The Sibling Bond: A Model for Romance and Motherhood in *War and Peace*

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Sibling vs. Oedipal Model

ntil recent years, one of the most formative relationships in personality development went overlooked—the sibling relationship.1 Up until the 1980s, the psychoanalytic theory of personality development focused almost exclusively on the role of parents.2 In his analysis of human development, Freud wrote at great length about the lasting effects of the relationships a person has with his/her mother and father upon personality, but made almost no mention of siblings. Freud saw siblings as rivals, and the few mentions of siblings in his theories focused almost exclusively on negative, rivalrous aspects of the sibling bond.3 Followers of Freud accepted the minimal role he gave to siblings and continued to examine Oedipal issues.4 In recent years, however, psychological theorists have broadened their focus on traditional Freudian and post-Freudian analyses of parent/child relationships to include the analysis of sibling relations.⁵ Despite this increased recognition of the formative impact that sibling bonds can have on human behavior and personality development, literary analysis has not kept up with this shift. Oedipal themes have been extensively explored in Western literature in general and Russian literature in particular, yet siblinghood continues to be overlooked.6

Although *War and Peace* is too complex a work to be said to have only one thematic focus, in many senses it is a family novel, tracing the development of three main families—the Rostovs, Bolkonskys, and Kuragins—during the historic years surrounding the 1812 war with Napoleon. Each of these families is structured around a brother–sister pair, and these sibling bonds hold the key to understanding Tolstoy's

views on romantic relationships and motherhood.⁷ Psychological findings suggest that people who have a close, nurturing relationship with an opposite sex sibling may be led to choose a similar romantic partner,⁸ and I will show that in *War and Peace* sibling bonds become a model for the romantic relationships Tolstoy creates. Close examination of the text reveals that not only do the romantic relationships look like the sibling ones Tolstoy created, but also that Tolstoy's sibling relationships read at times like asexual marriages. His characters use their sibling bonds as a model for intimacy, and because they base their romantic relationships on this model in which sexuality is forbidden,⁹ they have difficulty creating completely fulfilled romantic unions.

The model of the sibling bond not only shapes how characters create romantic unions, but also helps Tolstoy's female characters lay the groundwork to form their own families after marriage. Tolstoy viewed the ideal sibling bond as one based on mutual caring and thus as inherently unselfish. The characters in War and Peace who create romantic relationships that model these caring, giving, family-oriented, sibling ones are successful in founding new families. Sisterhood (which I am defining for the purpose of this paper as 'being a sister') becomes the path to motherhood, Tolstoy's ideal role for women. The women who have not formed this type of attachment with their siblings, however, lack the model for caring and enter marriages based on sexual and/or material gratification alone. These women are defined by selfishness and an inability to care for others. They actively avoid motherhood, and, as a result, their marriages remain literally sterile.

I would argue that Tolstoy's own experience in his childhood family played an important role in shaping his views on the sibling bond. Although the topic of Tolstoy's biography is far too vast and complex to be adequately examined here, it is worth noting that with the death of both his parents when Tolstoy was still only a child, Tolstoy's connections to his siblings became among the most important relationships of his life and helped shape his views on family and human connection. Tolstoy's early family constellation was unusual not only because it was centered around sibling relationships rather than those between parents and children, but also because it was completely devoid of adult models of sexual relationships. Tolstoy's mother died before he had any memory of her.10 His father never remarried, and Tolstoy's replacement mother-figure, "Aunt Toinette," remained single her whole life. Tolstoy had no model of a mother sexually connected with a father and, instead, was left to form his own idealized fantasies about what a mother would be like-fantasies that tended toward the pure and holy. In 1906, only a few years before his death, he wrote:

... I walk in the garden and I think of my mother, of Maman; I do not remember her, but she has always been an ideal of saintliness for me...Felt dull and sad all day. Towards evening the mood changed into a desire for caresses, for tenderness. I wanted, as when I was a child, to nestle against some tender and compassionate being and weep with love and be consoled...become a tiny boy, close to my mother, the way I imagine her. Yes, yes, my Maman, whom I was never able to call that because I did not know how to talk when she died. She is my highest image of love—not cold, divine love, but warm, earthly love, maternal...Maman, hold me, baby me!

Tolstoy spent his life searching for the ideal motherly love he imagined, but this search created a serious dilemma for him. If he found a woman good enough to fill the place of his mother's memory, the addition of sexuality was degrading because it destroyed the purity that he sought in the woman. Freud's theories would suggest that because Tolstoy was seeking motherly love, the addition of a sexual dimension to a relationship to a woman was tantamount to incest in

Tolstoy's mind.¹² Because women brought out Tolstoy's sexual desire and because that desire was an assault on the purity of his mother's memory, women became connected with sin in Tolstoy's mind.

