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**TOLSTOYISM
AND TOLSTOYAN AGRICULTURAL COLONIES
IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA**

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ABSTRACT

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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

Topicality of the research's subject. This study focuses on one of the little-studied issues in historiography – the so-called “Tolstoyism”, which is considered by us in the broad sense as historically conditioned type of worldview groups of individuals – L.N. Tolstoy and his followers (Tolstoyans), and a practical implementation of this worldview – a phenomenon of Tolstoyan agricultural colonies in pre-revolutionary Russia. In its turn, the Tolstoyan colonies are collective or, at least, the individual settlements of Tolstoyans “on the land”, organized specifically in connection with the moral, rather than economic motives of the participants. Topicality of the topic can be presented in at least three aspects.

Social topicality is that Tolstoyism is a form of utopian consciousness, and Tolstoyan colonies are practical realization of it. We note only that any utopia turns into a search for a new social order, which have not exist before, because, as aptly observed by G. Florovsky, “need to get away from history and live in a godly Utopia” is the “hope of a new world”¹. Also the concept of Karl Mannheim, who considered utopia and ideology as the two poles of collective representations, is well-known. According Mannheim, transformation of utopias in ideology is a constant process, and they interact with each other and complement each other². In this sense, the study of utopias as a phenomenon, is inevitably accompanied by the development of the human civilization, claiming, perhaps, on the constant topicality.

The political topicality – experience of the world history of XX century, filled with bloody wars and revolutions, need to find alternative ways to resolve social and political conflicts. Pacifist ideology in general and in particular Tolstoyism offer a completely different approach to the problem of violence, which is firmly rooted in the practical life of humanity. However, pacifism does not mean to abandon the familiar protection of their social or national interests. Experience of Gandhi, M.L. King and so-called modern “new social” movements shows that non-violent resistance, once put in the foundation of Tolstoyan colonies’ life also able to be efficient and to solve specific social problems.

National-cultural relevance – D. Drake aptly wrote: “Inside every Russian lives a little Tolstoy. Of course, not in the sense of a literary gift or power of the person, but in his attitude toward life”³. Indeed, some of the Tolstoyan worldview’s features, perhaps, were not offset during the vicissitudes of national history of XX century and still are characteristics of our contemporary Russian society. Among them we can identify the idealization of the past, the faith in the country's special mission in the

¹ Florovskij G. Puti russkogo bogoslovija. Vil'njus, 1991. P. 409.

² Mangejm K. Ideologija i utopija. Utopicheskoe soznanie // Utopija i utopicheskoe myshlenie. Antologija zarubezhnoj literatury. M., 1991. Pp. 113-169.

³ Drake D. Light from Tolstoy on Russia [Electronic source] // International Journal of Ethics. 1920. Vol. 30. No. 2. P. 191. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2377262>

future, unpredictable mix of capitalist individualism with traditional collectivism, political indifference, and a kind of a mixed reaction to the market relations. The phenomenon of the Tolstoyan colonies can be interpreted as a civilized reaction to capitalism. Thus, the study of such a protest actualizes by the development of capitalist relations in our contemporary Russian society. It is impossible not to mention about a renaissance of Tolstoyism in 1990s, albeit in unexpected and paradoxical form of “Church of Leo Tolstoy”⁴, as well as the notable prevalence of Tolstoy's texts and ideas on the Russian Web.

Review of the topic's study. Here are the main works devoted to Tolstoyism and Tolstoyan colonies. Before the 1917 revolution Tolstoyism caused some interest to researchers, but the vast majority of the work was of a descriptive character. Among them is the monograph of E. Baranov “Tolstoyans”⁵, as well as – quite a detailed study by A.S. Prugavin “About Leo Tolstoy and Tolstoyan”⁶. In comparison with them particular value is the work of S.N. Krivenko “At a crossroads”⁷ devoted to intellectuals agricultural colonies, some of which were organized by Tolstoyans. Krivenko's credit is not only in the most productive gathering factual information, but in an undertaken attempt to interpret and explain the phenomenon he is studying.

The founders of the Marxist approach to Tolstoyism still in pre-Soviet period were V.I. Lenin and V.D. Bonch-Bruевич. Lenin didn't examine Tolstoyism directly, but put forward a number of abstracts of its social nature, as the ideology of the “penitents” nobles, reflecting the interests of the patriarchal peasantry. Classical Lenin's work is the article “Leo Tolstoy as the mirror of the Russian revolution”⁸. Bonch-Bruевич scrupulously studied sectarianism in general and in particular the Tolstoyan of 1890s until his death in 1955. Articles published by Bonch-Bruевич were based on extensive empirical material and greatly expanded and deepened laid by Lenin, the Marxist interpretation of Tolstoy. The most successful of his work is “Dissidence and sectarianism in Russia” and “False mirror of sectarianism”⁹. Against the Bonch- Bruевич' works about Tolstoyism studies of the first decade of Soviet power look pretty weakly. “Antireligiozniki” F. Putintsev¹⁰, E. Yaroslavsky¹¹, an anarchism researcher B.V. Gorev¹², often sacrificing the reliability of the facts and simplifying the Marxist approach to the Tolstoyan, focus on its criticism.

After 40-year break, during which Tolstoyism itself as a social phenomenon in the country has practically disappeared, the total change of orientation of Russian historiography has led to the awakening of the interest to the issue again. Flexible and

⁴ Skiba S.A. A. Sovremennoe tolstovstvo (Cerkov' L'va Tolstogo) // Vestnik MGU: Filosofija. M., 1995. №5. Pp. 65-73.

⁵ Baranov E. Tolstovecy. M., 1912. 96 Pp.

⁶ Prugavin A.S. O L've Tolstom i o tolstovcah. Oчерki, vospominanija, materialy. M., 2012. 323 Pp.

⁷ Krivenko S.N. Na rasput'i. Kul'turnye skity i kul'turnye odinochki. M., 1901. 339 Pp.

⁸ Lenin V.I. Lev Tolstoj, kak zerkalo russkoj revoljucii // Poln. sobr. soch. T. 17. M., 1968. Pp. 202-210.

⁹ Bonch-Bruевич V.D. Raskol i sektantstvo v Rossii // Izbrannye sochinenija, T. 1. M., 1959. Pp. 153-189; Bonch-Bruевич V.D. Krivoje zerkalo sektantstva // Izbrannye ateisticheskie proizvedenija. M., 1957. Pp. 281-300.

