barrier... destroyed. Napoleon is referring to the Polish territories bordering Russia, which Russia had acquired as a result of the partitioning of Poland in 1793.

17. defeat of the French in Spain. Under Wellington's command, the allied English, Spanish, and Portuguese forces won a series of victories over the French in 1812, culminating in the battle of Salamanca on 22 July. By August they were in Madrid.

18. Poltawa... happy response. King Charles XII of Sweden (1682–1718), up to then consid-
erred invincible, tried to get to Moscow through the Ukraine, but was crushed by Peter the Great at the battle of Poltava in 1709. Tolstoy deliberately uses the “foreign” spelling “Poltawa.”

19. Württembergs, Badens, Weimars . . . : The mother of Alexander I, Maria Feodorovna, was princess of Württemberg before her marriage to Paul I; his sister Ekaterina Pavlova was married to the duke of Oldenburg, and his sister Marya Pavlova to the prince of Saxe-Weimar.

20. in Moldavia . . . commander in chief: Having fallen into disgrace after the battle of Austerlitz, Kutuzov was sent to administrative posts in Kiev and then Vilno, but in March 1811 he was brought back to lead the army in Moldavia.

21. his German accent: In fact, Barclay de Tolly was of Scottish ancestry and was born in Lithuania, but Tolstoy reflects the habit among Russian soldiers of considering all foreigners “Germans” (see note 3 to Volume I, Part Two).


23. the Russian Thermopylae . . . alongside them: In 480 B.C. three hundred Spartans under the command of their king, Leonidas, defended the pass at Thermopylae in Thessaly against the entire army of the Persian king Xerxes and perished there. At Saltanovo, General Raevsky with a detachment of 15,000 men fought for ten hours against the five divisions of Marshals Davout and Mortier. Raevsky himself denied the truth of the story about his two sons, though his courage during the battle was well-known.

24. St. Peter’s fast . . . prepare for communion: There is a two-week fast period preceding the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul on 29 June. Preparation for communion involves attendance at weekday and Sunday services, prayer, fasting, and confession.

25. she tried to follow and understand: The language of the Russian Orthodox Church is Church Slavonic, a liturgical language with its own alphabet, developed originally in the ninth century from Slav dialects spoken in Thessaly and Bulgaria, which is only partly comprehensible for Russians.

26. As one world: A common example of the problems that can occur for Russians in understanding church prayers. In both Slavonic and Russian, the words for peace and world sound the same; hence when the deacon says “peace” here and further on, Natasha (or possibly Tolstoy himself) understands it as “the world.” It is impossible to convey this confusion in English.

27. the synod: See note 17 to Volume II, Part Two.

28. the feast of the Trinity: Another name for the feast of Pentecost in the Orthodox Church, marking the end of the Pascal period. The priest and congregation kneel at vespers while the priest recites three long prayers.

29. Moses . . . Gideon . . . David: Three famous Old Testament confrontations. In Exodus 17:8–16, Moses sent Joshua to fight against Amalek and Joshua “mowed down Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword”; the battle of Gideon, the fifth of the Judges of Israel, with the Midianites is recounted in Judges 7–8; and the story of David’s slaying of the Philistine champion Goliath is told in 1 Samuel 17.

30. the Apocalypse of St. John: The language of the final book of the New Testament, also called The Revelation to St. John, is so symbolic that it can easily be applied to all sorts of historical events. The “beast from the earth” whose number is 666 (Revelation 13:11–18) deceives the people and has been interpreted as symbolizing imperial power.

31. spine . . . prickly old German: In the original, there is a pun on the words for spy (shpion) and mushroom (shampion). The incident is recounted in Notes of the Year Twelve, by Sergei Glinka, editor of the Russian Messenger, who served as a Moscow militiaman in 1805–1807. The book, published in Petersburg in 1836, is in Tolstoy’s library at Yasnaya Polyana. The pun is thought to be Rastopchin’s own invention.

32. our first-throned capital, Moscow: A deferential title of the elder of the “two capitals” of Russia.

33. the Tsar-Cannon: An enormous bronze cannon, weighing forty tons, cast in 1586, which stands in the Kremlin not far from the cathedral of the Dormition.

34. tossing biscuits from the balcony: Despite his claim (see Appendix) that he could always give historical references for the passages in his novel in which historical figures speak and act, Tolstoy was unable, when challenged by the poet Prince P. A. Vyazemsky, to supply a reference for this unlikely behavior of the emperor.
35. the Slobodsky palace: The seat of the Assembly of the Nobility in Moscow. The details come from Notes of the Year Twelve, by Sergei Glinka, who was present (see note 31 above).
36. contrat social: See note 17 to Volume I, Part One.

Part Two

1. an unpopular German: See note 21 to Volume III, Part One.
2. minister: Barclay de Tolly was the Russian minister of war from 1810 to 1812.
3. patriotic letters from Moscow: Like all upper-class young women of her time, Julie has difficulty writing in Russian and constantly lapses into French words and syntax.
4. lint: See note 24 to Volume II, Part Two.
6. the miracle-working icon of Smolensk: It was customary in times of war, epidemic, or natural disaster to “take up” an icon of the Mother of God and carry it in procession, stopping on the way to serve offices of prayer for deliverance. The icon of the Smolensk Mother of God, the prototype of which was sent to Russia by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Monomakh in the eleventh century, has long been considered miracle-working.
7. Bagration . . . wrote . . . to Arakcheev: Bagration’s letter was published in the appendix to Volume 2 of A History of the Fatherland War of 1812 (see note 5 above).
8. gunpowder . . . those who invented it: See note 10 to Volume I, Part Two.
9. un homme de beaucoup de mérite: The “man of great merit” is generally thought to be the philosopher Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821), author of Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg (1821), who served in Russia as ambassador of the king of Sardinia from 1803 to 1817. Tolstoy drew on his correspondence for details of this particular soirée.
10. mania for ‘fronding’: Prince Vassily makes a Russian verb out of the French verb fronder (“to criticize by mockery, to defy”). A fronde is a sling. Historically, the Fronde was a power struggle that took place in France during the minority of Louis XIV (1648-53).
11. Jococonde: One of the early, licentious Contes (“Tales”) by the French poet and fabulist Jean de La Fontaine (1621-95).
12. Thiers, recounting this episode: See note 17 to Volume I, Part Two. The details of the impression Napoleon makes on the Cossack were most probably invented by Thiers himself.
13. kissed . . . the hand of the old prince: It was customary in Russia to lay a body out on a table before the coffin arrived. The floor was strewn with juniper boughs for the sake of their strong fragrance. It is also customary to kiss the hand of the deceased in levetaking before the burial.
14. Pyotr Feodorovich . . . seven years: Tolstoy uses the archaic spelling “Feodorovich” here, as with the dowager empress Maria Feodorovna. Peter III reigned for only six months before his assassination. The mysterious circumstances of his death gave rise to rumors among the people that he had escaped and would one day return to the throne, and Russian history knew a number of false Peters, the most famous being the Cossack rebel Emelyan Pugachev.
15. the pagartisan one: Denisov is modeled—a little too closely, as Tolstoy himself admits (see Appendix)—on the famous Russian soldier-poet Denis Davydov, an older friend of Pushkin’s, who initiated the partisan war against the retreating French army and afterwards published an Essay Towards a Theory of Partisan Warfare (1821).
16. bread and salt: See note 14 to Volume II, Part Two.
17. Les chevaliers du Cygne: The full title is Les chevaliers du Cygne, ou la cour de Charlemagne (“The Knights of the Swan, or the Court of Charlemagne”), a three-volume Gothic novel by Mme de Genlis, published in 1797 in Hamburg, while the author was living in exile in Berlin.
18. Kamensky . . . thirty thousand men: The gifted young general N. M. Kamensky (1778-1811) took part in several stormings of fortresses (Shumla, Baryn, Rushchuk) during the Turkish campaign of 1810-11, but fell ill and died before the end of the war, which was negotiated by Kutuzov.
19. Rastopchin's little posters: The aim of the posters devised by the military governor of Moscow was both to inform people of the state of affairs and to stir up patriotic feelings. They did neither: the information they contained was false, and their style was artificially jovial and folksy.

20. Vassily Lvovich Pushkin: Vassily Lvovich Pushkin (1767–1830), uncle of Russia's greatest poet, Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), was a poet of light verse, famous for his epigrams, madrigals, and doggerel to set rhymes (bouts-rimés).

21. Une barque de Charon: In Greek mythology, Charon is the ferryman who carries the shades of the dead across the river Styx to the house of Hades.

22. Count Wittgenstein had beaten the French: Count Wittgenstein with a corps of 25,000 men was protecting the road to Petersburg. On 30 July 1812 he repelled an attack of the French under Marshal Oudinot.

23. Hot-air balloon . . . Leppich: Franz Leppich, a Dutch peasant, went to Moscow in 1812 to convince Rastopchin that he could build a hot-air balloon that would enable the Russians to attack the French from the air. (Leppich had made the same proposal a year earlier to Napoleon, who had ordered him removed from French territory.) When the balloon was finally tried out, it failed to rise, and nothing more was seen of its inventor.

24. The Shevardino barrow: The Kurgan or Barrow people (kurgan is Russian and Turkish for "barrow") were a Bronze Age culture that is thought to have originated in Russia and spread across northern Europe in the fifth to third millennia B.C., characterized by their practice of burying their dead in mounds or barrows, which survive to this day. The word kurgan, like barrow, may also mean a hill or hillock, and by extension a hill fort of the kind also built by the Kurgan people.

25. The plan . . . is as in the map opposite: Tolstoy spent two days in September 1867 studying the battlefield of Borodino and comparing the terrain with historical accounts of the battle, after which he sketched a map correcting the descriptions of the historians, which is the basis of the map included here.

26. The Iverskaya . . . Smolenskaya Mother of God: See note 1 to Volume II, Part Five and note 6 above. The icons in question would have been copies.

27. You'll be a teacher in the corps . . . : S. N. Marin, imperial adjutant to Alexander I, was known for his parodies and comic verses. G. V. Gerakov was a teacher of history at the Petersburg Cadet Corps and a writer of ultrapatriotic works. Marin's verses read: "You'll be a writer, yes, you will, / And with words your readers drill, / You'll be a teacher in the corps, / You'll be a captain evermore."


29. Beausset . . . with a cloth: The following passage is generally borne out by the memoirs of Beausset himself, but, as he does with other sources, Tolstoy adds an irony not found in the original.

30. Bilboquet: A child's toy made up of a ball with a hole in it attached by a string to a stick with a peg at the tip. The point of the game is to catch the ball by landing the hole on the peg.

31. This disposition . . . was the following: The text of Napoleon's disposition is taken word for word from Bogdanovich's History of the Fatherland War of 1812 (see note 5 above).

32. The viceroy's: The reference is to Napoleon's stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, whom Napoleon made viceroy of Italy in 1805, when he created the "kingdom of Italy" with himself as king (see note 14 to Volume I, Part One). The viceroy took part in the battles of Borodino and Maloyaroslavets at the head of the army of Italy.

33. 6th September 1812: French documents and reports cited by Tolstoy give dates according to the Gregorian calendar (the "New Style"), which in the nineteenth century was twelve days ahead of the Julian calendar (the "Old Style") still used in Russia. Elsewhere he gives the dates by the Julian calendar, according to which the date here is 25 August.

34. Charles IX having an upset stomach: On the night of the feast of St. Bartholomew, 24 August 1572, King Charles IX of France, at the instigation of his mother, Catherine de Medicis, and the family of the Guises, ordered a massacre of French Protestants.

35. Lodi . . . Wagram: A list of brilliant victories from Napoleon's campaigns against Austria and Prussia between 1796 and 1809, which had made him seem invincible.

36. Murat had been taken prisoner: The news was false. The captured general was Charles
Auguste BonnAmy de Bellefontaine (1764–1830), who had taken the Raevsky redoubt during the battle of Borodino, but then lost all his troops defending it and fell with twenty bayonet wounds. The Russians nursed him back to life, however, and returned him to France in 1814.

37. La guerre de Russie . . . bienfaits: This and the following quotation are from The Memorial of St. Helena (see note 39 to Volume I, Part Two).

Part Three

1. the siege of Saragossa: The siege of the Spanish city of Saragossa, capital of the province of Aragon, lasted for over two months, ending on 20 February 1809. The resistance of the citizens was so heroic that the French had to take the city piecemeal, storming each house.

2. the battle of Friedland: See note 23 to Volume II, Part Two.

3. allowed Mine Aubert-Chalmet . . . to remain in the city: However, see note 10 to Volume II, Part Five.

4. he gathered the people . . . to fight the French: Rastopchin’s posters summoned the people to assemble at the Three Hills Gate in Moscow on 1 September “to exterminate the villain.”

5. Georges Dandin: See note 9 to Volume II, Part Two.

6. the holy brothers of the Society of Jesus: Members of the Jesuit order, founded in 1543. The order was expelled from Portugal in 1759 and from France in 1762, and was briefly suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. Catherine the Great protected the Jesuits, as did the kings of Prussia, but Alexander I eventually expelled them from Russia. A Jésuite à robe courte was a sympathizer who was not a member of the order.

7. Columbus’s egg . . . simplicity: The story goes that Columbus, angered when someone at a banquet said that anyone could have discovered America, asked if anyone there could balance an egg on its end. When they all failed, Columbus took a hard-boiled egg, flattened one end on the table, and stood it up.

8. whoever marries a divorced woman: It is said by Christ, in Matthew 5:32 and in Luke 16:18.

9. Hamburg Gazette: The story of Vereschagin and his false “proclamations” is historically accurate, as is Tolstoy’s account, in chapter XXV, of Vereschagin’s ultimate fate and Rastopchin’s cynical role in it.