Tolstoy's difficulty with sexuality plays out in his fiction, and his handling of this problem is shaped by the importance he gave to the sibling relationship. Tolstoy's characters do not follow the traditional Oedipal model, loving their opposite-sex parent while feeling hatred/jealousy of their same-sex parent, who is seen as a rival. Instead, they seek union with their siblings and see their siblings' romantic partners as rivals to this unity. Both the Oedipal model and Tolstoy's sibling model share the element of incestuous yearning, but in Tolstoy's model the incestuous love that has to be transferred to a healthy object is the love of a sibling, not of a parent. 14

Certain of Tolstoy's sibling pairs thus have a difficult time accepting each other's romantic partners. When Maria first meets Natasha after the latter's engagement to her brother, she cannot stand Natasha. Similarly, Nikolai is "grieved" when he receives the letter telling of Natasha's engagement to Andrei and feels that there is something wrong with the intended marriage.

When Nikolai himself proposes to Sonya, he is very concerned about replacing Natasha, thereby betraying his relationship with her. Riding home that night, Nikolai runs to Natasha's sleigh to make sure she approves of his actions, beginning with, "are you glad?" (470). Despite the fact that Natasha says "I am so glad, so glad!" Nikolai seems to need further affirmation and asks two more times, "So you are glad and I have done right?" and then a minute later, "Then it's all right?" (470). He sees his new relations with Sonya as a threat to his connection with Natasha and needs to reaffirm the special connection he and Natasha share.

The Sibling Bond as a Model for the Romantic Relationship

Critics such as Holbrook and Benson have argued that Tolstoy could not create a complete relationship between a male and female character because he did not want to sully the female character with sexuality.¹⁵ I would argue that Tolstoy *did* create complete relationships between male and female characters and moments of perfect unity, only these moments come

most strongly for his sibling pairs, not his romantic ones, and therefore have gone overlooked. Because of its inherent asexuality (aside from the failed case of incestuous Hélène, to be discussed later), a brothersister relationship could be fulfilled and complete while the woman still remained pure. In War and Peace, the feelings between brothers and sisters are similar to those between husbands and wives; both brother-sister and husband-wife pairs share similar kinds of interactions. Tolstoy's siblings share both a deep understanding of each other at important moments and an unconditional love that Tolstoy never questions as he does romantic love.

This complete union between a brother and a sister is most explicitly illustrated in the scene in which Nikolai listens to Natasha singing after he has lost a huge sum of money to Dolokhov in cards. Tolstoy writes:

And suddenly the whole world centered for him on anticipation of the next note, the next phrase, and everything in the world was divided into three beats: 'Oh mio credele affetto.' ... One, two, three [...] one, two, three... 'Oh, this senseless life of ours!' thought Nikolai. 'All this misery, and money, and Dolokhov, and anger, and honor—it's all nonsense ...but this is real. ...Now then, Natasha, now then, dearest! Now then, darling! How will she take that si? She's taken it! Thank God!' And without noticing that he was singing, to strengthen the si he sang a second, a third below the high note [...]

Oh how that chord vibrated, and how moved was something that was finest in Rostov's soul! And this something was apart from everything else in the world and above everything in the world. (298-299)

Music plays an important role in many of the transcendent moments of *War and Peace* (for example, the balalaika music at Uncle's sets the mood for Natasha's peasant dance, and Petya's dream of a fugue before his death elevates him to a higher spiritual realm), and in this scene, Tolstoy fuses the emotional/spiritual power of music with the power of the sibling bond, allowing the two to enhance each other. In this passage, Nikolai goes from despair to elation all through the inspiration

he receives from his sister's singing. Not only is Nikolai inspired, his entire world becomes caught up in what Natasha is singing. At the climax of the piece, at the highest note, Nikolai joins her, singing below her to strengthen the note. It is, quite literally, a moment of complete harmony between the pair, and the vibrations from this chord move something in Nikolai's soul. Tolstoy has replaced the Oedipal desire for unity with the opposite-sex parent; the focus is now on unity with a sibling. In writing this scene, Tolstoy creates a moment of intense connection between a man and a woman that does not diminish the woman's creative force. And he protects the innocence of the scene by using siblings; although the act of singing the climax of a piece together has a sexual connotation, 16 here the couple seems unaware of the potentially incestuous undertones.¹⁷ Tolstoy further enforces the innocence of the scene by commenting before the passage that there was "virginality" in Natasha's voice. Such a moment of connection between Natasha and Nikolai comes again when Natasha sings after they have shared childhood memories. Again Tolstoy writes of an intense bond between the pair, noting, "Nikolai did not take his eyes off his sister and drew breath in time with her" (436). This drawing of breath together is a symbol of their unity and again has an incestuous undertone that fits with Tolstoy's revised Oedipal model. Protected by their sibling bond, the characters themselves can regard their actions as perfectly innocent and are therefore not restrained in their attachment. Throughout the novel, the romantic partners seem to strive for the simple and unreserved connections that siblings enjoy.

Tolstoy emphasizes the parallels between sibling and romantic pairs by creating similar scenes between his romantic couples and his brother–sister pairs. Like Nikolai, Andrei also connects to Natasha through her singing. When he comes to the Rostov house after Natasha's first ball and listens to her sing, he becomes choked with tears and "something new and joyful stirred in his soul" (411). For Andrei, listening to Natasha sing is spiritual, giving him "a sudden, vivid sense of the terrible contrast between something infinitely great and illimitable within him and that limited material something that he, and even she, was" (411). For both Nikolai and Andrei, this connection to Natasha's singing stirs something lofty in their souls.