¹⁰ Putincev F. Politicheskaja rol' sektantstva. M., 1928. 123 Pp.

¹¹ Jaroslavskij E. O L.N. Tolstom i o “tolstovcah”. M., 1928. 28 Pp

¹² Gorev B.V. Anarhizm v Rossii (ot Bakunina do Mahno). M., 1930. 143 Pp.

efficient use of Marxist methodology by A.I. Klibanov allowed him to reveal more fully the ambiguity and complexity of social sectarianism. The most successful of his works concerning Tolstoyism is "People's social utopia, XIX c.", and "Religious sectarianism in the past and the present"¹³. Three articles of another researcher Z.V. Kalinicheva¹⁴ not only continued development of the Marxist approach to the issue, but also important as an attempt to return the problem to the Soviet historiography.

Since the late 1980s we can talk about the repeated reference of Russian historiography to the subject of Tolstoyism. S.N. Kanev in the book "Revolution and anarchism"¹⁵, though written in the hard "political" tone, pays considerable attention to the views of Tolstoy and Tolstoyan's activities. S.G. Petrov offered significant new vision of the social nature of the phenomenon, considering Tolstoyism connection with the urban middle strata¹⁶. The growth of interest to the topic continued in the post-Soviet historiography and observed until now. The most interesting research of Tolstoy's and his followers' worldview is "Christian Ethics of L.N. Tolstoy's" by E.D. Meleshko¹⁷. Since the late 1990s and early 2000s interest in the history of Tolstoy's colonies was renewed. However, due to the nature of the phenomenon and its historical sources base, researchers paid attention to the Soviet Tolstoyans communes, rather than pre-revolutionary colonies. Among these works was dissertation of T.V. Petukhova¹⁸, subsequently published as a monograph. It contains a number of valuable information and perfectly reflects the change occurred methodological approaches to the problem. It is impossible not to note the broad dissertation's research of I.A. Gordeeva (2000)¹⁹. It is devoted to the so-called "Communitarian movement" in the end of the XIX century, but not to Tolstoyan agricultural colonies before 1917. It is, nevertheless, contains a lot of useful information on the topic. A new angle of vision and decisive rejection of the standard methodological approaches constitute the innovation of this study.

During the 2000s and 2010s in the field of researchers' attention were only particular stories of Tolstoyan colonies. As examples can be mentioned the article by

¹³ Klibanov A.I. Narodnaja social'naja utopija, XIX v. M., 1978. 342 pp.; Klibanov A.I. Religioznoe sektantstvo v proshlom i nastojashhem. M., 1973. 255 Pp.

¹⁴ Kalinicheva Z.V. K analizu pricin kraha «zemledel'cheski-trudovyh» idealov tolstovstva // XXIX Gercenovskie chtenija. Nauchnyj ateizm, jetika, jestetika. L., 1976. Pp. 18-23; Kalinicheva Z.V. K voprosu o vzniknovenii tolstovstva // XXVII Gercenovskie chtenija. Nauchnyj ateizm, jetika, jestetika. L., 1974. Pp. 56-63; Kalinicheva Z.V. K voprosu o social'noj sushnosti idej tolstovstva // XXVIII Gercenovskie chtenija. Nauchnyj ateizm, jetika, jestetika. L., 1975. Pp. 51-58.

¹⁵ Kanev S. N. Revoljucija i anarhizm. Iz istorii bor'by revoljucionnyh demokratov i bol'shevikov protiv anarhizma (1840-1917 gg.). M., 1987. 328 Pp.

¹⁶ Petrov S. G. Tolstovstvo v pervye posleoktjabr'skie gody // Velikij Oktjabr' i krah neproletarskih partij Rossii. Kalinin, 1989. Pp. 145-150; Petrov S. G. Tolstovstvo i srednie sloi (k postanovke voprosa // Gorodskie srednie sloi v treh rossijskih revoljucijah. M., 1989. Pp. 171-178.

¹⁷ Meleshko E.D. Hristianskaja etika L.N. Tolstogo. M., 2006. 309 Pp.

¹⁸ Petuhova T.V. Kommuny i arteli tolstovcev v Sovetskoj Rossii (1917-1929 gg.). Ul'janovsk, 2008. 124 Pp.

¹⁹ Gordeeva I.A. Kommunitarnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v poslednej chetverti XIX v.: dis. ... kand. ist. nauk. M., 2000. 472 Pp.

O. Matvienko²⁰ on the Sochi Tolstoyan colony, I.A. Vorobyov's work of Tolstoyan colonies in England²¹.

In parallel with the Marxist approach religious thinkers laid an alternative interpretation of Tolstoyism and after the 1917 transferred it to the Russian emigration. In contrast to the universalism of the Marxist approach, its value lies in the emphasis on the civilization's origin of Tolstoyism associated with the peculiarities of Russian religiosity. Very interesting article was wrote by S.L. Frank²² in the festschrift "Vekhi" (1909). A similar point of view developed by N.A. Berdyaev in his famous article "Spirits of the Russian revolution"²³. Interesting work, called "Ways of Russian Theology", in the same ideological direction was made in the 1930s by G.V. Florovsky²⁴, considered Tolstoyism as an important part of Russian social thought. We should also mention an article of another emigrant G.P. Fedotov "Religious roots of populism"²⁵. Another monument of the emigrant thought was the book by dissident M. Popovski on Tolstoyans in Soviet Russia²⁶, primarily focused on them as innocent victims of the Bolshevik regime.

Using of foreign literature is situational, due to the fragmented framework is elaborated in its study of the topic. The exception is published in 2013 monograph by Charlotte Alston²⁷, attempted to summarize the experience of the "Tolstoyan movement" in several countries. Unfortunately, the Tolstoyan colonies, especially in Russia, the author pays almost no attention. Also very curious monograph is A. Fodor's book about relationships between Tolstoy and Chertkov²⁸, which, in addition to the central theme, covers a wide range of other issues. Among the articles of foreign authors should be noted K. Wenzler's study of Tolstoy's fascination with the ideas of Henry George²⁹, the work of A.E. Senn on the Tolstoyan P.I. Biryukov³⁰, the

²⁰ Matvienko O. K istorii tolstovskoj kommuny v Sochi (po materialam arhiva A. V. Lychagova) [Elektronnyj resurs] // Vestnik Sochinskogo otdelenija ROIA «Vremja i dokumenty». Vyp. 1. Rezhim dostupa: <http://edemkavkaza.ru/historycat/472-tolststory.html>

²¹ Vorob'ev I.A. Tolstovskie kolonii v Anglii vo vtoroj polovine 1890-h godov // Vestnik Baltijskogo federal'nogo universiteta im. I. Kanta. Kaliningrad, 2011. № 6. Pp. 141-146.