10. Speransky and Magnitsky . . . Klyucharev: For Speransky, see note 3 to Volume II, Part Three; note 17 to Volume II, Part Five; and note 14 to Volume III, Part One. M. L. Magnitsky was an associate of Speransky’s in 1810–11 and shared his disgrace. F. P. Klyucharev, the director of the Moscow Post Office and a Mason from Novikov’s circle (see note 4 to Volume II, Part Two), was totally innocent, but aroused Rastopchin’s suspicions by interceding for young Vereschagin, who was a friend of his son’s.

11. a Vladimir and an Anna on the neck: See note 5 to Volume I, Part Two and note 2 to Volume II, Part Four respectively. The Order of St. Anna had two degrees, one worn on the breast, the other on a ribbon around the neck.

12. tied a knot in it: As a reminder to himself—a Russian custom that still persists.

13. to sit . . . and pray before their departure: See note 15 to Volume II, Part Five.

14. boyars: Tolstoy implies Napoleon’s ignorance of Russian history: the boyars were a privileged order of the medieval Russian aristocracy, abolished a century earlier by Peter the Great.

15. Rastopchin . . . notes: Count Rastopchin’s La vérité sur l’incendie de Moscou ("The Truth About the Burning of Moscow") was first published in Paris in 1823.

16. the Reign of Terror: See note 11 to Volume II, Part One. La Terreur, as it is known in French, directed by the Committee for Public Safety, lasted from 31 May 1793 to 27 July 1794 in the months of June-July 1794 alone, 1,400 people were sent to the guillotine.

17. Meshkov, Vereschagin: P. A. Meshkov was a lawyer in Moscow. In 1812 he copied out Vereschagin’s “proclamations” (see note 9 above), for which he was sentenced to be stripped of rank and nobility and sent to the army as a simple soldier. He was pardoned by Alexander I in 1816.

18. Inside the Kremlin, the bells were ringing for vespers: There are five churches and the Ivan
Part Three

1. the guerrillas in Spain: See note 20 to Volume II, Part Three.
2. under the German's command: Tolstoy based Denisov's stratagem here on a passage from Denis Davydov's Essay Towards a Theory of Partisan Warfare (see note 15 to Volume III, Part Two).
3. the battle of Vyazma: The first major battle during Napoleon's retreat down the Smolensk road was at Vyazma on 2–3 November 1812, where the Russian vanguard under Miloradovich won an important victory which finally broke the spirit of the French forces.
4. a reminder of springtime: Both changes suggest vesna, the Russian word for spring.
5. Karabakh . . . a Little Russian horse: Karabakh is a mountainous region in the southern Caucasus, whereas Little Russia (Malorus) is in the Ukraine.
6. a story Pierre knew: Tolstoy reworked this story separately and published it in 1872 under the title "God Sees the Truth but Waits" in his didactic collection A New Primer.
7. the Makary: In the early nineteenth century, the trade fair in Nizhni Novgorod was called the Makaryevsky fair ("Makary" for short), after the nearby St. Makary monastery; later it became known as the Nizhni fair.

Part Four

1. chevalier sans peur et sans reproche: Pierre Terrail, seigneur de Bayard (1473–1524), one of the great military commanders of his time, was considered the epitome of chivalry. In Paris in 1527, his loyal follower Jacques de Mailles published La Très joyeuse et très plaisante histoire du gentil Seigneur de Bayart, le bon chevalier sans peur et sans reproche ("The Very Joyful and Very Pleasing Story of the Noble Lord of Bayart, the Good Knight Without Fear and Without Reproach"). The phrase became proverbial.
2. They accused Kutuzov . . . that he had been bribed by him: At this point Tolstoy supplies the terse footnote: "Wilson's Diaries." General Sir Robert Wilson was the English representative at the headquarters of the Russian army. Along with Bennigsen, who was chief of staff, he intrigued against Kutuzov, calling for decisive action and slandering him in his dispatches to the Russian emperor. Tolstoy undoubtedly read the passages of Wilson's journals published in the Russian Messenger in 1862.
3. governor of Vilno: Kutuzov had been military governor of Lithuania during the last years of the reign of Paul I (1799–1801) and again in 1809–11, before he was made commander in chief of the army in Moldavia.
4. And he died: Kutuzov died on 28 April 1813, during the Russian army's campaign abroad, in the small town of Bunzlau in what was then Prussian Silesia (now Poland).
5. the Faceted Palace: So-called because of the distinctive stonework of its façade, the Faceted Palace is what remains of a fifteenth-century royal palace in the Kremlin. Its vast main hall (5,380 square feet) was once the throne room and banqueting hall of the tsars.

EPILOGUE

Part One

1. he acted badly . . . and so on: These "bad actions" all have to do with Alexander's increasing mysticism and conservatism. Alexander signed the constitution of the kingdom of Poland at the Congress of Vienna on 9 December 1815, but also declared there that Poland was indissolubly
bound to the Russian throne. The Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia was concluded in Paris in September 1815, after Napoleon's second abdication. Prince Golitsyn was a conservative statesman, head of the Biblical Society, minister of education, and procurator of the Holy Synod (see note 17 to Volume II, Part Two); retired admiral Alexander Semyonovich Shishkov, who headed the conservative Society of Lovers of the Russian Word (much mocked by Pushkin and his circle), had been a severe critic of Alexander's early liberal measures. The Semyonovsky regiment, founded in 1683, one of the two oldest and most prestigious of the emperor's lifeguard regiments, mutinied in October 1820 under the harsh treatment of its new German commander, Colonel Schwartz. The entire regiment was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress in Petersburg, the leaders of the mutiny were executed, and the rest were sent to hard labor in Siberia.

2. The Russian troops . . . while he is there: Suworov's and Bagration's string of victories against the French in northern Italy (see note 4 to Volume II, Part One) took place while Napoleon was on his expedition to Egypt (1798-99).

3. The enemy fleet . . . lets pass a whole army: Napoleon tricked Admiral Nelson in 1798 by spreading a rumor that his fleet was going to pass through the Strait of Gibraltar and land in Ireland. In fact, the French fleet went to Malta, where the garrison surrendered without a fight.

4. A conspiracy against him . . . forces him to kill him: After General Moreau's conspiracy with the royalists (see note 51 to Volume I, Part One), on 15 May 1804 the French senate conferred imperial dignity on Napoleon. For the duel d'Enghien, see note 4 to Volume I, Part One.

5. Plays a pathetic comedy . . . while an unseen hand was guiding him: The "pathetic comedy" refers to Napoleon's memoirs, dictated to his secretary Las Cases on St. Helena (see note 19 to Volume I, Part Two). Tolstoy considered that these memoirs exposed Napoleon more effectively than any other document.

6. Not unto us . . . of my soul and of God: The quotation, the opening line of Psalm 115, was inscribed on the medal Alexander I had struck to commemorate the victory of 1812. The second sentence expresses the emperor's new piety and withdrawal from worldly affairs.

7. To him . . . will be taken: An inexact quotation of Matthew 25:29: "For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

8. The Biblical Society . . . Gossner and the Tataghrinov woman: The Biblical Society, dedicated to translating, printing, and distributing the Holy Scriptures in Russia, was founded in 1812 as a subsidiary of the English Biblical Society. Alexander I was a member, as were many church hierarchs. The Bavarian priest Johannes Gossner (1773-1858) left the Catholic Church because of his evangelical tendencies and became a Lutheran minister in Berlin. He was invited to Petersburg by the Biblical Society, was elected a director of the society (1820-24), and had great success as a preacher. In 1817 Elizaveta Filippovna Tataghrinova (1785-1856), the daughter of General Buxhöwden, founded an ecstatic sect called the Spiritual Union. She claimed to have the gift of prophecy. Owing to her connections with Petersburg high society, the union continued in existence until 1837.

9. Madame Kgbrüdener . . . Eckhartshausen: Varvara Juliana, Baroness von Krüdener (1764-1824), a Russian mystic and novelist, fell into the piety of her time, traveled in Europe, met various famous preachers and visionaries, and eventually became one herself. In 1815 she met Alexander I in Heilbronn and preached her gospel to him. He was deeply taken with it and kept her with him when he went to Paris, where she achieved great social power and was the inspiration behind the Holy Alliance (see note 1 above). But the emperor soon separated himself from her influence. For Eckhartshausen, see note 44 to Volume I, Part One.

10. Settlements: Military colonies were established by Arakcheev in the provinces of White Russia and the Ukraine to assure a permanent military presence on the frontiers. They combined the rigors of military and peasant life, were run with harsh discipline, imposed military service on the colonists' sons, and were very unpopular.

11. the Tugendbund: The "Union of Virtue," a political society founded in Königsberg in 1808 to free Prussia from the power of Napoleon. It was forbidden by Friedrich-Wilhelm III on Napoleon's orders, but continued its activity illegally until it was dissolved in 1815.

12. Mucius Scaevola burned his hand: The story of Mucius Scaevola ("Lefthanded Mucius") is told in Plutarch's Life of Poplicola. The Roman soldier Mucius impressed the hostile Etruscan
king Porsenna by holding his right hand in fire without flinching, which led Porsenna to make a truce with the Romans. Reading the Parallel Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans, by the Greek historian Plutarch (ca. A.D. 46-ca. 126), was an indispensable part of a boy’s education at that time.

Part Two

1. Talleyrand . . . extended the borders of France: At the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), which reestablished order in Europe after Napoleon’s first abdication, Talleyrand, who represented France, managed to have the former French borders restored with the addition of some 150 square miles of neighboring territory.

2. Napoleon III . . . caught in Boulogne: Charles-Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1808-73), the emperor’s nephew, made two attempts to overthrow the king, Louis Philippe, and have himself declared emperor. In 1840 he was arrested in Boulogne while attempting to flee France and condemned to life imprisonment in the fortress of Ham. He escaped in 1846 and by 1851, having arrested a certain number of republican leaders, managed to have himself declared emperor as Napoleon III, initiating the period of the Second Empire.

3. the Confederation of the Rhine: See note 6 to Volume III, Part One.

4. Ioann IV . . . Kurbsky: Tolstoy uses the Church Slavonic form of the name of the tsar Ivan IV, the Terrible (1530-84). Prince Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbsky (1528-83) was at first the tsar’s close friend and adviser, then his bitter opponent. After Kurbsky fled to Lithuania, he and the tsar engaged in a remarkable correspondence (1564-79), alternating between invectives and profound reflections on the nature of power and the relations between the autocratic tsar and his boyars. Kurbsky also wrote a history of the reign of Ivan IV.

5. Godefrays and Louis . . . Peter the Hermit: Godefroy IV de Bouillon (1061-1100), known as Godefroy de Bouillon, one of the leaders of the second expedition of the First Crusade (1096-99), was proclaimed king of Jerusalem in 1099. Louis VII led the Second Crusade (1147-49), together with the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad III, and Louis IX led the Seventh Crusade (1248-54). Peter the Hermit (ca. 1050-1115) was a monk who led the first expedition of the First Crusade, which was decimated by the time it reached Asia Minor and was destroyed there by the Turks, though Peter himself survived. The minnesingers mentioned further on were medieval German courtly poets, who sang epic songs about Godefroy de Bouillon among others.

6. Napoleon III gives the command . . . submit to the Bourbons: In 1862 Napoleon III sent French troops to Mexico to intervene in the civil wars there. After some initial successes, he installed the archduke of Austria, Maximilian, as emperor of Mexico, but then abandoned him in 1867. Maximilian was overthrown and executed that same year. In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), chancellor of Wilhelm I of Prussia, seized lands in Bohemia that had formerly been part of the Austrian empire. The Bourbons were restored to the French throne in the person of Louis XVIII, younger brother of the executed Louis XVI, by the first treaty of Paris (1814), negotiated on strict terms by the allies under Alexander I.

7. Joshua, son of Nun: In the Old Testament book of Joshua, 10:12-13, Joshua, who succeeded Moses in leading the Israelites to the Promised land, commands the sun and moon to stand still and they obey him.

Appendix

1. the author’s view of his work: This article appeared in the journal Russian Archive, March 1868, when the first four of the then-projected six volumes of the novel had been published and Tolstoy was working on the fifth.

2. Dead Souls . . . Dead House: Tolstoy makes a parallel between the titles of works by Nikolai Gogol and Fyodor Dostoevsky: the title of Dostoevsky’s semifictional account of his term at hard labor in Omsk is generally mistranslated into English as Notes from the House of the Dead.
Notes to pages 1217–1219

Notes from a Dead House (1860) was one of the very few works that Tolstoy later admitted to the category of “good art.”

3. Saltychikha: A scornful variant of the last name of Darya Nikolaevna Saltykova (1730–1801), a notorious landowner who, widowed in 1756, abused her power by torturing to death a large number of serfs (the figures vary from 60 to 160), mainly women and young girls. She was denounced to the empress Elizaveta I in 1762, tried and condemned in 1768, pilloried for a day on Red Square, and imprisoned for life in a convent.

4. Voronovo house: Rastopchin’s suburban estate near Moscow.
HISTORICAL INDEX

Alexander I (1777–1825): The emperor Alexander Pavlovich Romanov came to the Russian throne in 1801, following the assassination of his father, Paul I. He began his reign in a spirit of liberal reform, but later allowed conservative advisers to dictate policy, and in 1815 formed the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to oppose the revolutionary and liberal ideas that were spreading through Europe.

Apraksin, Count Stepan Stepanovich (1747–1827): Descended from a distinguished noble family, he entered military service early, took part in the Turkish wars under Catherine II, was promoted to lieutenant general, and in 1803 became military governor of Smolensk. He retired to his estate in 1809.