As Natasha's relationship with Andrei at moments mirrors her relationship with Nikolai, so too does Natasha's relationship with Pierre. When Nikolai returns home from the army for the first time, Natasha is waiting for him in the morning when he wakes up so that they can have a talk. "They hardly gave one another time to ask questions and give replies concerning a thousand little matters which could not interest anyone but themselves" (260). The conversation jumps from topic to topic, with Natasha showing a burn she gave herself on the arm to prove her love for Sonya. "Looking into Natasha's wildly bright eyes, Rostov reentered that world of home and childhood which had no meaning for anyone else, but gave him some of the best joys of his life; and the burning of an arm...as a proof of love did not seem senseless, he understood and was not surprised at it" (261). What is striking in this interaction is the deep level of understanding between the pair. They do not have to finish their questions or replies because they are in tune with one another. And equally important, they are having a conversation that would be meaningless to any outsider.

Tolstoy describes the conversation between Natasha and Pierre after their marriage in a very similar way. When Pierre comes home to Natasha after an absence (much like Nikolai returning from war), Natasha happily captures Pierre for a tête-à-tête. "Natasha and Pierre, left alone, also began to talk as only a husband and wife can talk, that is, with extraordinary clearness and rapidity, understanding and expressing each other's thoughts in a way contrary to all rules of logic" (1038). Like Natasha and Nikolai, they have a deep understanding that does not require the same kind of logic and organization most people need in communication:

contrary to all the laws of logic and contrary to them because quite different subjects were talked about at one and the same time. This simultaneous discussion of many topics did not prevent a clear understanding but on the contrary was the surest sign that they fully understood one another...the words themselves were not consecutive and clear but only the feeling that prompted them. (1039)

Though Tolstoy claims that Natasha and Pierre are talking "as only a husband and a wife can talk," we

have already seen Natasha share this same immediate connection and dialogue with her brother.

Tolstoy models the romantic relationship between Nikolai and Maria on sibling relations as well. Early in their acquaintance, Nikolai brings Maria a letter from his mother about how her brother Andrei is among the wounded traveling with them from Moscow. Tolstoy writes that with the sharing of this letter, "Nikolai suddenly became almost as intimate with the princess as if they were relations" (845), setting up a sibling-like bond between the two. Nikolai's relationship with Maria strongly parallels that of her brother, Andrei. The latter, although unable to understand his sister's lofty spiritual side, recognizes it and comes to appreciate its worth. When Andrei is wounded, he thinks of a higher love that is binding him to life and thinks of it as, "that love which God preached on earth and which Princess Maria taught me and I did not understand" (726), thus acknowledging his admiration for what his sister had and his failure in never having attained the kind of spiritual heights she had attained. In the same way Nikolai also admires Maria's spirituality and sees it as something beyond his understanding. As Tolstoy writes, "his steady, tender, and proud love of his wife rested on his feeling of wonder at her spirituality and the lofty moral world, almost beyond his reach, in which she had her being" (1036). In the same way that Maria had gently tried to teach Andrei love for those around him, she instructs Nikolai to be forgiving, that it is wrong, for instance, to beat his serfs. Nikolai takes her guidance more to heart.

While Tolstoy's ideal romantic relationships closely resemble sibling bonds, his sibling relationships take the form of asexual marriages. Each sibling pair shares moments that could read like scenes between married couples. When Andrei is leaving Bald Hills to go to war, Tolstoy does not focus on Andrei's parting from his wife, Lise, and write the classic scene of two lovers being torn apart by war-a trope dating back at least to Homer's description of Hector's parting with Andromache. He instead focuses on the parting between Andrei and Maria. Tolstoy describes their final interaction before Andrei leaves and the gift of a cross that Maria places around his neck. When Andrei takes his final goodbye, Lise falls unconscious and Andrei leaves her in a chair so that he can give his last parting to his sister, whom he kisses. Tolstoy leaves the reader

with a view of Maria's "beautiful eyes full of tears" as she makes the sign of the cross in the direction of the empty doorway (94).

After Lise's death, Andrei and Maria work together to care for Andrei's newborn son. Tolstoy describes Maria as "taking a mother's place to her little nephew," thus in a sense making Maria and Andrei the parents of the same baby, although their relationship is asexual. Quarreling over how to care for their sick infant, the two resemble a husband and wife with deep affection underlying their little disputes about medicines and rest. At the end of the medical crisis, when the child finally perspires and it is clear that the danger has passed, Tolstoy creates another marriage-like tableau in which Andrei and Maria stand together by the side of the cot, looking down at their infant. The cot is surrounded by a curtain, and when Maria joins Andrei there, Tolstoy notes that she "lifted the curtain, and dropped it again behind her" (329), leaving the pair with the infant, cut off from the rest of the world. Tolstoy provides a beautifully poignant description of the scene:

Prince Andrei looked at his sister. In the dim shadow of the curtain her luminous eyes shone more brightly than usual from the tears of joy that were in them. She leaned over to her brother and kissed him, slightly catching the curtain of the cot. Each made the other a warning gesture and stood still in the dim light beneath the curtain as if not wishing to leave that seclusion where they three were shut off from all the world. (329)

This desire for seclusion and separation from the rest of the world is one typically associated with lovers, not siblings. It is interesting to note that while in English there is only one word "curtain," in Russian the general word for curtain is занавеска, while Tolstoy uses the word ποποτ, which means specifically "bed curtain." As this word ποποτ comes up six times in the space of two brief paragraphs, Tolstoy clearly wanted to draw attention to it. By making Andrei and Maria come together inside "bed curtains" and giving them a child, he seems to create a scene of asexual procreation. The pair is incredibly close, even sharing the raising of a child, but this closeness has been accomplished without sexuality. Going back to Tolstoy's sibling version of the oedipal model, this scene

can be read as an innocent, desexualized outlet for forbidden incestuous yearnings.

The night of the wolf hunt, Nikolai and Natasha share such a scene of isolation from the rest of the world in their carriage ride home from Uncle's. Tolstoy describes a night so dark that the pair cannot even see the horses, but "only hear them splashing through unseen mud" (455). It is as if they are in another world, and Nikolai even suggests that perhaps they are not driving home, but to "Fairyland." As she is fond of doing, Natasha asks Nikolai what he has been thinking, and he, in turn, questions her. Although neither of them says it, Natasha is thinking, "What a darling this Nicholas of mine is!" (455), while Nikolai thinks, "I know that I shall never again be as happy and tranquil as I am now...How charming this Natasha of mine is! I have no other friend like her and never shall have. Why should she marry? We might always drive about together!" (455).18 The desire to be always driving like this as a pair is reminiscent of descriptions of lovers, removed from the rest of the world and caught up in their own private sphere. Nikolai questions why Natasha should ever marry right before he thinks about wanting to be a pair with her forever. This suggests the overlap between their sibling bond and marriage, as Nikolai desires not to be supplanted. True to Tolstoy's sibling replacement for the oedipal model, the rival here is the romantic partner who will break up the sibling unity.

While Nikolai is away at war, he dwells on his sister rather than on his romantic interest, Sonia. Falling asleep on his horse one night, Nikolai begins to dream of Natasha. Tolstoy writes out Nikolai's stream of consciousness, constantly interrupted when something awakens him. Each time Nikolai dozes, his mind returns to Natasha. When his mind drifts to the emperor, Nikolai thinks, "But that's nonsense, the chief thing is not to forget the important thing I was thinking of. Yes, Natasha..." (231). While most protagonists dream of their lovers, Nikolai dreams of his sister, considering even his idol, the emperor, unimportant in comparison to her.

When Andrei is wounded and his lifetime hero, Napoleon, is looking down at him, he too experiences a moment of not caring about great men, but, instead of valuing his sister. "Looking into Napoleon's eyes, Prince Andrew thought of the insignificance of greatness, the unimportance of life which no one could understand, and the still greater unimportance of death, the meaning of which no one alive could understand or explain" (254). Despite the fact that everything has seemingly become insignificant to him, a moment later, seeing the icon Maria had placed around his neck, Andrei thinks, "it would be good if everything were as clear and simple as it seems to Maria," and wishes for the kind of faith she has in order to calm him when he feels faced with "a Power indefinable" (255). Although Andrei does not experience Maria's faith, she has not lost her value for him. The sibling, rather than the romantic interest, retains her value when everything else has been devalued.

In War and Peace the distinction between these two types of relationships—sibling and romantic—has become blurred.19 This is shown most explicitly at the end of the novel when Pierre, who has loved Natasha for over a thousand pages, through all the stages of her development, finally tells Maria of this love. In his typical self-deprecating style, Pierre informs Maria that he understands the situation, saying, "I know I am not worthy of her, I know it's impossible to speak of it now. But I want to be a brother to her. No, not that, I don't, I can't..." (992). Pierre himself, in trying to say that he loves Natasha, gets confused between wanting to be her brother and wanting to be her husband, which is what he truly desires. When he corrects himself he cannot even say "husband," indicating Tolstoy's discomfort with the addition of sexuality to an otherwise pure love. By having Pierre first say "I want to be a brother to her," Tolstoy suggests his model for an ideal love relationship. It takes several more sentences before Pierre can get out the idea that he would someday like Natasha to be his wife.

That Tolstoy would create marriages that resembled his sibling relationships makes sense because he is relying on the sibling model from his idealized childhood. More interesting is the fact that he creates sibling bonds that begin to resemble marriages. For Tolstoy's characters, those earlier sibling relationships—besides having worth in themselves—serve as a form of practice for the amorous ones that follow.²⁰ Tolstoy's characters learn about intimacy through connecting with their siblings and then they try to recreate those relationships in their adult husband—wife relationships.²¹ These attempts to transfer experi-

ence based on asexual relationships to marriage relationships lead to the characters' struggles with integrating sexuality into their intimate relationships.