²² Frank S.L. Etika nigilizma (k karakteristike npravstvennogo mirovozzrenija ruskoj intelligencii) // Vehi. Iz glubiny. M., 1991. Pp. 167-199.

²³ Berdjaev N.A. Duhi ruskoj revoljucii // Vehi. Iz glubiny. M., 1991. Pp. 250-289.

²⁴ Florovskij G.V. Op.cit. 605 pp.

²⁵ Fedotov G.P. The Religious Sources of Russian Populism [Electronic source] // Russian Review. 1942. Vol. 1. No. 2. Pp. 27-39. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/125199>

²⁶ Popovskij M. Russkie muzhiki rasskazyvajut... Posledovateli L.N. Tolstogo v Sovetskom Sojuze, 1918-1977 [Elektronnyj resurs]. N'ju-Jork, 1981. Rezhim dostupa: http://www.krotov.info/libr_min/16_p/op/ovskiy_00.htm

²⁷ Alston Ch. Tolstoy And His Disciples: The History of a Radical International movement. L.:N.Y., 2014. 309 Pp.

²⁸ Fodor A. A Quest for a Non-violent Russia. The partnership of Leo Tolstoy and Vladimir Chertkov. Lanham: N.Y.: L., 1989. 217 Pp.

²⁹ Wenzler K.C. The Influence of Henry George's Philosophy on Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy: The period of Developing Economic Thought (1881-1897) [Electronic source] // Pennsylvania History. 1996. Vol. 63. No. 2. Pp. 232-252. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27773884>

³⁰ Senn A.E. P.I. Biryukov: a Tolstoyan in War, Revolution and Peace [Electronic resource] // Russian review. 1973. Vol. 32. No 3. Pp. 278-285. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/128249>

publication of D. Camfield on D.A. Khilkov and so-called “Pavlovsky case”³¹. Of special note is the curious work of the Bulgarian historians about Tolstoyism in their country³².

As can be seen from the review, the work on Tolstoyan agricultural colonies of pre-revolutionary Russia did not exist; even the Tolstoyism’s phenomenon itself has been studied usually situational and inconsistently. Several interesting studies devoted to the related either thematically or chronologically problems, but they are rare.

The object of the research is the Tolstoyism as a social phenomenon late XIX and early XX centuries. **The subject** of the research is Tolstoyan agricultural colonies, which in its unity considered as a Tolstoyans’ movement “on the land”. It, in turn, includes not only the event-driven side, but philosophical motifs of its participants.

The chronological framework. Lower chronological frame is 1881 – this year is generally regarded as the end of the “spiritual crisis” of Tolstoy himself when Tolstoyan ideology has acquired its final features; in the same year the first Tolstoyan colony appears. Upper chronological frame should be marked in November (new style) 1917 – adoption of the Decree on the land and the economic policy of the Bolsheviks led to a fundamental change in the social composition, goals, forms and methods of organization of Tolstoyan colonies, resulting that the movement “on the land” of the Soviet period was a completely different appearance and other internal content. Some subjects covered in the work may derogate from the time frame, but it allowed us in connection with the need to avoid fragmentation of research.

Territorial frames cover the regions of the Russian Empire, the territory of which were concentrated Tolstoyan colonies in the pre-revolutionary period. This is primarily Central Russia (Moscow, Smolensk, Tver, Kostroma, Nizhny Novgorod, Voronezh provinces), Northern, North-Eastern coast of the Black Sea and the Caucasus (Black Sea region, and later the Black Sea province, Kherson, Tiflis, Kutaisi Provinces, Terek, Don and Kuban regions), Eastern and Northern Ukraine (Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev and Chernigov provinces), Central Asia (Syr-Darya and Semirechenskaya regions). Separate colonies of Tolstoyans existed in other parts of Russia – for example, in Samara province or in the Amur region. Considering the significance of their history to the research and the need to present a complete picture of the Tolstoyan movement “on the land”, the experience of these colonies was also investigated.

The purpose of work is to study the causes and dynamics of Tolstoyan movement “on the land” in Russia 1881-1917.

This purpose is specified in the following research **objectives**:

³¹ Camfield G.P. The Pavlovtsy of Khar’kov Province, 1886-1905: Harmless Sectarians or Dangerous Rebels? [Electronic source] // The Slavonic and East European Review. 1990. Vol. 68. No. 4. Pp. 692-717. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4210447>

³² Терзиева М. Поглед върху толстоизма в България. Бургас, 2003. 196 Pp.

- to determine the approach that regards Tolstoyism as a form of populism; to study the phenomena of social life, which were origins of Tolstoyism: Russian narodnichestvo, alternative (new social) movements, sectarianism.

- to introduce the teaching of Tolstoy and explore its perception of followers; to analyze the ideals of “self-perfection” and "Christian unity", which formed an ideological base of Tolstoyan colonies; to consider the social composition of the movement “on the land” and the general tendencies of its development from 1881 to 1917.

- passing to the event-side of Tolstoyan movement “on the land” in pre-revolutionary period, to describe the history of collective settlements: communities and cooperatives; to analyze the causes of their instability.

- to reveal the development of alternative individual practices of Tolstoyan movement “on the land”, which included the neighboring settlements, farms and wandering practice.

Source base of the research. It seems logical to divide sources used in study into six large groups.

1. **Office work documents of state structures** have such undeniable advantages as the accuracy and detail of information provided about the life and work of Tolstoyan colonies and Tolstoyans generally. Although still occasionally found factual errors, it is the police surveillance has enabled us to re-create the event-frame of the Tolstoyan movement “on the land”, without which the study itself would hardly be possible. Within this group, the most informative observations were made by 3rd office of the Police Department (State Archive of Russian Federation, f. 102, 3 d.), and then inherited him the Special Department (SARF, f.102, o.o.); in significantly smaller volume of information about Tolstoyans contained in the 4th and 7th offices (SARF, f. 102, 4 and 7 d.). The individual characteristics of Tolstoyans and Tolstoyan colonies are in the fund of the Ministry of Justice (SARF, f. 124). Activities of Tolstoyans in the Nizhny Novgorod province has been studied by us individually with local funds of the Office of the Governor (Central Archive of Nizhny Novgorod Region, f. 2), Police Department (CANNR, f. 342), spiritual consistory (CANNR, f. 570).