Arakcheev, Count Alexei Andreevich (1769–1834): General and statesman under the emperors Paul I and Alexander I. First served in the artillery, where he became known for his iron discipline and was generally detested. In 1808 he became minister of war and in 1810 was appointed to the first State Council. In the later years of Alexander's reign, he became the emperor's chief counselor and closest friend.

Arcole: A village in the north of Italy on the Alpone River, a tributary of the Adige, where, on 17 November 1796, the bridge was hotly contested by the French, who were besieging Mantua, and the Austrian allies who were coming to relieve the city. The French under Napoleon eventually drove back the superior Austrian forces.

Armfelt, Count Gustaf Mauritz (1757–1814): A Swedish courtier and soldier of Finnish origin, who participated at the highest levels in the complex military and political events of the time. Eventually banished from Sweden, he went to Russia and swore allegiance to the young Alexander I, on whom he had great influence as an adviser and from whom he won independence for the grand duchy of Finland.

Auerstädt: Town in Saxony where Marshal Davout won a brilliant victory over the Prussians in 1806, on the same day that Napoleon defeated them at Jena. Napoleon rewarded Davout by making him “duke of Auerstädt.”

Augustin (in the world, A. V. Vinogradsky, 1776–1819): Bishop Augustin was known as a spiritual writer and brilliant preacher; he also wrote verses in Latin. In 1812 he was virtually the head of the archdiocese of Moscow in place of Metropolitan Platov, who was seventy-five years old.

Austerlitz: Town in Moravia where Napoleon, in what was perhaps his greatest victory, defeated the combined forces of Austria and Russia on 2 December 1805. The battle is known as “the battle of the three emperors,” because it pitted Napoleon against Alexander I and Franz I of Austria.

Bagovut, Karl (1761–1812): Russian general, fought in the Turkish wars and in the wars of 1806–1808; in 1812 commanded the second corps of infantry in the army of Barclay de Tolly, killed at the battle of Tarutino.

Bagration, Prince Pyotr Ivanovich (1765–1812): Russian general of Georgian descent. Served with Suvorov in northern Italy, took part in all the campaigns of 1805–1807, was general in chief of the Russian army in the renewed hostilities with the Turks in 1809, and commanded one of the three Russian armies during the Napoleonic invasion. Mortally wounded at Borodino.

Balashov, Alexander Dmitrievich (1770–1837): Russian general and statesman. In 1804 he became chief of police of Moscow, and in 1808 of Peters burg. Alexander I raised him to the rank of adjutant general and made him military governor of Petersburg. In 1812 he became a member of the newly created State Council and minister of police. He accompanied the emperor to Vilno in 1812 and carried his letter to Napoleon.
Barclay de Tolly, Prince Mikhail Bogdanovich (1761–1818): Russian general of Scottish descent, born in Livonia. Commander in chief of the Russian army during the Swedish war, minister of war in 1810, commander in chief of the Russian army at the beginning of the 1812 campaign, before he was replaced by Kutuzov.

Beauharnais, Eugène de (1781–1824): Son of the viscount Alexandre de Beauharnais and Marie-Joseph (Josephine) Tascher de La Pagerie. His father was guillotined in 1794; in 1796 his mother married Napoleon, who adopted him officially in 1806 and later made him viceroy of Italy, prince of Venice, grand duke of Frankfurt, and prince of Eichstatt. Took part in a number of campaigns; in Russia commanded a corps of Italian, French, and Bavarian troops known as “the army of Italy.”

Beauharnais, Josephine de (1763–1814): The first wife of Napoleon and mother of Eugène de Beauharnais by her previous marriage. She became empress in 1804, but Napoleon had their childless marriage annulled in 1809.

Bekleshov, Alexander Andreievich (1745–1808): Served in various posts of the Russian administration and at the end of his life worked closely with Speransky. He was governor general of Moscow in 1804–1807.

Belliard, Auguste Daniel (1769–1832): Took part in Napoleon's Italian, Egyptian, and Spanish campaigns, was chief of staff of Murat's armies in 1805–1808, and was named governor of Madrid in 1808. Promoted to major general, he took part in the Russian campaign in 1812.

Benningse, Count Leonть Leontievich (1745–1826): Russian general, born in Brunswick, joined the Russian army in 1773. Opposed to the policies of Paul I, he took an active part in the conspiracy to assassinate him. Appointed governor of Lithuania in 1804, commanded an army in the campaigns of 1805–1807, was initially successful, but was badly defeated at Friedland, after which he retired. In 1812 he was called back to service, fought at Borodino, and defeated Murat at Tarutino. Following a dispute with Kutuzov, he retired a second time, but returned to service after Kutuzov's death.

Berezina: A river in Belorus, tributary of the Dnieper, which, on 26–29 November 1812, the remains of Napoleon's Grande Armée had to cross on hastily built bridges while fighting off the attacks of the pursuing Russian army.

Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste (1763–1844): French general, made a marshal of the empire and, in 1805, prince of Pontecorvo. In 1810 King Charles XIII of Sweden adopted him as his son and heir, hoping that the French might help him to take Finland back from the Russians, but Bernadotte, having become the virtual ruler of Sweden, joined the anti-French coalition. In 1818 he became King Charles XIV. His dynasty still sits on the Swedish throne.

Berthier, Louis-Alexandre (1753–1815): Major general and marshal of the empire, prince of Wagram and of Neuchâtel, one of the most trusted generals of Napoleon, who made him minister of war under the Consulat. Took part in all of Napoleon's campaigns in Italy, Spain, Austria, and Russia.

Bessières, Jean-Baptiste (1768–1813): French marshal and cavalry commander, made prince of Istria in 1809, participated in all of Napoleon's major battles, and was commander in chief of cavalry during the Russian campaign. Killed in action at Weissenfels in eastern Germany.

Bonaparte, Joseph (1768–1844): Older brother of Napoleon, became king of Naples in 1806 and was king of Spain from 1808 to 1813. He retired to the United States after Waterloo but later returned to Europe.

Borodino: Village in the Mozhaïsk district, between Moscow and Smolensk, on the Kolocha River, which, on 7 September (26 August by the Julian calendar), was the scene of the most important and bloody battle of the war of 1812, called la bataille de la Moskowa by the French, after the nearby Moskova River. There was great loss of life on both sides, but no decisive victory for either.

Broussier, Jean-Baptiste (1766–1814): French major general, campaigned in Lombardy, distinguished himself at the battle of Wagram (6 July 1809). Took part in the Russian campaign and the campaigns in Saxony. Sought refuge in Strasbourg after the fall of Napoleon and died suddenly of a stroke.

Buckle, Henry Thomas (1821–62): English historian and sociologist, author of The History of
Civilization in England (1857–62); formulated the idea that the development of civilization leads to the cessation of wars.

Buxhowden, Count Fyodor Fyodorovich (1750–1811): Russian general, served under Suvorov in Poland and was made military governor of Warsaw; in 1805 joined Kutuzov's forces, commanded a corps at Austerlitz, was commander in chief during the Swedish war of 1808.

Catherine II, The Great (1729–96): Daughter of the duke of Anhalt-Zerbst, wife of the Russian emperor Peter III, became empress of Russia after the assassination of her husband in 1762. Her successful wars extended the southern and western boundaries of Russia into the Crimea, part of the Ukraine, Belorus, Lithuania, and Poland. The Russo-Turkish wars gave Russia access to the Black Sea. Catherine also brought the spirit of the French Enlightenment to Russia and personally corresponded with Voltaire and Diderot.

Caulaincourt, Armand Augustin Louis, Marquis of (1772–1827): French diplomat and general, made duke of Vicenza in 1808. In 1801 Napoleon sent him to Petersburg to congratulate Alexander I on his accession, and he served as ambassador to Russia in 1807–11. He advised Napoleon against invading Russia, but accompanied the emperor as his aide-de-camp throughout the campaign.

Chateaubriand, Viscount François-René de (1768–1848): French writer and diplomat, emigrated to England in 1792, returned to France in 1800, but was on bad terms with Napoleon. Under the restoration, he was ambassador to London and minister of foreign affairs. His fame rests on his books, above all his Mémoires d'outre-tombe ("Memoirs from Beyond the Grave"), written from 1811 to 1841 and published after his death.

Chernyshov, Alexander Ivanovich (1785–1857): Russian adjutant general and cavalry commander, began his career at Austerlitz; after the peace of Tilsit, he was Russian military and diplomatic representative in Paris. Became an imperial adjutant in 1811, and commanded a partisan detachment during the French retreat in 1812. Minister of war from 1827 to 1852, and chairman of the State Council.

Chichagov, Pavel Vassilevich (1765–1849): Russian admiral and statesman, became assistant minister of the navy under Alexander I, was appointed to the new State Council, and became the emperor's adjutant general. In 1812 commanded the Danube flotilla, took part in the battle at the Berezina, and was blamed for allowing the French to cross the river. In 1813 he left Russia for medical treatment abroad and never returned.

Claparède, Michel-Marie (1770–1842): Was with Napoleon in the Italian campaign, fought at Austerlitz and Jena, and as a major general at Wagram in 1809. In the Russian campaign, he commanded a Polish corps which saw action at Borodino and the Berezina.

Clausewitz, Karl Philipp Gottfried von (1780–1831): Prussian general and military theoretician. After fighting against Napoleon, he worked at reforming the Berlin military academy. Opposed to Prussia's forced alliance with the French, he served in the Russian army from 1812–1814, after which he wrote his book The Year 1812. His best-known work is the treatise On War.

Comps, Jean-Dominique (1769–1845): French general, chief of staff of the army of Italy in 1798. Badly wounded at Austerlitz, he won the rank of major general at Jena, and saw the entire campaign in Russia. Napoleon considered him one of his best generals.

Consulat: The government established after Napoleon's bloodless coup d'état of 18 Brumaire (9 November 1799), which provided for rule by three consuls, of whom Napoleon was named first consul. In 1802 Napoleon had himself named consul for life. The Consulat was abolished when he was made emperor in 1804.

Convention: The revolutionary national assembly that replaced the legislative assembly on 21 September 1792 and governed France until 1795. It condemned Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette to death, and in 1793 entrusted dictatorial power to the Committee of Public Safety, which ruled by terror. It was replaced in 1795 by the Directoire.

Corvisart, Baron Jean-Nicolas (1755–1821): French physician, taught medicine at the Collège de France in 1797. In 1804 he became personal physician to Napoleon, who raised him to the nobility. Corvisart tended Napoleon from then until his exile to St. Helena in 1815.

Czartoryski, Prince Adam Adamovich (1770–1861): A Polish prince, descended from the distinguished old Lithuanian family of the Jagellons, who became a close confidant of the young
Alexander I, served as Russian minister of foreign affairs in 1804–1806, and tried to persuade the emperor to restore the kingdom of Poland.

Davout, Louis-Nicolas (1770–1823): Served with Napoleon in the Egyptian campaign, fought as major general at Marengo, was made marshal of the empire in 1804, duke of Auerstädt after his victory in that battle, and prince of Eckmühl after the battles of Austerlitz, Eckmühl, and Wagram. He commanded the first corps of the Grande Armée in Russia and covered the French retreat with Marshal Ney.

Davydov, Denis Vassilievich (1784–1839): Russian major general, first organizer of partisan warfare against the retreating French army. A poet famous for the invention of “hussar poetry,” he was admired by Pushkin and was a popular figure in society. He also wrote a treatise on partisan warfare and an autobiography, Some Events from the Life of Denis Vassilievich Davydov, which, in the words of D. S. Mirsky, contains “some of the best military reading in the language.” He was the model for Tolstoy’s Denisov.

Delzons, Alexis Joseph (1775–1812): Fought under Napoleon in the campaigns in Italy and Egypt, and as brigadier general in the Austrian campaigns of 1805–1809. In Russia he served under Eugène de Beauharnais at Borodino and Maloyaroslavets, where he was killed leading the counterattack against the Russians.

Dessais, Count Joseph Marie (1764–1834): Served in the French republican army at the siege of Toulon, in the Pyrenees, and in the Italian campaign. Opposed the coup d’état of 18 Brumaire. As brigadier general and commander of the Legion of Honor, he fought at Wagram and in 1810 was made a count. Took part in the Russian campaign, in which he was wounded twice.

Diderot, Denis (1713–84): French writer and philosopher, one of the directors of the Encyclopédie raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers (“Descriptive Encyclopedia of the Sciences, Arts, and Trades”). A materialist and atheist, he was one of the most effective advocates of eighteenth-century philosophical ideas. He corresponded with Catherine the Great and visited Russia in 1773.

Directoire: The government that replaced the Convention in France and functioned from October 1795 to November 1799, when it was overthrown by Napoleon and replaced by the Consulat.

Dokhturov, Dmitri Sergeevich (1756–1816): Major general of Russian infantry. His action at Austerlitz and at the battle of Augsberg earned him the nickname “the Iron General.” At Borodino he replaced the mortally wounded Bagration on the left wing. At Maloyaroslavets his alert action forced Napoleon to retreat down the old Smolensk road instead of going to Kaluga, where there were abundant supplies and access to the rich and untouched southern provinces.

Dolgorukov, Prince Sergei Nikolaevich (1769–1829): Infantry officer, fought in the Swedish war, became major general in 1798. From 1805 to 1811 he served mainly on diplomatic missions, but returned to the army in 1812.

Dolgoruky, Prince Yuri Vladimirovich (1740–1830): Descendant of Grand Prince Yuri Vladimirovich Dolgoruky (ca. 1096–1157), the founder of Moscow. He was military commander of Moscow under Paul I.