Discomfort with Sexuality and the Lack of Fulfilled Romantic Relationships

In *War and Peace*, characters who have healthy, close bonds with their siblings form romantic relationships virtually devoid of sexuality. Despite the fact that they experience sexual feelings, they are uncomfortable with the idea of themselves and others as sexual beings. At the extreme, Maria, who has been taken to represent Tolstoy's mother,²² was not even comfortable with having sexual feelings or with allowing herself to care about romance.²³ "Princess Maria's self-esteem was wounded by the fact that the arrival of a suitor agitated her" (190). Although Tolstoy tells us that her "most deeply hidden longing was for earthly love" (любовь земная), Maria considers this desire a temptation of the devil (192).

As soon as sexuality enters a situation in either thought or deed, Tolstoy's protagonists often feel unclean and morally reprehensible, even if they have taken no actions. Pierre experiences this reaction when Hélène tries to seduce him, and he finds himself attracted to her. "Pierre was one of those who are only strong when they feel themselves quite innocent, and since that day when he was overpowered by a feeling of desire while stooping over the snuffbox at Anna Pavlovna's, an unacknowledged sense of guilt of that desire paralyzed his will" (182). Although Pierre simply experiences a moment of desire, this is enough to make him feel guilty and powerless. He has lost his innocence simply through feeling sexual desire.

Natasha feels similar discomfort and guilt the first time she experiences true sexual desire during her seduction by Anatole at the opera. Seen through her eyes, the opera hall is full of naked arms and shoulders, exposed bosoms, tight trousers, and bare-legged dancers. In this sexually charged atmosphere, Natasha is introduced to Anatole, whose physical attractiveness she has been admiring from a distance. After five minutes of talking with him as he stares at her bare shoulders with undisguised desire, Natasha "felt that they were close, as she had never been with a man" (my translation), indicating that this is her first experience of true sexual attraction. Although the experience

is pleasurable, she is also afraid and uncomfortable with how she feels. Later, trying to make sense of her feelings, "everything seemed dark, obscure, and terrible" to her (503).

Natasha is the central inspiration for many characters throughout the novel, but no one ever truly possesses her or forms a complete romantic bond with her.24 Denisov is rejected, Boris sent away. Andrei actually forms an engagement, but instead of claiming his bride, he says, "I ask you to make me happy in a year, but you are free: our engagement shall remain a secret..." (422). Despite the engagement, Natasha remains untouched. Andrei visited the Rostovs every day, "but did not behave to Natasha as an affianced lover: he did not use the familiar thou, but said you to her, and kissed only her hand" (423). The absence of sexuality pertains not only to the way the couple acts, but also in how they speak of and think of the relationship. After the engagement has been broken off, Andrei recalls the way in which he loved Natasha: "It was just that inner, spiritual force, that sincerity, that frankness of soul—that very soul of hers which seemed to be fettered by her body—it was that soul I loved in her..." (692). He completely rejects the physical, claiming the soul he loved was merely "fettered" by her body. Ironically, this thought comes to him as he remembers Natasha telling him a story about collecting mushrooms—a common symbol of sexuality in Russian culture.²⁵ Andrei consciously reacts against sexuality by reaffirming to himself the importance of the spiritual over the physical. Not until he is dying, and all possibility of a sexual union has been removed, is Andrei able to love Natasha without restraint or distance.

Although he actually marries Natasha, Pierre, like Andrei, also fails to create a fully realized romantic relationship with her, or if he does, Tolstoy skips over describing this part of their relationship. During the French occupation of Moscow, years before he marries her, Pierre describes his love of Natasha to the French captain, Ramballe:

Pierre then explained that he had loved this woman from his earliest years, but that he had not dared to think of her because she was too young, and because he had been an illegitimate son without a name. Afterwards when he had received a

name and wealth he dared not think of her because he loved her too well, placing her far above everything in the world, and especially therefore above himself. (809)

To this, Ramballe responds only "Platonic love, clouds..." (810). Here Tolstoy draws out his entire problem with creating a romantic relationship. If the woman is worthy of a whole lifetime's love, then she must become something holy, something "far above everything in the world," and therefore she cannot be touched. Even in the scene when Pierre declares his love to Natasha, he is not actually asking for her hand. Instead he says, "If I were not myself, but the handsomest, cleverest, and best man in the world, and were free, I would this moment ask on my knees for your hand and your love!" (533). He does not consider himself worthy and he does not ask, but instead leaves her as something higher and unattainable, letting his request earlier in the conversation—"I beg of you, consider me your friend..."—be the only role he asks for in relation to her. When the pair does marry, Tolstoy skips over their first seven years together and begins his description of their marriage at the point when they already have four children around whom their lives revolve. Although such moments must have existed, Tolstoy never describes a moment of sexual attraction or connection between Natasha and Pierre.