2. **Agricultural colonies’ and societies’ materials** logically follow after the first group of sources; in addition to Tolstoyan colonies’ and societies’ documents of this group includes related materials of organizations allied Tolstoyans in spirit. Despite its enormous importance in informative and worldview relations this group of sources does not become large. On the one hand, this is due to the fragility of Tolstoyans projects themselves; on the other, Tolstoyan ideological rejection of any external forms of organization and regulation. Therefore, each of the units of this group is of particular value, which is reflected in the frequent citation of these documents and their partial reproduction in Appendix 4. Tolstoyan agricultural colonies’ and societies’ materials diligently collected during the life of V.G. and A.K. Chertkovy, part of the documentation preserved in their funds in the Department of

Manuscripts of the Russian State Library (DM RSL, f. 435) and the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RSALA, f. 552). Other sources can be found in the funds of Tolstoyans K.S. Shokhor-Trotsky (DM RSL, f. 345) and I.I. Gorbunov-Posadov (RSALA, f. 122), as well as researcher of sectarianism A.S. Prugavin (RSALA, f. 2167).

3. **The philosophical, theoretical, publicistic works and fiction** are excellent sources for the study of Tolstoy's philosophy, to establish numerous logical connections between the beliefs and the realities of Tolstoyans' life and, finally, to determine the movement of motives "on the land". Archival sources of this group have a significantly lower value – we can note only unpublished Tolstoyans' articles, dispersed in the funds K.S. Shokhor-Trotsky (DM RSL, f. 345), I.I. Gorbunov-Posadov (RSALA, f. 122), several unpublished journalistic work by V.F. Bulgakov (RSALA, f. 2226). On the other hand, the importance of the already published philosophical and publicistic works of L.N. Tolstoy and his followers cannot be overestimated. Naturally, the philosophical works of Tolstoy assigned to this group almost completely – the most systematic of them is well-known "The Way of Life"³³. Among the works of Tolstoyans may be mentioned brochure "Our conception of life"³⁴ published by N.G. Sutkovoy and P.P. Kartushin, a collection of pamphlets of V.G. Chertkov³⁵, the philosophical works of F.A. Strakhov³⁶. The same group includes the writings of authors ideologically close to Tolstoy and followers, for example, H. George treatises on the single tax³⁷.

4. **Periodical materials** are largely auxiliary character, although some of them provide a lot of valuable information. As in the case with the previous group, the archival materials of periodicals are of secondary importance – among them notable are the only collection of "World Unity" from the fund I.I. Gorbunov-Posadov³⁸. Value is published in the press information about the Tolstoyan colonies are much higher. The outstanding significance were the annual "Calendars for All" (from 1909 named "Calendar for Everyone") edited by A.S. Zonov³⁹ – within a few years they had department "Labor Colony". Essays on visits to agricultural colonies relatively regularly published by journalists in the press, but only a few of these stories are highly informative. Among these essays is to recognize N.M. Seleznyov's⁴⁰ about the community in Shevelevo and I. Vetrov's on Rzhevsk cooperative⁴¹.

³³ Tolstoj L.N. Put' zhizni 1910 g. // Poln. sobr. soch. T. 45. M., 1992. 501 Pp.

³⁴ Nashe zhizneponimanie. Voronezh, 1917. 16 Pp.

³⁵ Chertkov V.G. Nasha revoljucija: nasil'stvennoe vosstanie ili hristianskoe osvobozhdenie. M. 1907. 132 Pp.

³⁶ Strahov F. Po tu storonu politicheskikh interesov. M., 1907. 129 Pp.

³⁷ Dzhordzh G. Zemel'nyj vopros: ego sushhnost' i ego edinstvennoe reshenie. M., 1907. 112 Pp. ; Dzhordzh G. Progress i bednost'. Issledovanie prichiny promyshlennyh zastoev i bednosti, rastushhej vmeste s rostom bogatstva. Sredstvo izbavlenija. SPb., 1906. 395 Pp.

³⁸ RSALA. F. 122. Op. 1. Ed. hr. 2090.

³⁹ Kalendar' dlja vseh na 1907-1908 gg. M., 1907; Kalendar' dlja kazhdogo na 1909-1918 gg. M., 1908-1917.

⁴⁰ N.S. [Seleznev N.M.] Shaveevskaja kolonija // Smolenskij vestnik. Smolensk, 1891. №81, 85, 86, 92, 101.

⁴¹ Vetrov I. Tolstovstvo v zhizni // Vegetarianskoe obozrenie. Kiev, 1912. №6. Pp. 224-228.

5. **Memories, diaries, personal notes and writings** are the next group. Their value composed not in the details contained factual information, but as they provide opportunities to look at Tolstoyans' world with all its specific beliefs and life from the inside. Pretty extensive biographical information contained in the responses to the questionnaire and in the memories of refusing military service on religious ground collected by K.S. Shokhor-Trotsky (DM RSL, f. 345); Some memoirs and autobiographies of Tolstoyans preserved in the fund V.D. Bonch-Bruevich (DM RSL, f. 369); quite meaningful are collection of memories of Andrei and Anatoly Boutkevitch (DM RSL, f. 599). Among RSALA funds noteworthy is so-called "Tolstoy's assembly" (RSALA, f. 508), including a memories of V.I. Alekseev, M.V. Alekhin, E.I. Popov and others, as well as V.F. Bulgakov's fund, containing an essay about his journey in 1912 on the Black Sea coast⁴². Among the published sources of this group the most curious is necessary to recognize the memories of V.I. Skorohodov⁴³, the participant of the vast number of Tolstoyan colonies. In relation to the informative very valuable memories were written by V.V. Rakhmanov of Tolstoyism in 1880-1890s⁴⁴, A. Mikhailov's essay about a colony Lesken⁴⁵, F. Kazmanov's report of Tolstoyans near Pyatigorsk⁴⁶ and, of course, an extensive publication of D.P. Makovitsky about his life at Yasnaya Polyana in 1904-1910, equipped with informative notes⁴⁷. To study Tolstoyans' worldview essential were published diaries of I.F. Nazhivin⁴⁸ and first published in 2012, memories of V.F. Bulgakov⁴⁹.