Dorokhov, Ivan Semyonovich (1762–1815): Russian cavalry officer, took part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787–91, was made major general in 1803, commanded a hussar regiment in the 1805–1807 campaign, and in 1812 distinguished himself defending Bagration’s flanks on the left wing at Borodino.

Duport, Louis (1781–1853): French ballet dancer who purified the classical style and was known for his multiple pirouettes and soaring leaps. He performed in Moscow and Petersburg from 1808 to 1812 along with the actress Mlle George.

Dürenstein: Now Durnstein, a town in Austria where a battle was fought on 11 November 1805, midway between the battles of Ulm and Austerlitz, which pitted the French under General Mortier against the much larger forces of Kutuzov.

Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel (1772–1813): Participated in Napoleon’s Italian and Egyptian campaigns, was made duke of Frioul and grand marshal of the palace under the empire. A major general in 1805, he fought in all the French campaigns until he was killed at Markersdorf in May 1813. He is buried in the Invalides with Napoleon.

Durosnel, Count Antoine Jean Auguste (1771–1849): French general, fought in the campaigns in
Germany, Poland, Spain, and Austria, was made a count in 1808, and participated in the Russian campaign as adjutant general in charge of all French cavalry.

Eckmühl: A village in Bavaria where Napoleon defeated the Austrians in 1809, in honor of which he gave General Davout the title "duke of Eckmühl."

Elizaveta I (1709–61): Elizaveta Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great, became empress of Russia in 1741, and died without an heir, leaving the throne to her nephew, Peter III.

Elizaveta Alexeevna (1779–1826): Born Louisa Maria Augusta von Baden, daughter of Karl Ludwig, prince of Baden, became Orthodox with the name of Elizaveta Alexeevna when she married Alexander I in 1793. In 1801 she became empress of Russia.

Enghien, Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon-Condé, Duke of (1772–1804): The last male descendant of the princely house of Condé, emigrated in 1789, was falsely accused of taking part in a plot to assassinate Napoleon, who ordered him abducted and taken to the château de Vincennes near Paris. Napoleon was informed of the falsity of the charge but still insisted on the duke's execution.

Ermolov, Alexei Petrovich (1777–1861): Russian general, served under Suvorov in Poland, distinguished himself during the French invasion at the battles of Valutino, Borodino, and Maloyaroslavets, after which Kutuzov made him army chief of staff. He was later responsible for the military government of the Caucasus and Georgia.

Eylau: Also known as Preussisch-Eylau, a town in northeast Prussia, now part of Russia (the name has been changed to Bagrationovsk in honor of the Russian general). It was the scene of a bloody and indecisive battle in 1807 between the French army and the mainly Russian forces commanded by General Bennigsen.

Fabvier, Baron Charles Nicolas (1782–1855): Began as an artillery officer, fought at the battle of Dürenstein and in Spain. At Borodino in 1812 he lost his right leg, but returned to service a few months later. Opposed to the restoration of the Bourbons, he went to England, then Spain, and in 1825 to Greece, where he played a key part in the Greek war of independence. He left Greece in 1830 and ended his days in France.

Ferdinand III (1769–1824): Archduke of Tuscany. Forced out by Napoleon, he was given the surrogate title of duke of the newly created state of Würzburg in 1805, but in 1814 returned to rule Tuscany until his death.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762–1814): German idealist philosopher in the period between Kant and Hegel, an advocate of civil liberty, who championed the French revolution and condemned Napoleon.

Figner, Alexander (1787–1813): A colorful figure from the war of 1812, who had served in the artillery during the second Russo-Turkish war. During the French occupation of Moscow, he disguised himself as a French soldier, slipped into the city, spent the days gathering intelligence, and performed acts of sabotage at night. Kutuzov used him in the same way, sending him into Tarutino in disguise, where he gathered information that made possible a surprise attack on the French there. He became one of the first partisan leaders, along with Davydov and Seslavin, and died while crossing the Elbe.

Filaret (1782–1867): Perhaps the most important figure of the Russian Orthodox Church in the mid-nineteenth century. Born Vassily Drozdov, he studied at the Trinity–St. Sergius Monastery and immediately afterwards was appointed a professor there. Deeply moved by the events of 1812, he spoke of the victory of Russia as a confirmation of her spiritual mission. In 1813 he delivered the funeral oration for Field Marshal Kutuzov. A prolific spiritual writer, he became a monk in 1817, and in 1826 metropolitan of Moscow.

Franz I (1768–1835): Emperor of Austria. Fought unsuccessfully against the armies of the French revolution and Napoleon, to whom he eventually had to give the hand of his daughter, Maria-Louisa. Rejoined the anti-French coalition in 1813.

Friant, Louis (1758–1829): French major general, fought in Italy under Bernadotte and in Egypt under Napoleon. Saw action at Austerlitz and Eylau in 1805–1807, and was made count in 1808. In the Russian campaign he fought at Smolensk and Borodino. At Waterloo (18 June 1815) he commanded Napoleon's old guard.

Friedland: A town in northwest Prussia, near Königsberg (Kaliningrad), where, on 14 June 1807,
Napoleon's army fought a twenty-three-hour battle against the Russians under Bennigsen, which ended with a total victory for the French and led to the signing of the peace of Tilsit between Napoleon and Alexander.

Friedrich-Wilhelm III (1770–1840): King of Prussia. Unsuccessful adversary of Napoleon, his forces were crushed at the battle of Jena in 1806. He was excluded from the negotiations at Tilsit in July 1807, where half of his territory was divided between the French and the Russians.

Genlis, Stephanie Félicité du Crest de St-Albin, Countess of (1746–1830): French writer and educator. Became a lady-in-waiting in the Palais Royal and governess to the children of the Duke of Chartres. Wrote comedies and novels to support her theories of education. After her husband was guillotined in 1793, she lived abroad in Berlin and Hamburg, but in 1799 Napoleon allowed her to return to France and awarded her a pension. Her writings, of a moralistic tendency, were very popular in the Russia of Alexander I.

Gérard, François (1770–1837): Historical painter; his painting of the battle of Austerlitz hangs in the museum of Versailles.

Gérard, Maurice Etienne (1773–1852): Marshal of the empire. His early service was under Bernadotte, whose aide-de-camp he became in 1797. Saw action in Austria and in Spain. In the 1812 campaign, as brigadier and then major general, he fought at Smolensk and Borodino. During the French retreat, he was second under Marshal Ney at the crossing of the Berezina, commanding the rear guard.

Gervinus, Georg Gottfried (1805–71): German historian, professor of literature and history at Göttingen, author of numerous works, including the History of the Nineteenth Century and a philosophical study, The Principles of History.


Glinka, Sergei Nikolaevich (1774–1847): Elder brother of the composer Fyodor Nikolaevich Glinka, edited the Russian Messenger from 1808 to 1820; minor poet and dramatist, author of a number of historical works, including Notes of the Year 1812, which was one of Tolstoy's sources.


Heudelet de Bierre, Etienne (1770–1837): French general, commanded the vanguard under Dumas and Moreau, fought at Austerlitz, was made major general in 1805. Also fought at Jena and Eylau and later in Spain. During the 1812 campaign, he commanded the second division of reserves.

Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, Friedrich-Ludwig, Prince of (1746–1818): Prussian major general, governor of Berlin, at one time the most popular soldier in the Prussian army. Largely as a result of internal dissensions, his army was virtually destroyed by Napoleon at Jena in 1806.

Izmail: Turkish fortress on the Danube which, during the Russo-Turkish wars, passed back and forth three times between Turks and Russians. Taken by assault in 1790 by the Russian army under Suworov's command and with the participation of Kutuzov.

Jena: Town in eastern Germany, scene of a major battle between the French and the Prussians in 1806, in which Napoleon virtually destroyed the Prussian army led by Prince Hohenlohe.

Junot, Jean-Andoche (1771–1813): First met Napoleon at the siege of Toulon (1793), took part in the campaigns in Italy and Egypt, became major general and governor of Paris under the Consulat. Known for his sumptuous way of life. After some disputes with Napoleon, he was sent away as ambassador to Portugal. Rejoined the Grande Armée in 1808, fought in the Russian campaign, but became mentally unstable and was sent home to his father in Montbard (Burgundy), where he took his own life.

Kamensky, Count Mikhail Fyodorovich (1738–1809): Russian field marshal, fought in the first Russo-Turkish war (1768–74) alongside Suworov, but had difficult relations with Catherine II and Paul I and was retired twice to his estate. Alexander I made him governor general of Petersburg, but then also dismissed him. He returned to the army for the campaign of 1806, which was his last.
Kamensky, Count Nikolai Mikhailovich (1778–1811): Younger son of M. F. Kamensky, took part in the Swedish war of 1808 with the rank of major general. In 1810 he was made commander in chief of the army in Moldavia, won some brilliant victories against the Turks, but fell gravely ill and died.

Kochubey, Viktor Pavlovich (1768–1834): Russian statesman of Ukrainian origin, close aide to Alexander I. Served as ambassador to London and Paris, then to Turkey; was minister of war in 1801–1802, minister of the interior until 1812 and again from 1819 to 1825.

Kollowrath, Count Johann Karl von (1748–1816): Austrian field marshal, general commandant of Bavaria in 1803; fought in the 1809 campaign against Napoleon and was beaten in several battles, ending with Wagram.

Konovnitsyn, Count Pyotr Petrovich (1767–1822): Russian general. In 1810–11 commanded a division on the Baltic, in 1812 commanded the third infantry division, part of Barclay de Tolly's western army. Fought at Borodino, Tarutino, and Maloyaroslavets, and commanded the rear guard at Vyazma. Later served as minister of war.

Konstantin, Grand Duke (1779–1832): Konstantin Pavlovich Romanov, younger brother of Alexander I, commanded the imperial guard in the 1805 campaign and fought in the battle of Austerlitz, after which he returned to Petersburg.

Kurakin, Prince Alexei Borisovich (1752–1818): Russian statesman and diplomat; member of the State Council from its inception in 1810, ambassador to Vienna in 1806 and to Paris in 1808. In his dispatches, he repeatedly warned Alexander I of the impending war with France. Resigned as ambassador in April 1812.

Kutaisov, Alexander Ivanovich (1784–1812): Son of a Turkish prisoner, he was favored by Paul I and rose quickly in the ranks, becoming a major general at the age of twenty-two. Fought at Eylau and Friedland in the Austrian campaign of 1805–1807, and in 1812 commanded the artillery in Barclay de Tolly's western army. Killed in action at Borodino.

Kutuzov, Prince Mikhail Illarionovich (1745–1813): (Tolstoy spells his patronymic “Ilarionovich,” and sometimes “Larionovich.”) Russian field marshal, fought in Poland (1764–69) and against the Turks (1770–74), where he lost an eye. Major general, governor of the Crimea, he served under Suvorov in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787–92, was later made ambassador to Constantinople, governor general of Finland, and governor of Petersburg. Won the battle of Dürenstein against the French in 1805; opposed the battle of Austerlitz, but was overruled by the Austrians. Commander in chief of Russian forces in the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806–12, which ended in the treaty of Bucharest, very favorable to the Russians. Replaced Barclay de Tolly as commander in chief of the Russian army on 17 August 1812. Much criticized for retreating after Borodino and abandoning Moscow, he pursued his policy of non-confrontation throughout the French retreat to the Vistula. He was made prince of Smolensk in reward for his services.

Langeron, Gaspard Louis Andrault, Count of (1763–1851): Emigrated from France after the revolution, offered his services to Austria, and in 1790 entered the Russian army. Participated in the taking of Izmail. At Austerlitz commanded a division alongside Kutuzov, fought at the Berezina and in later battles during the European campaign.

Lannes, Jean (1769–1809): An apprentice tanner who joined the French republican volunteers, rose quickly in the ranks, and eventually became marshal of the empire, prince of Sievers, and duke of Montebello. Served in the Italian campaign, saved Napoleon from capture at Arcole, fought with distinction at Montebello and Marengo, took Saragossa in 1809, but was wounded at Essling and died of gangrene.

Larrey, Dominique (1766–1842): The outstanding surgeon of the Napoleonic era; introduced first aid and ambulances on the battlefield. Took part in all of Napoleon's campaigns from Egypt on, and in 1805 was made surgeon in chief of the French army.

Lauriston, Jacques Jean Alexandre Bernad Law de (1768–1828): Met Bonaparte when both were students at the École Militaire in Brienne; retired from service but was called back under the Consulat, fought at Marengo and in the Austrian campaign, also undertook diplomatic missions, and served throughout the Russian campaign. Grand-nephew of John Law, the notorious Scottish financier.

Lavater, Johann Caspar (1741–1801): Swiss Protestant theologian, poet, and philosopher,
invented the theory of physiognomy, a system of determining a person's character by the distinguishing physical traits of the face and head.

Ledru des Essarts, François Roch (1766–1844): Fought in the early French republican campaigns in the Low Countries and Italy; brigadier general at Austerlitz and Eylau; major general in the Russian campaign, commanding a division under Ney. Fought at Borodino, Krasnoe, and during the entire retreat from Moscow to the Vistula.

Lemarroi, Jean Léonard François (1776–1836): Son of a Norman farmer, noticed by Napoleon at the siege of Toulon, became his aide-de-camp, and was witness at his marriage to Josephine. A major general at Austerlitz, appointed governor of Rome in 1809, he was left in charge of the camp at Boulogne during the Russian campaign.

Liechtenstein, Prince Johann von (1760–1836): Last of the princes of Liechtenstein to rule under the Holy Roman Empire. Field marshal and commander in chief of the Austrian army, he later led the peace negotiations with Napoleon, which were very fortunate for the French. Criticized, he resigned from the military in 1810. The Congress of Vienna declared the independence of his principality.