The other important romantic relationship—that between Maria and Nikolai-also centers on idealization and also lacks a sexual component. Because Tolstoy uses Maria to represent his mother, there is little wonder that he describes Nikolai's relationship with her in spiritual, rather than physical terms. With Nikolai, "For the first time all that pure, spiritual, inward travail through which she [Maria] had lived appeared on the surface" (841). Nikolai sees and appreciates this and falls in love with Maria's "moral beauty" (843): "He felt that the being before him was quite different from, and better than, anyone he had met before, and above all better than himself" (841). As Pierre does with Natasha, Nikolai places Maria on a pedestal. Despite his admiration and love, or perhaps because of it, Nikolai is unable to picture married life with Maria, as he has been able to do with other women; he regards her as too holy to be in a sexual marriage relationship. Maria herself has trouble believing that she could be loved in a romantic way, believing herself to be plain and unattractive. Nikolai tells her otherwise: "It is not beauty that endears, it's love that makes us see beauty" (1018). Tolstoy appears to be preaching through his characters what he wanted to believe himself. Nikolai puts forth a wholly unromantic idea of love, telling Maria: "But do I love my wife? I don't love her, but... Without you, or when something comes between us, like this, I seem lost and can't do anything. Now do I love my finger? I don't love it, but just try to cut it off!" (1018-1019). This statement suggests that for Nikolai, loving Maria is a merger of identities; she becomes a part of him, but a totally nonsexual part.

Finding Unity through the Creation of Families vs. Barren Marriages

Merging of identities exemplifies on a small scale what Tolstoy regarded as his highest ideal for all people: to become "part of a whole" (861). The ideal of this kind of unity is embodied in *War and Peace* by the figure of Platon Karataev who connects with everything around him and views all men as his brothers. Much as Nikolai describes his connection with Maria, Karataev describes his family with the metaphor of a hand in which the siblings are each a finger—equal parts of something greater than themselves. He claims that "it hurts just the same whichever finger gets bitten" (858), indicating that for him, caring about his siblings is part of caring about himself.²⁶

For Tolstoy's male characters, connection to the larger whole comes through the Karataev model of seeing all men as brothers. For women, the connection lies in the formation of family through motherhood. Tolstoy regarded the family as a microcosm of the larger world, and the women who grew up with caring, nurturing sibling bonds within this small family sphere have learned how to care about others outside of themselves. They then use this model to form romantic relationships that will lead to the formation of new families. So motherhood—literally the channeling of life-force into the creation of new life²⁷—is Tolstoy's way for women to be united to a larger whole, that of the family, and therefore becomes the female version of universal brotherhood for which Tolstoy's male characters strive.

The women who are successful at forming families—new microcosms of unity—are the ones who have positive sibling bonds and learn through their connections with their siblings how to care for others outside of themselves. These women create for themselves amorous relationships based on the caring, family-oriented qualities they had in their sibling relationships, in keeping with psychological findings that suggest that close relationships from childhood become a template for the types of relationships people form in later life.²⁸ Women without close sibling connections, however, do not have this model of a mutually giving romantic relationship or of connecting to something larger than themselves; they enter sterile marriages that do not produce children.

Sisters

So far I have only examined the positive examples of sisterhood, Natasha and Maria. Other sisters—like Hélène Kuragin and Vera Rostov—who do not have Natasha's or Maria's loving, caring, (and in the case of Hélène, asexual) sibling relationships also use their sibling bonds as models for romantic connections, models that lead them to selfishness and sterility.

From the fictional descriptions he provides, it would seem that for Tolstoy, to be a sister ideally meant being deeply connected to family, being nurturing, supportive, and loving with one's siblings. Both of the primary sisters in War and Peace, Natasha and Maria, first appear in the novel in their childhood homes, firmly tying their identities to their families. With the family serving as a microcosm of the larger world, Natasha and Maria first learn to care about others outside themselves through empathizing with their siblings-something demonstrated in all the passages illustrating the close bonds and high levels of understanding displayed by sibling pairs in the novel. These empathizing women gradually expand this caring to include others outside the family, thereby embodying thereby Tolstoy's ideal of a universal brotherhood.²⁹ Tolstoy saw the sibling relationship as one of mutual caring and thus unselfish. Sisters who form strong bonds with their siblings learn how to think beyond themselves and foster the nurturing, compassionate qualities needed to form successful families of their own.

For both Natasha and Maria, the ability to forget about themselves and empathize with others is seen repeatedly throughout the text, though each has her own style of caring. For example, Natasha has strong emotional reactions to people and events. At the beginning of the novel, in a radiantly happy mood, she goes seeking Sonya. Finding her cousin in tears, she too begins "to wail like a baby without knowing why, except that Sonya was crying" (57). She feels for other people and has an innate understanding of how to nurture others. After crying with Sonya, she is able to calm her friend and restore her to good spirits. When Natasha takes care of her mother after Petya's death, "She did not sleep or leave her mother. Her persevering and patient love seemed completely to surround the countess every moment, not explaining or consoling, but recalling her to life" (955). Natasha forgets her own grief and health and gives herself over fully to caring for her mother.