6. **Letters** of Tolstoyans and their social environment have been separated by us in a special group, not only because of their number, but also due to their special role. In contrast to the memories and even diaries Tolstoyans' letters more vividly convey the momentary mood and the intimate thoughts of their authors, and this allows to set off and complete their more stable "normative" beliefs. This feature of the correspondence as a whole in the investigation of Tolstoyism becomes a perceptible advantage, considering also Tolstoyans' insistence to be always honest with their recipients. In addition, like any writing, the sources of this group provide a considerable amount of useful information. As part of the unpublished letters difficult to single out any particular group piece – without exception, all personal funds given above contain valuable correspondence. Particular attention was paid to the work with the letters of A.A. Medvedev (DM RSL, f. 435, 345; RSALF, f. 552), who collects

⁴² RSALA. F. 2226. Op. 1. Ed. hr. 162.

⁴³ Skorohodov V.I. Iz vospominanij starogo obshhinnika // Ezhemesjachnyj zhurnal literatury, nauki i obshhestvennoj zhizni. Pg., 1914. №2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8-9, 11, 12; 1915. №5; 1916. №7-8.

⁴⁴ Rahmanov V.V. L.N. Tolstoj i «tolstovstvo» v konce vos'midesjatyh i nachale devjanostyh godov // Minuvshee. SPb., 1908. №9. Pp. 3-33.

⁴⁵ Mihajlov A. V «tolstovskoj» kolonii. Po lichnym vospominanijam // Vestnik Evropy. SPb., 1908. №9, 10.

⁴⁶ Kazmanov F. Sredi «tolstovcev» // Baranov E., Kazmanov F. Tolstoj zhiv. M., 1911. Pp. 15-37.

⁴⁷ Jasnopoljanskije zapiski D.P. Makovickogo v 4-h Kn. // Literaturnoe nasledstvo, T. 90. M., 1979.

⁴⁸ Nazhivin I.F. Moja ispoved' // Sobr. soch. T. 5. M., 1912. Pp. 10-399; Nazhivin I.F. Krasnye maki: moj dnevnik // Sobr. soch. T. 6. M., 1912. Pp. 10-428.

⁴⁹ Bulgakov V.F. Kak prozhita zhizn': vospominanija poslednego sekretarja L.N. Tolstogo. M., 2012. 864 Pp.

information about the agricultural colonies. The tremendous importance have published letters of L.N. Tolstoy⁵⁰, accompanied in the full collection of his works by short but detailed notes that, despite appearing in these errors, were very helpful.

Research's Methodology. The base of our research is the synthesis of formational and civilizational approaches. On the one hand, if we interpret Tolstoyism outside the genesis of capitalist relations in Russian society, it inevitably turns out to be thrown out of the social context, inexplicable phenomenon in the historical vacuum. On the other hand – the form that anti-capitalist protest in Tolstoyism acquired can not be explained without the features of Russian society.

Contoured methodology is specified in the study **principles**. Principle of historicism applies in its entirety – seeking to avoid common mistakes, we tried to treat Tolstoyism in its dynamic, inextricably linked with the social reality of the phenomenon. This corresponds to the application of the principle of social analysis – the various socio-economic and political roots and contexts of Tolstoyism we tried to analyze in detail. It seems necessary to implement principle of truthfulness – against the wishes to present our work in a perfect form, we paid attention to those subjects that are “white spots” in the overall picture of research.

Among the **methods** of study, at least two are of decisive importance. There are comparative-historical and historico-genetic methods, the use of which manifested in comparison with the surrounding Tolstoyism social phenomena and in the analysis of multiple causality of “on the land” movement respectively. In addition, the method of cognitive reconstruction will summarize, organize and present as a logically coherent system all the eclectic seemingly complex of Tolstoy's ideas. Use common logical methods – synthesis and analysis of the most complete application found at the characteristic of Tolstoy's outlook; deduction and induction – at the correlation, both private and common experiences of individual colonies and Tolstoyan movement generally.

Scientific novelty of the research. The work proposed and justified the author's approach to the phenomenon of Tolstoyism; were analyzed the phenomena of social life that led to the genesis of Tolstoyism. As a result, Tolstoyism presented as the historical phenomenon. Worldview of Tolstoyans involved in the movement “on the land” analyzed in details and subsequently. Restored and consistently set out the fate of collective forms of Tolstoyan colonies (communes and cooperatives) in the pre-revolutionary period and for the first time the history of the individual colonies of Tolstoyans (neighboring settlements and farms) in the 1881-1917. All the collected factual material is generalized. Based on it in the first time the main trends in the development of Tolstoyan “on the land” movement in the pre-revolutionary period were researched.

Statements of the thesis to be defended:

⁵⁰ Tolstoj L.N. Pis'ma // Poln. sobr. soch. T. 62-82. M., 1992.

1. Tolstoyism is a form of populism in the broad sense, corresponding to its four main features: the presence of “the people” concept (especially the peasantry) as a socio-cultural strata, which should be strengthened and protected against the onslaught of market relations; the idea of a non-capitalist path of development through the improvement of traditional collectivism; advocating non-class way of social evolution; focus on the agrarian reforms.

2. The historical origins of Tolstoyism are a) Russian narodnichestvo, b) religious rationalistic sectarianism, c) alternative (new social) movement, among which a special role was played by the so-called “communitarian movement”. Each of these social phenomena had an impact on the genesis of Tolstoyism, which was manifested in the presence of its many similarities with them. However, most of these similarities acquired its own meaning and a new sound in Tolstoyism.

3. L.N. Tolstoy’s doctrine is characterized by a notable social context. Part of Tolstoyans, the so-called “activists”, were trying to bring to life Tolstoy’s social program and creating agricultural colonies. The central principle of their world was the so-called “self-perfection”, represents Tolstoyans as a process of moral development of each individual, as a result of which should be the social progress of mankind. This principle Tolstoyans defined the basic features of the life of Tolstoyan colonies: individualism, escapism, anarchism, non-resistance and non-violence, anticlericalism, extreme asceticism (“simplification”). The movement “on the land” was a reflection of Tolstoyan ideal of “Christian unity” – based on the idea of unity of all beings imperative to overcome all forms of social exclusion through personal rejection of those social phenomena that give rise to it. Depending on the extent and focus of “unity” Tolstoyan colonies took one of four forms: commune, cooperative, neighboring settlement (group of farms), farm. The full ideal of “unity” embodied in the practice of wandering.