Ligne, Charles-Joseph, Prince of (1735–1814): General and writer, descendant of a princely family from Hainaut; served in the Austrian and Russian armies, was a friend of the Austrian emperor Joseph II, and journeyed to the Crimea with Catherine the Great in 1787.

Lodi: Town in northern Italy near Milan, scene of an important victory of Napoleon's forces over the Austrians in 1796.

Lopukhin, Pyotr Vassiliевич (1753–1827): Russian statesman, governor of Yaroslavl and Vologda under Catherine the Great, minister of justice under Alexander I from 1803 to 1810, later president of the council of ministers.

Mack von Liebich, Baron Karl Freiherr (1752–1828): Austrian general. Outmaneuvered and surrounded by Napoleon's troops at Ulm on 20 October 1805, he surrendered without a fight along with 30,000 men. Napoleon allowed him to go free, but the Austrians eventually court-martialed him, stripped him of his rank, and sentenced him to twenty years in prison. Rehabilitated two years later.

Magnitsky, Mikhail Lavrentievich (1778–1855): Russian statesman, member of the State Council in 1812, collaborated with Speransky and was exiled along with him. He later reversed himself and made a career under the protection of the conservative ministers Arakcheev and Golitsyn.

Maloyaroslavets: Also written Maly Yaroslavets (Tolstoy uses both forms). Scene of a major battle on 24 October 1812, during the French retreat from Moscow. General Dokhturov, sent to intercept a foraging party, came upon the entire French army, quickly sent for reinforcements, and offered battle. At the end of the day, the town remained in French hands, but the strategic victory went to the Russians, since it forced Napoleon to retreat down the old Smolensk road.

Mamunov, Matvei Alexandrovich Dmitriev (1790–1863): Son of one of Catherine the Great's favorites, a Mason, and later a leading Decembrist (a secret society of young aristocrats dedicated to the idea of constitutional monarchy). His regiment distinguished itself at the battles of Tarutino and Maloyaroslavets.

Marat, Jean-Paul (1743–93): French revolutionary politician, editor of L'Ami du peuple ("The Friend of the People"), deputy of the violent Montagnard party in the National Convention. He was assassinated by Charlotte Corday.

Marchand, Jean Gabriel (1765–1851): Made major general in 1805, fought at Jena and Friedland, saw four campaigns in Spain, and commanded a division at Borodino.

Marengo: Town in the Piedmont, in the north of Italy, scene of a battle on 14 June 1800 between the French and the Austrians. General Desaix, who led the French counterattack, was killed, but the battle, which ended in a French victory and the withdrawal of Austrian forces from Italy, crowned the success of Napoleon's Italian campaign.

Maria Feodorovna (1759–1828): Born Sophia Maria Louisa of Württemberg, second wife of Paul I, mother of the emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I. On the assassination of her husband, she attempted to take the throne herself, as Catherine the Great had done before her, but gave way to her son and remained at court as dowager empress.

Metternich, Klemens Lothar Wenzel von (1773–1859): Austrian statesman and diplomat, ambassador to Berlin and, in 1806, to Paris; Austrian foreign minister in 1809. After the disastrous
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Russian campaign of 1812, he tried unsuccessfully to persuade Napoleon to stop his wars, and then brought Austria into the anti-French alliance. Made count and prince by Franz I, he was the chief Austrian negotiator at the Congress of Vienna.

Michaud de Beauvert, Alexandre (1772–1841): Born in Nice, then part of the kingdom of Sardinia, he fought against the French revolutionary forces in southern France and northern Italy, joined the Russian army, became an imperial adjutant, and was much decorated for his services. After Borodino, Kutuzov sent him to Petersburg with news of the abandoning of Moscow. In 1815 Alexander I sent him to invite the king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I, to return to his throne, for which the king rewarded Michaud with the title “Count of Beauvert,” referring not to a place but to his own beau retour (“beautiful return”) to his kingdom.

Mikhelson, Ivan Ivanovich (1755–1807): Russian cavalry general, took part in most of the major wars of the mid to late eighteenth century. Known as the “vanquisher of Pugachev” because of his final crushing of the popular revolt in the Volga region led by the impostor Emelyan Pugachev. In 1806 he was made commander in chief of the army in Moldavia.

Miloradovich, Mikhail Andreevich (1771–1825): Served under Suvorov in the Polish and Turkish wars, and against the French in Italy and Switzerland. In 1804, he served under Kutuzov at the battle of Austerlitz, where he defended the Pratzen heights. In 1812 he commanded the reserves at Borodino and the rear guard that delayed Napoleon’s advance on Moscow. During the French retreat, he was victorious at the battle of Vyazma, and went on to campaign in Europe. From 1818 to 1825, he was military governor of Petersburg, where he was killed while trying to quash the Decembrist uprising.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron (1689–1755): French philosopher and writer, author of Lettres persanes (“Persian Letters,” 1721) and above all of L’Esprit des lois (“The Spirit of the Laws,” 1748), in which he formulated important principles of the separation of powers that had great influence on later constitutional thinking.

Morand, Charles Antoine Louis Alexis (1771–1835): French general, participated in virtually all the campaigns of the republic and the empire, served with Soult at Austerlitz, where he led the assault on the Pratzen heights, and with Davout at Auerstädt, Eylau, and Wagram. Was made governor of Hamburg. In the Russian campaign, he fought at Smolensk, Borodino, and the Berezina; in 1815 he commanded part of the old guard at Waterloo.

Moreau, Jean Victor Marie (1763–1813): Joined the French republican volunteers in 1791, served in the Army of the North, was made commander in chief in 1795. Fought against Suvorov in Italy. Disputed with Bonaparte, later opposed him, and was banished to the United States. After the retreat from Russia and the destruction of the Grande Armée, he met with Alexander I through Bernadotte and advised him on the later war in Europe. Mortally wounded at the battle of Dresden in 1813.

Morrier, Édouard Adolphe Casimir Joseph (1768–1835): Served in the French republican Army of the North in 1792–93; was made major general in 1799 and marshal of the empire in 1804. Fought with distinction at Ulm, Dürenstein, and Friedland, and in 1808 was honored by Napoleon with the title of duke of Treviso. Served in two Spanish campaigns, and commanded the young guard in the Russian campaign.

Mouton-Duvernet, Régis Barthélemy (1769–1816): Was a captain at the siege of Toulon, and later took part in all the wars of the revolution and the empire. Distinguished himself at Arcola; went to Spain as a colonel and came back as a major general. An intransigent opponent of the restoration of the Bourbons, he was eventually arrested and shot.

Mozhaisk: Town in Moscow province, on the Smolensk road, some seventy miles from the capital, where it commanded an important strategic position. The battle of Borodino took place seven miles from Mozhaisk.

Murat, Joachim (1767–1815): Became Napoleon’s aide-de-camp in the Italian campaign; served as cavalry commander in the Egyptian campaign and was made major general. Instrumental in the coup d’état of the Consulat, he married Napoleon’s sister Caroline in 1800. Under the empire, he commanded the cavalry and vanguard of the Grande Armée during the Austrian campaign, and led the campaign in Spain that ended with the taking of Madrid and the bestowing of the Spanish throne on Joseph Bonaparte. In reward Napoleon made Murat king of Naples, but their relations became strained (earlier he had opposed the execution of the duke of
Enghien). Took part in the Russian campaign, and during the retreat, when Napoleon went on ahead, was left in charge of the army, the remnants of which he led to Vilno and eventually into Poland. He then returned to Naples, where he entered into negotiations with the Austrians. Anxious to retain his kingdom, he was caught between several camps, and was finally taken by the Spanish and executed.

Muravyov-Karsky, Nikolai Nikolaevich (1794–1866): Took part in the war of 1812 and in the subsequent campaign abroad. Belonged to the circle of the Decembrists but was not prosecuted or punished.

Napoleon I (1769–1821): Born Napoleone Buonaparte, in Ajaccio, Corsica, he was educated at the École Militaire in Brienne, became captain of artillery in the revolutionary army, was made general in the Italian campaign in 1794, appointed head of the army in Italy in 1796, and returned to Paris in glory. There followed the Egyptian campaign of 1798–99, then the coup d’État of 18 Brumaire, which brought in the Consulat, with Napoleon as first consul and later consul for life. In 1804 he was accorded imperial dignity by the French senate. As emperor, he led the Grande Armée on campaigns in Spain, central Europe, and finally Russia, where, after so many successes, it was virtually annihilated. Obliged to abdicate at Fontainebleau in 1814, he was exiled to the island of Elba, but returned to Paris in 1815 for the so-called “Hundred Days.” Definitively defeated at Waterloo on 18 June 1815 by coalition forces under the duke of Wellington, he spent his last days in exile on the island of St. Helena.

Nelson, Lord Horatio, First Viscount Nelson (1758–1805): English admiral of humble origins, famous for his part in the Napoleonic wars. On 21 October 1805, he won his last and most famous victory at Trafalgar, with twenty-seven ships against the thirty-three ships of the French admiral Villeneuve, but was killed in the battle.

Ney, Michel (1769–1815): Son of a Scottish cooper who had emigrated to the Saar, he became marshal of the empire, was named duke of Eichingen in 1808 and prince of the Moskova in 1812. One of the most able generals of Napoleon, who nicknamed him “the Bravest of the Brave.” During the retreat from Moscow, he commanded the rear guard. Arrested by French restoration forces in August 1815 and condemned to death by firing squad, he refused to wear a blindfold and insisted on giving the order to fire himself.

Nositz-Rieneck, Count Jan Nepomuk (1768–1840): Descendant of a noble Prague family; major general in the Austrian army. Tricked by Murat, he abandoned his advance post at Schöngraben in 1805, for which he was accused of high treason. Joined the Russian army in 1807.

Novosiltsev, Nikolai Nikolaevich (1761–1836): (Tolstoy first calls him Novoshiltsch and, in French, Novosiltsch.) One of four members of a privy committee of advisers to the young emperor Alexander I, along with Czartoryski, Stroganov, and Kochubey, who urged him to make liberal reforms. He carried out several diplomatic missions in 1803–1806, was president of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences from 1803 to 1810 and a member and then chairman of the State Council.

Ochakov: A fortress at the mouth of the Dnieper in the Ukraine. It was besieged for six months by the Russians in 1788, during the second Russo-Turkish war (1787–92), and finally taken by storm with great loss of life.

Oldenburg, Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of (1755–1829): Lived in Russia and was married to Princess Elizabeth of Württemberg, sister of the Russian empress Maria Feodorovna. Fought in the second Russo-Turkish war and later served in government administration. In 1809 his son, Peter Friedrich Georg (1784–1812), was hastily married to Ekaterina Pavlovna (1788–1818), sister of Alexander I, to forestall Napoleon's courtship of her. In 1811, Napoleon seized the Oldenburg lands, but they were returned to the family after the battle of Leipzig in 1813.

Orde, Michel (1755–1811): Entered the French army before the revolution, later served in the Army of the Rhine and fought in the Italian campaign. Was sent to Germany to arrest the duke of Enghien. Took part in the Austrian campaign, fought at Austerlitz, and was promoted to major general. Retired in October 1806.

Orlov-Chesmensky, Count Alexei Grigorievich (1735–1807): A favorite of Catherine the Great, younger brother of her lover Grigori Grigorievich (1734–1783). The brothers took part in the murder of Catherine's husband, the emperor Peter III, and Alexei Grigorievich was rumored to have struck the blow himself. He was famous for his lavish entertainment.
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Orlov-Denisov, Count Vassily Vassilievich (1775–1845): Son of a Don Cossack, cavalry general, commanded a squadron of the imperial life guard in the Austrian campaign. In 1812 he commanded a Cossack regiment of the life guard in Barclay de Tolly's western army and was the first to encounter Napoleon's troops at the Niemen. Fought at Vitebsk, Smolensk, Borodino, and earned high praise from Bennigsen for his action at Tarutino. Later joined Davydov, Seslavin, and Figner in the partisan war.

Ostermann-Tolstoy, Count Alexander Ivanovich (1770–1857): Russian general, fought in the Austrian campaigns of 1805–1809, served as governor of Petersburg. Took part in the 1812 campaign as commander of the fourth corps of the western army. Fought at Borodino and in the European campaigns of 1813–14, where he lost an arm at the battle of Kulm.

Oudinot, Nicolas Charles (1767–1847): Served in the French republican Army of the Meuse and the Army of the North, and under Masséna in the Swiss campaign of 1799. Fought in the Austrian campaign, and in 1808 was made governor of Erfurt and count of the empire. After Wagram (1809) he became a marshal of the empire and duke of Reggio. Commanded the second corps in the Russian campaign. Rallied to the Bourbons after Napoleon's abdication in 1814.

Pahlen, Count Pyotr Alexeevich von (1745–1826): Of Baltic nobility; served in the Russo-Turkish wars, distinguished himself at the siege of Ochakov. Relieved of his duties by Paul I in 1794, but later called back, he became one of the emperor's favorites and served from 1798 to 1801 as governor of Petersburg. His part in the conspiracy to assassinate the emperor, who was strangled on the night of 12 March 1801, earned him the implacable hatred of the empress Maria Feodorovna, and he was finally forced to leave Petersburg for his Baltic estates.

Paul I (1754–1801): Pavel Petrovich Romanov, son of Peter III and Catherine the Great, emperor of Russia from 1796 until his assassination in 1801. Joined the second coalition against Napoleon, sent Suvorov to Switzerland and Italy and Admiral Uvarov to help Nelson in the Mediterranean, but in 1802 pulled out of the coalition, revealing an instability and uncertainty of policy that contributed to his downfall. His assassination was plotted by Pahlen with a number of other courtiers, and carried out by Bennigsen and a band of dismissed army officers.