Natasha is not only able to feel compassion for people close to her, but also for strangers she encounters. During the burning of Moscow, when the Rostovs are preparing to make their departure, Natasha is so horrified at the idea of wounded men getting left behind that she convinces her parents to unload all of their carts and take the soldiers along with them instead of the family's possessions. In a moment of passion, she yells at her mother, "Why, the wounded! It's impossible, Mamma. It's monstrous! No, Mamma darling, it's not the thing. Please forgive me, darling...Mamma, what does it matter what we take away? Only look what is going on in the yard..." (767). Natasha sacrifices her material comfort for the sake of men she has never met because she cares about others outside of herself and senses the ways in which all people are united.

Maria, too, feels deeply for others and is ready to make sacrifices for their happiness, but she does so in a less emotional, more thoughtful/reflective manner. When Andrei brings his wife, Lise, to Bald Hills, Maria immediately understands Lise's difficult position and urges Andrei to be more understanding. "Think of what it must be for her, poor thing, after what she has been used to, to be parted from her husband and be left alone in the country, in her condition! It's very hard" (89). She is worried about Lise's happiness as well as her father's and even that of her companion,

Mademoiselle Bourienne. Unlike Natasha, who values herself as well as others, Maria has very low selfregard, caring for others instead of herself. When Mademoiselle Bourienne tries to steal Maria's suitor, Anatole, instead of being mad, Maria ends up "holding the weeping Mademoiselle Bourienne in her arms and gently stroking her hair" and promising to do anything she can to ensure Bourienne's happiness (200). She turns down Anatole's proposal and tells her father, "My vocation is to be happy with another kind of happiness, the happiness of love and self-sacrifice" (201). This is not a sentiment Natasha would ever express. However, Maria and Natasha's different types of caring both lead them to feel compassion for people beyond the spheres of their families and friends. Similar to Natasha's standing up to her mother and insisting on taking the wounded soldiers from Moscow, Maria risks her father's wrathful disapproval and offers food and lodging to religious pilgrims who come to Bald Hills. Her whole life is dedicated to making others happy and she does almost nothing on behalf of herself.

Sisterhood as the Path to Motherhood

Sisters who have had strong connections with their brothers shift very smoothly into marriages. And because these marriage relationships are not based around selfish desires, but around the mutual caring these women first experienced in their sibling bonds, the marriage relationships provide the groundwork for building new families. Thus they allow the women a means of continued connection to something larger than themselves. In keeping with Tolstoy's view that the purpose of marriage is family, we first see the married Natasha seven years into her marriage, at which point she already has four children whose welfare is her sole concern. Tolstoy writes that Natasha "abandoned all her witchery, of which her singing had been an unusually powerful part. She gave it up just because it was so powerfully seductive" (1021). Instead, her life force becomes channeled into the new lives she has created; Natasha has exchanged her singing for diapers. "She valued the company of those to whom she could come striding disheveled from the nursery in her dressing gown, and with joyful face show a yellow instead of a green stain on a baby's napkin" (1022). This company includes only the

members of Natasha's family—her sister-in-law, brother, mother, and cousin—indicating how completely and unselfishly enmeshed she has become in the earthly matters of family life and her role as mother.

Maria's children also become the center of her life after her marriage. Shortly after Maria first appears in the novel, she writes a letter to her friend, Julie, about Christian virtues and the Gospels. Now, years later, as a mother, her writing takes the form of a diary in which she records "everything in the children's lives that seemed noteworthy to their mother as showing their characters or suggesting general reflections on educational methods. They were for the most part quite insignificant trifles, but did not seem so to the mother or to the father either..." (1036).

While this shift in her writing indicates the importance motherhood plays for Maria, Tolstoy makes it clear that she has in no way given up her spiritual side and indeed, religion is connected to Maria's love for her family. She promises in her heart to do better than she is doing and "to accomplish the impossible—in this life to love her husband, her children, little Nikolai [her nephew], and all her neighbors, as Christ loved mankind" (1038). For Maria, as for Natasha, there is nothing selfish about marriage; she focuses all her energies on caring for others. Both women derive their model of caring from their experiences as sisters and both expand upon this caring. They become part of a larger whole through the formation of family.

Lovers and Barren Marriages

For women without these supportive, nurturing bonds to siblings, married life leads not to the formation of a new family but to sterility. They seek personal gratification in relationships outside of the family and are focused on their own desires. They have never expanded the boundaries of themselves to include siblings and thus have no model for connecting to a larger whole. This is the case for Hélène Kuragin, who is driven by sexual desire, and Vera Rostov, who is seeking status and material gain.

Unlike Natasha and Maria, who are introduced in the setting of their homes and families, Hélène is first seen at Anna Pavlovna's soirée—a classic society gathering. In his first full description of Hélène, Tolstoy writes: With a slight rustle of her white dress trimmed with moss and ivy, with a gleam of white shoulders, glossy hair, and sparkling diamonds, she passed between the men who made way for her, not looking at any of them but smiling on all, as if graciously allowing each the privilege of admiring her beautiful figure and shapely shoulders, back, and bosom—which in the fashion of those days were very much exposed—and she seemed to bring the glamour of a ballroom with her as she moved... (10)

By focusing on Hélène in relation to the men observing her, Tolstoy makes the reader see her as one of those men might, glimpsing only her exterior, with no access to anything within. In marked contrast to Natasha, whom Tolstoy first describes as having a strong life force but as not even pretty, Tolstoy defines Hélène by her physical beauty and makes her an object of desire.