4. Social status of the 409 of 485 Tolstoyans involved in the movement “on the land” and known to us by name was determined. Most of this group of 409 people were commoners/raznochintsy (173) and peasants (108). During the 1881-1917 the proportion of commoners gradually decreased, which could be caused by their involvement in the revolutionary struggle and the consolidation of the intelligentsia as a social stratum. The share of peasants in the Tolstoyan colonies since the beginning of the XX century in contrast increased, due to the enhanced breaking patriarchal structures under the influence of capitalist relations, and in particular the agrarian reform of P.A. Stolypin. Self-organization of the movement during the 1881-1917 gradually increases; a similar trend has the expansion of international communications of Tolstoyans. In 1910s Tolstoyans were set up children’s labor colonies “on the land”.

5. The period from 1881 to mid-1890s is a “community” stage of the movement. There were 10 agricultural Tolstoyan communes; they all collapsed in a period not exceeding 3 years. On the “communal-cooperative” stage (1895-1917)

were organized 6 communities and 7 cooperatives, few of them have existed for more than 5 years. The longest collective settlement of Tolstoyans existed for 8 years.

6. The collapse of communities and cooperatives took place mainly due to internal conflicts on the basis of non-compliance the practical life of the participants to the “high” Tolstoyan ideals. Also contributes to the inability, bordering on unwillingness of Tolstoyans engaged in agricultural labor; a significant role played also the rejection from the administration, the local population and the society in general.

7. During the pre-revolutionary period Tolstoyans organized 10 neighboring settlements (farm groups), most of them were created in the decade of 1895-1905. The settlement of this form, which combined individual farming with the presence of supporters’ team, were more stable – some crossed the line in 1917. The main reason for their break were not so much internal conflict, as acts of government pressure.

8. Tolstoyans often created and individual settlements – farms. In the analyzed period they found 22. Their term of existence is much superior to that of other types of colonies. In this regard, it can be argued that Tolstoyan farm was the most appropriate form for the transition to agricultural life for Tolstoyans. Wandering, as an individual form of “on the land” movement, were rare (8 cases), but their eccentricity of Tolstoyans-wanderers evoked keen interest even among the public.

Practical significance of the research. The results can be applied in the analysis of anti-capitalist ideologies, social and religious movements, as well as for the study of the specificity of the pacifist movements of the past and the present. Dissertation materials can be used in the creation of general researches on the history of utopian thought and social movements of Russia XIX – early XX centuries, and, moreover, in the educational process.

Approbation of the research. The main theses of the study presented by the author in 15 his publications, totaling 7.25 p.l., three of them were published in journals recommended by HAC RF. Results of the study are presented in the reports on the national and inter-regional conferences in Tula and Berdyansk Pedagogical universities, in Nizhny Novgorod and Voronezh State universities, Institute of World Literature of Russian Academy of Sciences, as well as in the regional conferences.

The structure of the dissertation corresponds to the problem-chronological order and complies with the aforesaid problems of the study. Total research logic implies a gradual transition from the general (social situation that spawned Tolstoyism) first to the private (Tolstoyism), and then to a particular (practice of Tolstoyan movement “on the land”). The thesis consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusions, list of sources and literature, the four applications.

MAIN CONTENT OF RESEARCH

In **the Introduction** disclosed the topicality of the theme, determined the subject, the object, the chronological framework, purpose and research tasks, the methodological basis of the work, analyzed the degree of knowledge of the topic and source base, is characterized its practical importance.

The first chapter, “**The essence and origins of Tolstoyism**” consists of four paragraphs.

The first paragraph, entitled “*Tolstoyism as a form of populism*”, devoted to the formulation and explanation of the approach to the Tolstoyism as a form of populism in the broad sense. Based on Tolstoyans’ publicity, memoirs and letters shown that Tolstoyism corresponds to four signs of populism described by researcher V.G. Khoros.

The second paragraph, “*Russian Narodnichestvo and Tolstoyism; the doctrine of the “bogochelechestvo”*” in the same way reveals the continuity of the populist ideals and Tolstoy in Russia. At the same time pay attention to their perceived differences, including on religion. It is shown that the so-called populist “subjective method” under the pressure of the post-reform social and political situation turns into Tolstoyism doctrine of self-improvement, anarchism and an active struggle with the state became political indifferentism and non-resistance. Analyzed the phenomenon of the so-called “bogochelechestvo sect” of A.K Malikov, which has become a kind of a precedent of forming among the narodniki worldview largely close to Tolstoyism.

The third paragraph, “*Alternative (new social) movements and communitarianism*” is dedicated to the identification of common features worldviews of Tolstoyans and supporters of alternative movements. In the spectrum of alternative ideologies paid attention to the so-called “communitarian movement” preceded in Russia of Tolstoyism and has on its genesis great influence. Based on the study of communitarianism of I.A. Gordeeva considered the nature and extent of that impact, in particular on the Tolstoyan adoption commune as a form of agricultural colonies. In this case on the basis of publicistic and epistolary material is noted that not the commune, but agricultural labor was the ideal for Tolstoyans leading.

The fourth paragraph “*Tolstoyism and Russian rationalistic sectarianism*” contains an analysis of the ideological similarities and differences between Tolstoyans and representatives of the Russian rationalistic sects (Doukhobors, Molokans, Stundists, “Syutaevtsi” and others.). Illustrate not only the continuity of certain principles (individualism, rationalism, pacifism, “non-resistance”, anarchist utopianism, the ideal of labor), but also their transformation in the framework of Tolstoyans’ teachings. For example, asceticism taken Tolstoyans ideologically and lacked a practical basis, which led to its radicalization and becoming a well-known, “simplification”. A similar metamorphosis also has the ideal of hand labor.

The second chapter “**Tolstoyism and movement “on the land”**” consists of four paragraphs.