Paulucci, Marquis Filippo, or Filipp Ospovich (1779–1849): An Austro-Italian nobleman (not a native of Sardinia as Tolstoy asserts), who joined the Russian army in 1807. In 1811 he became governor of Georgia. Promoted to adjutant general in 1812, he fought against the Grande Armée, and later became civil governor of the Baltic provinces. In 1830 he returned to Italy, where he died governor of Genoa.

Pernety, Joseph Marie de (1766–1856): Captain of artillery in the French revolutionary army in 1791, he took part in the Italian campaign, served under Ney in Switzerland, was made brigadier general in the Austrian campaign, major general and baron of the Empire after Wagram. In 1812 he started the battle of Borodino with an artillery barrage on the Raevsky redoubt. Brought the reserve artillery almost intact to the Berezina and fought afterwards in the European campaign.

Peter I, the Great (1672–1725): Pyotr Alexeevich Romanov, tsar and then self-proclaimed emperor of Russia from 1682 to 1725. Carried out sweeping reforms in political and social life which made Russia a major European power, and gave Russia a western seaport by building the new capital of St. Petersburg on the Baltic.

Peter III (1728–62): Son of Karl Friedrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and of Anna Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great. Married to the princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, the future Catherine the Great. Reigned for only six months before his assassination by the Orlows, which brought Catherine to the throne.


Photius (d. 838): Archimandrite of the monastery in Novgorod, who in 820 initiated the persecution of possible heretical elements within the Masons, the Biblical Society, and other groups.

Platov, Matvey Ivanovich (1757–1818): Russian general and hetman of the Don Cossacks during the 1812 war. He began service under Suvorov in the Turkish wars of 1774–82 and took part in the capture of Izmail in 1790. Fought at Eylau and Friedland in the Austrian campaign. In
the 1812 war his Cossacks supported Bagration’s army, fought at Borodino, and harried the French during the retreat.

Poniatowski, Józef Antoni (1763–1813): Nephew of the last king of Poland, Stanisław Poniatowski, he entered the Austrian military service in 1780, fought for Poland against the Russians in 1792, and joined Kosciusko’s insurrection in 1794, which ended in failure. In Napoleon’s invasion of Russia, he commanded a 100,000-man Polish contingent which made up the fifth corps of the Grande Armée. Fought at Borodino, where his men stormed the Uitsa barrow. Made a marshal of the empire, he was killed defending the French rear at the battle of Leipzig.

Potemkin, Prince Grigori Alexandrovich (1739–91): Russian field marshal and statesman, the most important of Catherine the Great’s lovers. Under his virtual leadership the boundaries of Russia were enlarged in the Ukraine and the Crimea, for the latter of which Catherine awarded him the title of Prince of Tauride (the old name for the Crimea).

Pratzen heights: A key strategic high point on the battlefield of Austerlitz. Originally occupied by the French, who abandoned it in a simulation of fear, it was taken by the Russian-Austrian forces, who then swept down to attack the French left wing, allowing Marshal Soult to retake the heights and cut the allied troops in two, leading to their total defeat.

Prozorovsky, Alexander Alexandrovich (1732–1809): Russian field marshal under Catherine the Great, he retired to his estates, returned to become governor general of Moscow, and was then dismissed by Paul I. In 1808 he was recalled to service in the Turkish war, but asked to be replaced by Kutuzov. He died in the same year while crossing the Danube, and his body was transported and buried with honors in the Alexander Nevsky monastery in Petersbourg.

Przybyszewski, Ignacy Yakovlevich (1735–1810): Polish lieutenant general serving in the Russian army. At the battle of Austerlitz, he surrendered his column of Russian troops at the start of the action and was later court-martialed and broken to the ranks.

Pugachev, Emelyan Ivanovich (ca. 1740–1775): Son of a Don Cossack leader. In 1773 he declared himself to be the emperor Peter III and organized a Cossack insurrection, which ignited the entire lower Volga region and was finally crushed in 1774 by General Mikhailov, with great loss of life.

Raevski, Nikolai Nikolaevich (1771–1829): Russian general, became colonel when he was twenty, took part in the Polish and Turkish wars. Retired as major general for family reasons in 1801, but returned to duty in 1807 during the Austrian campaign, serving under Bagration. In 1812 he commanded the seventh infantry corps in Bagration’s army, defended Smolensk for twenty-four hours against vastly superior forces, and at Borodino commanded the strategic position that came to be known as the Raevsky redoubt. Fought later at Maloyaroslavets and Krasnoe and in the European campaign.

Rapp, Jean (1771–1821): Served in the French republican Army of the Rhine, in 1796 became aide-de-camp to Desaix, and took part in the campaign in Egypt. Followed Napoleon to Paris when the Consul was declared. Fought in the Austrian campaigns and was made count of the empire in 1809. At Schönbrunn, on 12 October 1809, he prevented the young student Friedrich Staps from stabbing Napoleon. Unsuccessfully cautioned the emperor against invading Russia. Fought at Smolensk, was wounded four times at Borodino, nevertheless continued to fight at Maloyaroslavets, and supported Ney at the Berezina.

Rastopchin (Rostopchin), Count Fyodor Vassilievich (1763–1826): Russian general and statesman, much favored by Paul I, served as foreign minister, and was made count in 1799. In 1812 he was appointed governor general of Moscow, and was later blamed for the burning of the city in September of that year, the day after the French occupied it, but denied the charge. Fell into disgrace and moved abroad, where in 1825 he published a pamphlet in French justifying himself. Returned in 1825 to end his days in Petersbourg.

Razumovski, Prince Andrei Kirillovich (1752–1836): Son of Kirill Razumovsky, last hetman of the Ukraine, served as diplomat and for some years was Alexander’s ambassador in Vienna, a crucial post during the Napoleonic era. Chief negotiator for Russia at the Congress of Vienna in 1814.

Repnin-Volkonski, Prince Nikolai Grigorievich (1778–1845): Russian adjutant general and member of the State Council, governor of Saxony from 1813 to 1814, governor general of Little
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Russia for eighteen years. Fought at Austerlitz, was gravely wounded and captured. On his recovery, Napoleon sent him to Alexander I with an offer to negotiate. Commanded a division in 1812 and fought later in the European campaign.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–78): Born in Geneva, novelist, philosopher, and memoirist, his works were among the most widely read in the eighteenth century and his ideas had great influence on the development of social and educational theory in the Romantic period and later. Of major importance for Tolstoy.

Rumyantsev, Nikolai Petrovich (1754–1826): Russian statesman, served as minister of trade (1802–11) and chairman of the State Council (1810–32). As foreign minister, he advocated alliance with France. Suffered a stroke on learning of Napoleon’s invasion in 1812; urged the dismissal of Kutuzov when he decided to abandon Moscow. Retired in 1814.

Saltykov, Prince Nikolai Ivanovich (1736–1816): Counselor to Paul I before he assumed the throne and tutor to his sons, the future Alexander I and the grand duke Konstantin.

Savary, Anne Jean Marie René (1774–1833): Served in the early republican wars, and under Desaix in Egypt and at Marengo. Took part in the murder of the duke of Enghien. After the peace of Tilsit was sent to Petersburg as ambassador. Made duke of Rovigo in 1807, fought in Spain with Murat in 1808, and in 1810 took over the ministry of police, which he ran with inquisitorial vigor. After Waterloo, he accompanied Napoleon to England, but was not allowed to go with him to St. Helena.

Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von (1775–1854): German idealist philosopher midway between Fichte and Hegel, of a protean and unsystematic mind, wrote a Naturphilosophie admired as much for its poetry as for its thought.

Schongraben: Scene of a battle on 14 November 1805, two weeks before Austerlitz, between the 45,000 troops of Murat and the 7,000 troops of Bagration’s rear guard. Bagration’s stiff defense of the position, followed by a skillful retreat, allowed Kutuzov time to join his main army with that of Buxhöwden. French historians refer to it as the battle of Hollabrunn, from the larger town nearby.

Schwarzenberg, Prince Karl Philipp (1771–1820): Austrian field marshal. Entered the cavalry in 1788, took part in the early battles against the French. In the 1803 campaign, at Ulm, when Mack was surrounded and chose to surrender, Schwarzenberg and his cavalry cut their way through the French lines. Sent as ambassador to Petersburg in 1808, he came back to fight at Wagram. In 1810 he went to Paris to negotiate Napoleon’s marriage to Maria-Louisa of Austria. Reluctantly commanded an auxiliary corps under Napoleon in the Russian campaign. In 1813, when Austria decided to join the anti-French coalition, he was made commander in chief of the army of Bohemia.

Semyonova, Nimfodora Semyonovna (1789–1876): Russian opera singer, made her début in 1807. Generally appreciated more for her acting than for her singing. The poets Pushkin, Gribedov, and Zhukovsky sought her company. She retired from the stage in the early 1830s.

Seslin, Alexander Nikitich (1780–1838): A major general and partisan leader during the Napoleonic war. Fought in the Austrian campaigns. In 1812 distinguished himself at Borodino, and was instrumental in turning Napoleon’s retreat from the Kaluga road to the Smolensk road at the battle of Maloyaroslavets. Later fought under Wittgenstein in the European campaign.

Shishkov, Alexander Semyonovich (1754–1841): Russian writer and statesman, a naval officer by training, retired in protest against the early liberal reforms of Alexander I. In 1811 he founded the Society of Lovers of the Russian Word, dedicated to preserving the old forms of Russian and purifying it of foreign influences, especially Gallicisms. In that same year, Alexander I, inspired by Shishkov’s “Discourse on Love for One’s Country,” made him secretary of state. In 1813 he became president of the Russian Academy, in 1814 a member of the State Council, and later minister of education.


Smolensk: Town on the Dnieper, on the road to Moscow, site of an important battle during the war of 1812 between the French under Bonaparte and the Russians under Bagration. The Russians
fought a delaying action and then retreated; the town, a possible supply point for Napoleon, was virtually destroyed.

Sorrier, Jean Barthélemy de (1763–1827): Served in various parts of the French revolutionary army in the east of France; commanded three divisions of light artillery at Austerlitz, and later served in Spain. In 1808 Napoleon made him count of the empire; in 1811 he commanded the artillery of the imperial guard. Fought at Smolensk and Borodino during the 1812 campaign.

Soul, Nicolas Jean-de-Dieu (1769–1851): Served in the French republican armies of the Rhine and the North; made major general in 1799. Fought in Switzerland under Masséna, whom he joined later in Italy, where he was taken prisoner at the siege of Genoa. In 1804 he was made marshal of the empire. Fought at Austerlitz and Eylau, and was made duke of Dalmatia after the peace of Tilsit in 1807. Took part in all the campaigns in Spain and Portugal (1808–11), but in 1812 was defeated by Wellington at Salamanca.

Speransky, Mikhail Mikhailovich (1772–1839): Son of a village priest, educated at a Petersburg seminary, his intellectual abilities were quickly noticed, and he became secretary to Prince Kurakin. As adviser to the young Alexander I, he made plans for broad liberal reforms in Russia, with a code of law, a constitution, an assembly, and a state council, of which only the state council came into being (1810). From 1809 to 1812, Speransky was the most powerful man in Russia, but owing to the “French” tendencies of his reforms, he fell into disfavor and was accused of treason and exiled. His ideas continued to influence later Russian reformers.

Stein, Baron Heinrich Friedrich Karl von (1757–1831): German statesman who went into service in Prussia. After the peace of Tilsit (1807), which was disastrous for Prussia, Stein, who had been a severe critic of Prussian policy, was called by the king to serve with very broad powers and for a time became virtual dictator, but was forced to flee by Napoleon, who confiscated his lands. In 1812 Alexander I invited him to Petersburg, and after the French retreat, Stein urged the emperor to continue the war in Europe.

Stragranov, Count Pavel Alexandrovich (1774–1817): Russian general and statesman, one of the four members of the privy committee that advised Alexander I on liberal reform at the start of his reign. Commanded an infantry division during the war with Napoleon.

Sukhtelen, Pavel Pavlovich (1788–1833): Russian general. At the age of seventeen he took part in Deperodovich’s famous cavalry charge at Austerlitz, was gravely wounded and taken prisoner. He went on to fight against Napoleon in 1807, and in 1811 was sent on a diplomatic mission to London. Became adjutant general in 1828.

Suworov, Alexander Vassilievich (1729–1800): Known as “the general who never lost a battle,” gained the highest distinctions in service to Catherine the Great, was dismissed by Paul I, then called back to fight against the French revolutionary forces in northern Italy, where he won a string of brilliant victories. Betrayed by the Austrians in Switzerland, he was forced to retreat over the Alps, which ironically became his most famous deed, and for the success of which he was promoted to generalissimo. He was promised a military triumph in Petersburg, but on his return in 1800, the emperor cancelled it and refused to see him. Suworov died a few days later.

Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de (1754–1838): Bishop of Autun under the ancien régime, member of the Constituent Assembly (1791), became a constitutional bishop, then abandoned the Church altogether. Was minister of foreign relations under the Directoire, the Consulat, and the empire. Rallied to the Bourbons in 1814, and played a brilliant role at the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), where he was chief negotiator for France.

Tarutino: Scene of a battle on 6 October 1812 between Russian troops under Bennigsen and Miloradovich and Murat’s 20,000-man corps. The Russians attacked by surprise and took the camp, many prisoners, and thirty-eight guns, but Murat’s troops re-formed and returned fire, killing Bagouvet among others, and eventually managed to retreat.