In the first paragraph, “*Doctrine of L.N. Tolstoy and his followers’ perception of Tolstoyism*“ in the first place, presents the teachings of L.N. Tolstoy: first, it is presented as a static system of philosophy, and then considered in the process of genesis and in connection with the development of the Russian society of his time. This approach allows us to better understand the Tolstoyism’s interpretation by its followers. Interpretations of Tolstoyans divides to one of the two poles – the perception of Tolstoyism as religious and philosophical system distant from the reality or adopt it as a social teaching and practical guidance to change their daily lives. This difference is considered as the basis for a conditional division of all Tolstoyans respectively on “theoreticians” and “activists”; it is the second group took part in the movement “on the land”.

The second paragraph is titled “*The principle of self-improvement and labor ideal*” reveals the essence of the so-called “self-improvement”, the former central idea of Tolstoy's doctrine in general and its interpretation by Tolstoyans-“activists” in particular. Differences between self-improvement in Tolstoyan ideals of similar members of other non-Tolstoyan’s communities caused a number of features of Tolstoyan colonies, which are described and analyzed here. Among these attention is drawn to the individualistic and escapist nature of Tolstoy's colonies, extreme asceticism of participants and the special importance of the labor ideal.

The third paragraph, “*ideal of “unity” and forms of Tolstoyan agricultural colonies*” devoted to the study of another central principle of Tolstoyan philosophy, which is embodied in the practice of the movement “on the land”. The so-called “Christian unity” was opposed by Tolstoyans to the growing in today's society alienation people from one another. Genetically ideal of “unity” dates back to the ideal of fraternity-community, which was the characteristic of the first non-Tolstoyan communes and get in Tolstoyism Christian ethical pathos of unification of all humanity into one family. The ideal of "unity" can be considered both in the sense of brotherhood among the participants inside the colonies themselves, and in the sense of overcoming exclusion from the social environment in general. Depending on the extent and manner of expression of this ideal we following Tolstoyans can distinguish four basic forms of agricultural colonies. Practice of wandering most fully embodies Tolstoyan ideal of “unity” can also be considered as a form of movement “on the land”.

In the final fourth paragraph of the second chapter “*Tolstoyan Movement “on the land” in 1881-1917: the social structure and the general trends of development*” provides information about the total number of movement, distribution of Tolstoyans according social affiliation and origin; the dynamics of participation in the colonies of different social strata, its causes and factors. Through the process of self-organization movement from the beginning of the XX century and especially in the 1910s were gradually increasing the number of companies and individual activists, who took over certain functions of the consolidation movement “on the land”. A similar trend has

been the development of international relations of Tolstoyans. Marked trends continued its development during the Soviet period.

The third chapter of the study “**The movement Tolstoyans “on the land” in 1881-1917: collective settlements**” is dedicated to the factual side of the problem, and consists of three paragraphs.

The first paragraph, entitled “*Communes in 1880 and the first half of the 1890s*” contains a detailed account of the history of each of the 10 communes formed by Tolstoyans during this period. The first of these in 1886 was organized by the N.L. Ozmizdov near Sochi; the largest and most curious in terms of the research community began to A.V. Alekhin in Shevelevo Smolensk province, and M.A. Novoselov in Dugino Tver province. Generally we can notice the collapse of the early Tolstoyan communes – they broke up in the first three years of its existence.

The second paragraph, “*Cooperatives and the communes in 1890-1917*” includes information on the destiny of the 6 communes and 7 cooperatives that existed in this period. It is significant that in a kind of “community boom” of 1880 and the beginning of the 1890s followed by the disappointment of Tolstoyans in communal form. Only two colonies appeared in the decade of 1895-1905's, while the remaining 11 occurred during 1905-1917. Communes continue to disintegrate in a relatively short period of time, whereas the cooperative, i.e. more individualistic form of colonies, kept longer. One of them (the so-called “Taezhnaya” or “Amur”) existed at least 8 years. The most numerous was Rzhhevsk cooperative in Voronezh, established by I.A. Benevskii.

The third paragraph is devoted to the analysis of the causes of the collapse of communes, and is entitled, respectively, “*The collapse of the Tolstoyan communes: causes and significance*”. Among them should be recognized as a major internal conflicts between the participants, took place on the inconsistencies of the real behavior of community members with “high” the Tolstoyan-Christian ideals. In addition, an abstract, impractical ideal perception of the labor collective settlements participants was the result of indifferent attitude to the economic questions that will inevitably lead to settlement's economic collapse. Contribution was also made by negative attitude towards Tolstoyan from the government, the public and finally the local peasant population. However, the disintegration of communities in the eyes of many participants, as a rule, not discredited Tolstoyan principles as a whole, so part Tolstoyans continued to search for the “new forms of life”.

The fourth chapter of the study “**The movement Tolstoyans “on the land” in 1881-1917: individual practice**”, as the previous one, is dedicated to the presentation of empirical data, and also consists of three paragraphs.

The first paragraph of the third chapter, “*The neighboring settlement*” contains information about the Tolstoyans' practice other form of settlement, which represented several individual farms, located in close proximity to each other. Nine out of ten neighboring settlements were formed by Tolstoyans in the decade from the mid 1890s to mid-1900s, only a colony near the station Lyubotin Kharkov province

was created in 1911. These colonies differed from the communities and cooperatives with less stressful indoor climate and, as a consequence, existed longer. Three neighboring settlements crossed the line of 1917, and in one of them Tolstoyans lived up to the 1930s.

The second paragraph, "*Tolstoyan farms or "cultural loners"*" is a presentation of the history of Tolstoyans' individual attempts to begin a life "on the land". Tolstoyan farm, as a rule, was a settlement for a maximum of three like-minded people, often linked by family ties. The total number of Tolstoyan farms, the details of which are presented in the work, was 22, however, the isolation of "cultural individuals" and, as a consequence, the lack of information of them could be reasons that all colonies of that subgroup have not been identified. Within the period of 1881-1917 the facts of occurrence farms were distributed relatively evenly. For many of Tolstoyans farm was the final step to life "on the land" – some of them lived there until the end of their days. Our information allows concluding that it is this form of the colonies was to Tolstoyans optimal.

The third paragraph, "*Tolstoyans-wanderers*" is dedicated to the most colorful and eccentric form of realization of the ideal "Christian unity". Tolstoyans-wanderers whose lives are held mainly in the foot wayfaring between the colonies counted in units, among them well-known figure was S.M. Popov. Wanderer was "higher" ideal for Tolstoyans, embodying, on the one hand, Tolstoyan countercultural anarchism, individualism, and on the other hand, Christian principles. Therefore, life-minded wanderers for themselves Tolstoyans were rare inspiration and proof that their principles can still be carried out in its entirety.

The Conclusion summarizes the empirical evidence and formulate the main conclusions of the thesis, and also noted that the Tolstoyan movement "on the land" continued during the Soviet period of history, as identified during the research development's trends of Tolstoyism led it to a short, but "golden" age in 1918-1922. .

Appendix 1 "Colonies unknown and failed" is a small sketch and combines received during research information, on the one hand, those of Tolstoyans projects, which have not been implemented, on the other hand, of the colonies, the establishment of which has not been confirmed by reliable sources .

Appendix 2 "the list of participants colonies 1881-1917" contains a list in alphabetical order of surnames, names and patronymic names (if known) of the movement's participants with their social status. At the end of the list is a calculation of the total number of Tolstoyan colonies represented on different social categories.

Appendix 3 "Tolstoyan colonies and their participants" includes information on the exact location, time of existence and all the participants considered the colonies. This application does not duplicate the previous one, as the same persons are often involved in several colonies.

Appendix 4 "Materials of Tolstoyan colonies" are given texts (or fragments) of the most interesting documents on the history of the Tolstoyan movement "on the

land” with the indication of the code number of archive unit. Texts are given according to the rules of our contemporary spelling and punctuation.

**The main theses of the dissertation are stated
in the following publications of the author (a total volume of 7.25 p.l.)**

**Publications in journals included in the list of leading reviewed journals and
editions, recommended HAC:**

1. **Agarin E.V.** Tolstovskoe dvizhenie posle pervoj ruskoj revoljucii // Vestnik Nizhegorodskogo universiteta im. N.I. Lobachevskogo. – Nizhnij Novgorod, 2013. – №2 (1). – Pp. 202-210. (0,9 p.l.)

2. **Agarin E.V.** Kommunitarnoe dvizhenie v Rossii (1901-1917 gg.) // Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i juridicheskie nauki, kul'turologija i iskusstvovedenie. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. – Tambov, 2015. – №3 (53). – Pp. 13-21. (1,2 p.l.)

3. **Agarin E.V.** Iz istorii tolstovstva: pojavlenie posledovatelej L.N. Tolstogo v Nizhegorodskoj gubernii i ih sud'by // Vestnik Nizhegorodskogo universiteta im. N.I. Lobachevskogo. – Nizhnij Novgorod, 2015. – №2. – Pp. 9-17. (0,9 p.l.)

Other publications

4. **Agarin E.V.** Pedagogicheskij opyt tolstovskih kommun // Religii Rossii: problemy social'nogo sluzhenija: sbornik materialov konferencii. – M. – Nizhnij Novgorod, 2010. – Pp. 121-124. (0,15 p.l.)

5. **Agarin E.V.** K voprosu o prichinah “uhoda” L.N. Tolstogo // Materialy XVI studencheskoj regional'noj konferencii “Pirogovskie chtenija”. – Nizhnij Novgorod, 2010. – Pp. 128-131. (0,12 p.l.)

6. **Agarin E.V.** Obshhestvennaja dejatel'nost' tolstovcev na Ukraine v 1914-1922 gg. // Zbirnik tez naukovih dopovidej studentiv Berdjans'kogo derzhavnogo pedagogichnogo universitetu na Dnjah nauki 19 travnja 2011 roku. Berdjans'k, 2011. – T. 2: Gumanitarni nauki. – Pp. 11-12. (0,1 p.l.)

7. **Agarin E.V.** Fenomen intelligentskoj kommuny v Rossii konca XIX v. // Nash “Anabasis”. Sbornik statej studentov, magistrantov i aspirantov. Nizhnij Novgorod, 2011. – Vypusk 8-9. – Pp. 58-62. (0,23 p.l.)

8. **Agarin E.V.** A.K. Malikov i L.N. Tolstoj: vzaimootnoshenija, preemstvennost' koncepcij // L.N. Tolstoj v dvizhenii jepoh. Materialy mezhdunarodnogo Tolstovskogo foruma, posvjashhennogo 100-letiju so dnja smerti L.N. Tolstogo. – Tula-M., 2011. – Ch. 1. – Pp. 81-90. (0,5 p.l.)

9. **Agarin E.V.** Tolstovskaja zemledel'cheskaja kolonija na hutore "Rzhevsk" Voronezhskoj gubernii v 1911-1917 gg. // “Voronezhskij tekst” ruskoj kul'tury: sbornik statej. – Voronezh, 2011. – Pp. 106-111. (0,3 p.l.)

10. **Agarin E.V.** Antivoennye vystuplenija v zhurnalah tolstovcev v 1914-1918 gg. // Russkaja publicistika i periodika jepohi Pervoj mirovoj vojny. – M.: Institut mirovoj literatury RAN, 2013. – Pp. 504-513. (0,5 p.l.)

11. **Agarin E.V.** Predstavlenija o svobode cheloveka v mirovozzrenii L.N. Tolstogo i ego posledovatelej // 18 Nizhegorodskaja sessija molodyh uchenyh: gumanitarnye nauki. – Nizhniy Novgorod, 2013. – Pp. 191-193. (0,25 p.l.)

12. **Agarin E.V.** Tolstovstvo kak al'ternativnyj kommunizm (postanovka voprosa) // Perspektivy mirovogo socialisticheskogo dvizhenija v XXI veke: materialy mezhdunarodnoj nauchnoj konferencii. – Nizhniy Novgorod, 2014. – Pp. 176-180. (0,25 p.l.)

13. **Agarin E.V.** L.N. Tolstoj i tolstovstvo v kritike posledovatelej // Sumskij istoriko-arhivnij zhurnal. – Sumy, 2014. – Vyp. XXIII – Pp. 18-29. (0,95 p.l.)

14. **Agarin E.V.** Iz istorii nesostojavshegosja dialoga: pis'ma tolstovcev k predstaviteljam carskoj vlasti [tezisy] // 19 Nizhegorodskaja sessija molodyh uchenyh: gumanitarnye nauki. – Knjaginino, 2014. – Pp. 195. (0,1 p.l.)

15. **Agarin E.V.** Tolstovcy v Nizhegorodskoj gubernii // Nizhegorodskij kraeved: sbornik nauchnyh statej. Vyp. 1. – Nizhniy Novgorod, 2015. – Pp. 42-58. (0,8 p.l.)