Thiers, Adolphe (1797–1877): French historian and liberal politician, author of A History of the French Revolution (1823–27) and A History of the Consulate and the Empire (1845–62). Thomas Carlyle said of his historical accuracy: “He is a brisk man, who will tell you much if you know nothing”—an opinion Tolstoy shared. He served in various capacities during the various governments of the time.

Tilsit: Two treaties were signed at Tilsit in 1807, after Napoleon’s victory at Friedland, the
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first between Napoleon and Alexander I, on 7 July, on a raft in the middle of the Niemen; the second between Napoleon and Friedrich-Wilhelm III of Prussia, on 9 July, stripping Prussia of nearly half its territory.

Toll, Karl Fyodorovich von (1777–1842): Russian infantry general, fought in Switzerland under Suvorov, took part in the Austrian and Turkish campaigns (1805–1809), in 1810 became part of the emperor's suite. Served as quartermaster general in the 1812 war, and as quartermaster general of imperial headquarters in the European campaign.

Tolstoy, Count Pyotr Alexandrovich (1769–1844): Entered the army in 1785, took part in the Russo-Swedish war of 1789–90, and served under Suvorov in Poland from 1792 to 1795 and later in the Italian and Swiss campaigns. In 1797 he was made adjutant general to the emperor Paul I. Ambassador to France from October 1807 to October 1808, he was recalled to Russia because of his criticisms of Napoleon and the treaty of Tilsit.

Tormasov, Count Alexander Petrovich (1752–1819): A major general during the Russo-Turkish war of 1787–92, fought in Poland in 1794, in 1804–11 was commander in chief in Georgia and the Caucasus, and was made a member of the State Council in 1811. In 1812 he commanded the third Russian army, in 1814 was appointed military governor of Moscow, and in 1816 was made a count.

Toulon: Port city in southern France, occupied by English and Spanish forces in 1793, besieged for four months by the French revolutionary army. Napoleon, as captain of artillery, first made his name there by placing his guns in such a way as to force the Royal Navy ships to withdraw, after which the resistance collapsed and the city was taken.

Tuchkov, Alexander Alexeevich (1777–1812): Youngest of the three Tuchkov brothers who fought in the Napoleonic wars. In 1812 he was a general in command of a brigade of the third infantry under his brother Pavel. At Borodino, in defense of Bagration's flèches, he seized a standard, led the Reval regiment in a bayonet attack under French canister shot, and was killed.

Ulm: A town in Württemberg where, on 16 October 1805, Napoleon won a great tactical victory by surrounding the forces of the Austrian general Mack, who surrendered with 30,000 men.

Uvarov, Fyodor Petrovich (1773–1824): Cavalry general; became close to Alexander I and accompanied him on his walks. Fought at Austerlitz, where he commanded a horse-guard regiment and covered the Russian retreat. Went with the emperor to Tilsit and Erfurt. Commanded the first cavalry corps in 1812, distinguished himself at Borodino, supported Miloradovich during the French retreat, and fought in the European campaign.

Vandamme, Dominique-Joseph René (1770–1830): Became a brigadier general at twenty-three, serving in the Army of the North. Fought in the Austrian campaign, commanded a division under Marshal Soult, led the assault on the Pratzen heights at Austerlitz, and took the village of Augesd. Quarrels with Napoleon's brother Jérôme kept him out of the 1812 campaign, but he returned to service in 1813.

Villeneuve, Pierre-Charles de (1763–1806): Joined the French navy in 1778, served in the West Indies, then accompanied Napoleon's expedition to Egypt. A rear admiral in 1796, his ship escaped destruction in the Battle of the Nile against Admiral Nelson, but he was reprimanded for the defeat. In 1805 his fleet ran into Nelson's off Cape Trafalgar and was destroyed. Villeneuve committed suicide shortly afterwards.

Volkonsky, Prince Pyotr Mikhailovich (1776–1852): Participated in the plot to remove Paul I; became a close adviser to Alexander I. Was adjutant general in 1805, first in Buxhöwden's army, then in Kutuzov's, and fought at Austerlitz. Joined the emperor's suite in 1812, became army chief of staff, and from 1813 to 1823 was chief of the general staff with the rank of field marshal.

Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet, known as (1694–1778): French poet, dramatist, and philosopher. His Lettres philosophiques (1734), of a rationalist and antimetaphysical tendency, placed him in the forefront of the philosophical movement of his time, as did his "philosophical tales," the most famous of which is Candide (1759), his Dictionnaire philosophique (1764), and his contributions to the Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert.

Vyazma: Name of both a river and a town which was the scene of a battle on 3 November 1812, during the French retreat, in which the French rear guard was defeated by Miloradovich, who
failed to destroy Davout's first corps, but initiated the disorder from which the French never recovered.

Vyzhminov, Sergei Kuzmich (1744–1819): Fought in the first two Russo-Turkish wars, in 1796 became governor of Little Russia, in 1797 commander of the Peter and Paul fortress in Petersburg, but in 1799 was dismissed by Paul I. In 1801 he was reappointed governor of Little Russia, and in 1802 became the first Russian minister of defense. Was left in command of Petersburg when Alexander went to the front in 1805, and during the emperor's later absences. In 1811 he became a member of the State Council.


Wimpfen, Baron Maximilian von (1770–1854): Austrian general, took part in the Italian campaign against the French and fought at Arcole; in 1805 fought at Austerlitz under Liechtenstein. In 1813, when Austria joined the anti-French forces, fought at Leipzig and was made field marshal.

Wintzingerode, Ferdinand Ferdinandovich (1770–1818): Born in Saxony, entered the Austrian army in 1790, joined Suvorov in the Italian campaign of 1796, and was made adjutant to the grand duke Konstantin. In 1802 he became major general and adjutant to Alexander I. Took part in the Austrian campaign, and in 1809 rejoined the Austrian army. In 1812 he returned to the Russian army and later fought in the European campaign.

Witgenstein, Prince Pyotr Kristianovich (1769–1843): Russian general of Prussian origin, fought at Austerlitz in 1805, at Friedland in 1807, and at the beginning of the war of 1812 was sent by Barclay de Tolly to command a mobile corps protecting the road to Petersburg. Later took part in the European campaign, and distinguished himself at the battle of Leipzig.

Wolzogen, Ludwig (1774–1845): Prussian general and military theoretician, entered Russian service in 1807 and was attached to general headquarters. He and Pfuel made up the plan for the 1812 campaign. Later accused of treason by the Russian military.


Zubov, Prince Platon Alexandrovich (1767–1822): The last of Catherine the Great's lovers, he became enormously wealthy through her gifts, but was of a capricious and unstable nature. Ended his days in total seclusion on one of his many estates.
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V-VI. Pierre goes to supper at Prince Andrei’s and then to Anatole Kuragin’s. The bet with Dolokhov.

VII-XI. Moscow. A name-day party at the Rostovs’. Anna Mikhailovna Durbetskoy and her son Boris, Natasha and Boris, Nikolai and Sonya.

XII-XIII. Anna Mikhailovna and Boris go to see the gravely ill Count Kirill Bezukhov. Prince Vassily and Pierre are there.

XIV. The countess Rostov and Anna Mikhailovna.

XV-XVII. Celebrations at the Rostovs’. Marya Dmitrievna Akhrosimov. The young Rostovs. The “Spring” and the “Daniel Cooper.”

XVIII-XXI. Prince Vassily and Cattiche at Count Bezukhov’s. Anna Mikhailovna and Pierre arrive. The dispute over the inlaid portfolio.

XXII. At Bald Hills. The old prince. Marya and Julie exchange letters.

XXIII-XXIV. Prince Andrei brings the pregnant little princess to Bald Hills. The old prince’s discourse on “Buonaparte.”

XXV. Prince Andrei leaves for the army. Princess Marya gives him an icon. He parts from the little princess.

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I-II. Kutuzov reviews the troops at Braunau.

III. Prince Andrei in Kutuzov’s headquarters. The unfortunate General Mack.

IV-V. Nikolai Rostov with Denisov. Telyanin and the stolen purse. Discussion and disapproval among the officers.

VI-VIII. Kutuzov falls back towards Vienna as the French advance. Crossing the Enns. Nikolai sees action for the first time.

IX-XII. Kutuzov sends Prince Andrei to the Austrian court in Brünn. Conversation with Bilibin. Morning with Bilibin, Ippolit Kuragin, and other diplomats. Prince Andrei is received by the emperor Franz. Bilibin’s story of the bridge at Tabor.

XIII-XIV. Prince Andrei reports to Kutuzov. Bagration sent to Hollabrunn. Murat criticized by Napoleon.

XV-XVI. Prince Andrei reports to Bagration. Captain Tushin. Prince Andrei surveys the battlefield at Schöngraben. The action begins.

XVII-XX. The battle of Schöngraben. Nikolai is hurt. Persistence of Tushin’s battery. Prince Andrei orders him to retreat.
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XXI. The Russian forces withdraw. Tushin summoned before Bagration. Prince Andrei defends him.

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III–V. Prince Vassily and Anatole visit the old prince Bolkonsky at Bald Hills. The courting of Princess Marya. Anatole and Mlle Bourienne in the conservatory.
VI. The Rostovs receive a letter from Nikolai.
VII. Nikolai in Kutuzov’s camp at Olmütz. Visits Boris and Berg. Run-in with Prince Andrei.
VIII. Review of the Russian army by the emperors Alexander and Franz. Nikolai’s enthusiasm.
IX. Boris visits Prince Andrei in Olmütz. They meet with Prince Dolgorukov.
X. Nikolai out of the action at Wischau. He sees the emperor Alexander again.
XI. The buildup to battle. Dolgorukov’s views. Kutuzov’s displeasure.
XIII. Rostov on the picket line with Bagration’s army. Drowsy thoughts. Bagration and Dolgorukov disagree. Napoleon’s orders to his army.

VOLUME II

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I. Nikolai brings Denisov home to Moscow on leave.
II. Count Ilya Andreevich arranges a banquet for Bagration at the English Club.
III. The festivities begin. Bagration arrives.
IV. Pierre challenges Dolokhov to a duel.
V. The duel.
VI. Pierre’s ruminations. He breaks with Hélène and leaves for Petersburg.
VII. At Bald Hills two months after Austerlitz. Prince Andrei presumed dead.
VIII–IX. The little princess goes into labor. Prince Andrei arrives. Lise dies giving birth to a son. Lise is buried and Prince Nikolai Andreevich is baptized.
X–XII. Dolokhov recovers in Moscow. The Rostovs come from the country for the winter season. Denisov and Dolokhov frequent the house. Courtships at Christmastime. The young people’s ball at Jogel’s.
XIII–XIV. Card playing at Dolokhov’s. Nikolai loses heavily.

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I–II. Pierre meets the Mason Bazdevy.
V. Pierre throws Prince Vassily out.
VI–VII. Soirée at Anna Pavlovna’s after Prussian defeats at Jena and Auerstädt. Hélène befriends Boris Druberskoy.
VIII–IX. Prince Andrei at Bald Hills. The baby’s illness. Letters from the old prince and Bilbin.
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X. Pierre goes to Kiev province to visit his estates. Philanthropic intentions towards his serfs.
XI-XII. On his way back, Pierre visits Prince Andrei at his estate of Bogucharovo. Long conversation about good and evil. Continued on the ferry.
The old prince returns.
XV. Nikolai Rostov rejoins his regiment. Hunger and sickness.
XVI. Denisov seizes a supply transport. Threatened with court-martial. Wounded by French sniper.
XVII-XVIII. Truce after the battle of Friedland. Nikolai visits Denisov in hospital. Captain Tushin, Discussion of Denisov’s fate.
XIX-XXI. Nikolai goes to Tilsit to intercede for Denisov. Meeting of the two emperors. Nikolai’s reaction.

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IV-VI. Prince Andrei in Petersburg. Speransky and Arakcheev.
VII. Pierre and the Masons in Petersburg. His speech.
IX. Hélène’s salon in Petersburg. Her relations with Boris.
X. More from Pierre’s diary.
XI. The Rostovs go to Petersburg. Berg proposes to Vera.
XII-XIII. Natasha is sixteen. Meets Boris. Talks at night with her mother.
XIV-XVII. Natasha’s first grand ball on New Year’s Eve. Arrival of the emperor and empress. Pierre introduces Prince Andrei to Natasha.
XVIII. Prince Andrei at Speransky’s the next day. Disillusionment.
XIX. Prince Andrei calls on the Rostovs. Natasha’s singing and its effect on him.
XX-XXI. An evening with the Bergs. Prince Andrei and Natasha meet there.
XXII. Prince Andrei and Natasha in love. Natasha confides in her mother, Prince Andrei in Pierre.
XXIII. Before proposing, Prince Andrei goes to Bald Hills to ask his father’s consent. The old prince’s stern conditions. Prince Andrei returns and proposes.
XXIV. Prince Andrei and Natasha after the engagement. Prince Andrei leaves for abroad.
XXV-XXVI. The old prince at Bald Hills. Princess Marya’s trials.

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I. Reflections on idleness. Nikolai goes to Otradnoe on leave.
II. Nikolai confronts the steward Mitenka.
III. Preparations for the hunt. Natasha and Petya insist on joining in.
IV-VI. The hunt.
VII. Evening at uncle’s. Balalaika. Natasha dances.
VIII. The old countess and Nikolai. He refuses to marry for money. Nikolai and Sonya.
IX-XII. Christmastime at Otradnoe. The mummers. The night ride to Melyukovka. Fortune-telling.
XIII. The old countess opposes Nikolai’s marriage to Sonya. He goes back to his regiment. Natasha impatiently waits for Prince Andrei. She and Sonya return to Moscow with the old count.
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II. Old Prince Bolkonsky moves to Moscow with Marya and Nikolushka. Harsh treatment of Marya. The old prince and Mlle Bourienne.

III–IV. Scandal with Dr. Métévier. The prince's name-day dinner. Political talk. Pierre and Marya discuss Boris and Julie Karagin.

V. Boris proposes to Julie.

VI. Count Rostov, Natasha, and Sonya come to Moscow and stay with Marya Dmitrievna.

VII. The count and Natasha call on Prince Bolkonsky.


XI. Anatole and Dolokhov discuss Natasha.

XII. Hélène calls on Natasha in Marya Dmitrievna's absence and invites her to a soirée.

XIII. Hélène's soirée. Anatole and Natasha. Natasha's sleepless night.

XIV. The Rostovs plan to go back to Otradnoe. Natasha receives two letters.

XV. Sonya reads the letter from Anatole. She confronts Natasha. Natasha breaks her engagement to Prince Andrei. She meets Anatole at the Kuragins'. Sonya resolves to prevent the elopement.

XVI. Anatole at Dolokhov's. Preparations for the elopement.

XVII. Anatole and Dolokhov set off. Met by Marya Dmitrievna's enormous footman.

XVIII. Marya Dmitrievna scolds Natasha.

XIX. Pierre tells Natasha the truth about Anatole.

XX. Pierre finds Anatole. Anatole leaves Moscow.

XXI. Natasha's despair. Rumors. Prince Andrei comes to Moscow and learns everything. Meets Pierre coldly and asks him to return Natasha's letters and portrait to her.


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I. Thoughts about the causes of historical events.

II. Napoleon crosses the Niemen and invades Russia.


IV–VII. Balashev's meetings with Murat, Davout, and Napoleon.

VIII. Prince Andrei hunts for Anatole Kuragin. On Kutuzov's staff in Moldavia. Sent as envoy to Barclay de Tolly. Visits Bald Hills. Quarrels with father.

IX–XI. Prince Andrei at Russian general headquarters on the Drissa. The eight parties. He meets Pfiel. Attends an informal council of war in the emperor's presence. Asks the emperor's permission to serve in active army.

XII–XIII. Nikolai with the regiment. Writes to family and to Sonya. Nikolai and Ilyin in the rain. The tavern and Marya Genrikhovna.

XIV–XV. In action at Ostrovna. Nikolai leads a charge, takes a prisoner. Praised by his commander. His feeling of shame.

XVI. Natasha in Moscow. Physical and moral illness. The Rostovs stay for the summer.

XVII. Natasha and Pierre. She prepares for communion. The Peter and Paul feast.

XVIII. Natasha and her mother at a prayer service for the salvation of Russia.

XIX. Pierre interprets the Apocalypse.
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XX. Pierre brings the Rostovs the emperor’s manifesto. Petya wants to enlist but the old count says no. Pierre decides to stop visiting the Rostovs.
XXI. Petya tries to meet the emperor. The crowd in the Kremlin. The old count gives in.

Part Two

I. Thoughts on the events of 1812 and on human freedom.
III. The old prince sends Alpatych to Smolensk. Finally reads Prince Andrei’s letter and understands the danger. Recollections.
IV. Alpatych in Smolensk. French bombardment. Alpatych meets Prince Andrei, who sends him back to Bald Hills with a note urging his father to leave at once.
VI. In Petersburg. Shifting opinions of Kutuzov in Anna Pavlovna’s circle. Kutuzov named commander in chief.
VII. The French advance on Moscow. Nikolai’s orderly Lavrushka taken prisoner. Napoleon’s talk with him, plus quotations from Thiers. Lavrushka freed.
VIII. Prior events at Bald Hills. The old prince refuses to leave. He has a stroke. They go to Bogucharovo. Reconciliations. Death of the old prince.
IX–XII. The French advance continues. Preparations to leave Bogucharovo. Troubles with the peasants. Princess Marya unable to leave. She remembers her father’s last words.
XIII–XIV. Nikolai, Ilyin, and Lavrushka happen onto Bogucharovo. Nikolai learns of the situation and meets Princess Marya. He deals firmly with the peasants. Princess Marya can leave. Sympathy between her and Nikolai.
XVII. Moscow as the French approach. Rastopchin’s posters. Julie’s farewell soirée.
XVIII. Pierre undecided. Witnesses a public flogging. Resolves to leave for the army in Mozhaisk. Learns of the battle of Shevardino on 24 August.
XIX. Thoughts on the battles of Shevardino and Borodino. Errors of the historians. Corrected map of the battlefield.
XX. Pierre leaves Mozhaisk for Borodino. Meets a convoy of wounded.
XXI. Pierre arrives in Gorki. He surveys the battlefield. The icon of the Smolensk Mother of God is brought. Prayer service. Kutuzov is there.
XXIII. The Russian disposition from Gorki to the extreme left flank.
XXVI. Napoleon on the eve of battle. “The king of Rome.” Napoleon’s proclamation to his troops.
XXVII. Napoleon’s disposition of his troops.
XXVIII. The unanswerable causes for the conduct and outcome of the battle.
XXIX. Napoleon drinks punch and talks with Rapp. He has a cold. At 5:30 a.m. the battle begins.
XXX. Pierre observes the battle from Gorki. He rides to the bridge over the Kolocha.
XXXI–XXXII. Pierre rides to the Raevsky redoubt. Among the artilleryists. Around him the redoubt is taken and retaken.
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XXXIII–XXXIV. Napoleon during the battle. His generals ask for reinforcements. He reflects on the difference between this battle and all his previous ones.


XXXVI. Prince Andrei’s regiment in reserve behind Semjonovskoe. Steady losses under artillery fire. Prince Andrei is wounded and taken to a dressing station.

XXXVII. Next to Prince Andrei a man has his leg amputated. Prince Andrei recognizes Anatoile Kuragin. Pity and love.

XXXVIII. Napoleon looks at the bloody battlefield. A moment of insight. His later accounts of the battle.

XXXIX. Further reflections on the battle. Moral victory of the Russians.

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I. Achilles and the tortoise. The search for the laws of historical movement.

II. General reflections on the Russian retreat after Borodino and the role of the commander in chief.

III. Kutuzov and his generals on Poklonnaya Hill. Kutuzov’s inner debate.

IV. The council of war in a peasant’s cottage in Fili, viewed by the peasant’s little daughter. Kutuzov’s decision.

V. Thoughts on the abandoning and burning of Moscow. Rastopchin’s role.

VI–VII. Hélène in Petersburg. Two suitors. Her conversion to Catholicism. The question of remarriage. Bilibin’s views. She writes to Pierre.

VIII. Pierre after Borodino. Return to Mozhaisk with foot soldiers.

IX. Pierre’s recollections and dreams at night in Mozhaisk. Return to Moscow.


XII. The Rostovs in Moscow as the French approach. Late preparations for departure.

XIII. A convoy of wounded arrives. Natasha invites them to stay in their house.

XIV. The Rostovs packing. Another wounded man. He turns out to be Prince Andrei.

XV–XVII. Moscow’s last day. The wounded ask to leave in some of the Rostovs’ carts. A visit from Berg. Family conflict. Natasha insists that they unpack and give the carts to the wounded. Sonya discovers that Prince Andrei is in their train. They meet Pierre on their way out of Moscow.

XVIII. Pierre’s recent days in Bazdeev’s house. The mad Makar Alexeevich and the servant Gerasim. Pierre goes to buy a pistol.

XIX. The Russian troops leave Moscow. Napoleon on Poklonnaya Hill. Le ridicule.

XX. Moscow as an abandoned beehive.

XXI. Shops looted by departing Russian troops.

XXII. Mavra Kuzminishna helps a Rostov relative.

XXIII. Street scenes before the French arrive.

XXIV. Count Rastopchin in abandoned Moscow.

XXV. Count Rastopchin seeks a victim. He speaks to the mob. The killing of Vereshchagin.

Rastopchin flees Moscow. His meeting with Kutuzov.

XXVI. The French enter Moscow. Moral collapse. Reflections on the burning of Moscow.

XXVII. Pierre at Bazdeev’s. His plan to assassinate Napoleon. Indecision. Makar Alexeevich gets hold of the pistol. French officers come in.

XXVIII. Pierre saves the French captain’s life. The captain befriends him.

XXIX. Pierre and Captain Ramballe talk over dinner. Pierre loses his resolve to kill Napoleon.

XXX. The glow of the first Moscow fires seen from Mytishchi, where the Rostovs have stopped.

XXXI. The Rostovs’ reactions to the burning of Moscow. Natasha has learned that Prince Andrei is with them. While the family sleeps, she goes to him.

XXXII. Prince Andrei’s inner state and thoughts in the days prior to seeing Natasha. Their meeting.

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I. Court interests in Petersburg. A soirée at Anna Pavlovna’s. Hélène’s illness. Prince Vassily reads the metropolitan’s letter to the emperor.
II. Kutuzov’s dispatch from Borodino is received. Festive mood in Petersburg, then suspense. Death of Hélène. News of the abandonment of Moscow. The emperor’s rescript to Kutuzov.
III. Michaud comes to the emperor from Kutuzov. Their conversation.
IV-VI. Differing views of historic events. Nikolai is sent to Voronezh to buy horses. Evening at the governor’s. He learns that Princess Marya is in Voronezh. Matchmaking. Nikolai and Princess Marya meet.
VIII. The circumstances behind Sonya’s letter. The question of Prince Andrei’s recovery. Sonya remembers fortune-telling at Otradnoe.
IX. Pierre under arrest. Interrogation.
XI. Pierre witnesses the execution of five prisoners.
XIV-XV. Princess Marya goes to the Rostovs in Yaroslavl. Her love for Nikolai. Princess Marya and Sonya. Natasha takes Princess Marya to Prince Andrei. He is cold and distant.
XVI. Prince Andrei’s thoughts about death before and after Princess Marya’s arrival. His “awakening from life.”

Part Two

I–II. Thoughts on the causes of historic events. Analysis of Russian movements after abandoning Moscow. Napoleon’s letter to Kutuzov. Kutuzov’s reply.
III. Problems of command in the Russian army. The emperor’s letter to Kutuzov. A Cossack happens upon Murat’s army near Tarutino.
IV-VII. Preparations for the battle of Tarutino. The ball at General Kikin’s. Kutuzov’s anger. Orlov-Denisov’s Cossacks surprise the French. The battle. Assessment of the results.
VIII-X. Commentary on Napoleon in Moscow. The emperor’s proclamations to the citizens. Looting and breakdown of discipline. Napoleon learns of the battle of Tarutino. Orders departure of the whole army.
XV. Kutuzov receives and refuses a second offer of peace from Napoleon. Praise of Dokhturov. He happens on the whole French army retreating down the Kaluga road. Word sent to headquarters.
XVI. The envoy finds Konovnitsyn. He reports to Kutuzov. Praise of Konovnitsyn.
XVII. Kutuzov’s thoughts during sleepless nights. He learns that the whole French army is in retreat. He praises God and weeps.
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I. Unusual character of the war of 1812. A national war.
II. Thoughts on partisan warfare.
III. Denisov and Dolokhov as partisan leaders.
IV. A messenger comes to Denisov. It is Petya Rostov. He stays with Denisov.
V. Denisov and Petya spy on a village where the French are camped. Tikhon Shcherbaty.
VI. Tikhon Shcherbaty’s story about capturing a Frenchman.
VII. Night in Denisov’s camp. Petya’s wish to take part in the raid. Sympathy with the captured French drummer boy.
VIII. Dolokhov arrives. His stern simplicity and Petya’s admiration.
IX. In French uniforms, Dolokhov and Petya visit the village and come back safely.
XI. The attack on the French. Petya ignores Dolokhov’s warning and is killed. The French taken and the Russian prisoners freed. Pierre is among them.
XII. Pierre’s recent days with the prisoners. Karataev’s illness. Pierre’s reaction.
XIII. Karataev’s story.
XIV. The convoy moves on, but Karataev stays behind. A shot. Karataev’s dog howls.
XV. Pierre’s thoughts and memories. The raid and liberation. Petya’s burial.
XVI-XVII. General remarks about the French retreat. Berthier’s report to Napoleon. The movements of the two armies during the final period of the war.
XVIII. Critique of French historical accounts of the retreat. Greatness and heroism reconsidered.
XIX. Critique of Russian historical accounts.

Part Four

I. Natasha and Princess Marya after Prince Andrei’s death. Natasha’s memories.
II. The Rostovs learn of Petya’s death. Natasha looks after her mother.
III. Friendship of Natasha and Princess Marya. They go to Moscow together.
IV. With the Russian army after Vyazma. Kutuzov’s consistency. Conflicts with his generals.
Three-day slaughter at Krasnoe.
V. Defense of Kutuzov.
VI. Kutuzov addresses his troops at Krasnoe.
VII-IX. Life in a Russian infantry camp at Krasnoe. Captain Ramballe and his orderly Morel are brought in. Morel teaches the Russians a French song.
X. The crossing of the Berezina. Dissatisfaction with Kutuzov at court. He goes to Vilno. Meeting with the emperor.
XI. Kutuzov gives a dinner and ball for the emperor. His opposition to continuing the war in Europe. He is replaced as commander in chief. His death foretold.
XII-XIII. Pierre falls ill in Orel. His joyful feeling of freedom and its effect on others. He returns to Moscow.
XIV. Rebirth of Moscow.
Summary

EPILOGUE

Part One

I-IV. Seven years later. General thoughts on the war of 1812 and its historical representations. Chance and genius. Reasons for the movements of peoples. The role of great men.


Part Two

I-XII. Reflections on history and historians, greatness and power, freedom and necessity.