Hélène's sexual connection to men can be traced to her connection to her brother, Anatole. Hélène and Anatole never share moments of intimacy or deep understanding in the novel, but instead, their relationship is entirely sexualized. Tolstoy introduces this fact during Hélène's seduction of Pierre, when the latter thinks to himself, "I have been told that her brother Anatole was in love with her and she with him, that there was quite a scandal and that that's why he was sent away" (180). After this thought, Pierre visualizes Hélène's body and her "womanly beauty," thus affirming her identity as sexual object.30 Tolstoy provides other indications of the incestuous relations between the Kuragin siblings. In another moment of reflection, Pierre thinks, "Anatole used to come to borrow money from her and used to kiss her naked shoulders. She did not give him the money, but let herself be kissed" (276).

Unlike Hélène, Vera Rostov has no sexual relationship with her siblings; rather, she lacks any connection with them whatsoever. While the rest of the Rostov family is very close, Vera can have a destructive effect on their unity. When we first meet the Rostovs, all the children are playing together while Vera sits with her mother and entertains visitors. Her personality development has been affected by her role as an eldest sibling and in keeping with psychological find-

ings about first-borns, she is more conservative and concerned with status than her younger siblings.31 Vera proceeds to disrupt a harmonious moment that Natasha and Nikolai are sharing with their respective first loves by finding a hurtful remark to say to everyone. Natasha tells Vera, "You'll never understand it, because you've never loved anyone. You have no heart!" (40). In this first scene, Vera's siblings make references to her suitor, Berg, which highlights her connection to him, not to her brothers and sister. Benson writes of this, "Vera is already linked with Berg, himself an outsider, for Natasha says to her, 'We don't bother you and Berg'—and indeed Berg removes Vera completely from the rest of the Rostovs" (Benson, 50). In fact, this connection with Berg is the only positive description Tolstoy provides of Vera; at all other times he writes only of what she lacks. Tolstoy notes that Vera produced "an irritating and unpleasant effect on everyone." Her inability to connect with her family is again made clear when the Rostovs receive a letter from Nikolai in the army describing how he was wounded. While everyone else is brought to tears by the letter, Vera is unmoved and asks why her mother is crying, to which the countess and Natasha share a look as the countess thinks, "And who is it she takes after?" (205). Vera cannot relate to her brother's words or to her sister and mother's reactions. She is like an outsider, not part of the bond of family, not fulfilling her role as sister.

In the same way that Vera's connections to her siblings lack any deep understanding or meaningful emotional component, her connection to Berg is also devoid of real caring. Their connection is based on practical considerations and selfish motivations. As Berg explains his proposal to a comrade, "I am not marrying for money—I consider that dishonorable but a wife should bring her share and a husband his" (393). Berg then provides a detailed account of what each of their shares are and only then sums up with the remark, "But above all she is a handsome, estimable girl, and she loves me...And I love her, because her character is sensible and very good" (393). This is entirely pragmatic, with no lofty sentiments or hint of anything spiritual to cloud the clear business reasoning Berg uses to define his relations with and feelings for Vera. Berg wants Vera's dowry, and Vera wants to set up her own home with a husband who will do well in

society; there is no merging of identities in this marriage.

Vera and Hélène create marriages based on selfish desires. They are not trying to form families and, in fact, actively seek to avoid having children because this would disrupt their personal pleasures. After Pierre and Hélène's marriage, when Pierre asks her whether she thinks she may be pregnant, he recalls how she laughed contemptuously and said she was "not a fool to want to have children, and that she was not going to have any children by *me*" (276). Hélène selfishly and intentionally rejects what Tolstoy believed was a duty—to have children—and uses her marriage only as a source of sexual and material gratification.

Once she has tired of Pierre, Hélène decides to marry again and becomes stuck picking between two wealthy suitors. Tolstoy criticizes this idea in the epilogue when he uses the analogy of marriage as being like dinner: "If the purpose of dinner is to nourish the body, a man who eats two dinners at once may perhaps get more enjoyment but will not attain his purpose, for his stomach will not digest the two dinners. If the purpose of marriage is the family, the person who wishes to have many wives or husbands may perhaps obtain much pleasure, but in that case will not have a family" (1021). This is exactly what Hélène does. Using even religion for selfish, voluptuous aims, Hélène converts to Catholicism simply to help herself get out of her marriage with Pierre so that she can marry again. As Tolstoy explains, "In her view the aim of every religion was merely to preserve certain proprieties while affording satisfaction to human desires" (744). When her confessor tells Hélène that a second marriage might be acceptable only if it was entered "with the object of bearing children," she gets bored and interrupts him (744). Having children is certainly not part of Hélène's aim in a second marriage, as it was not during her marriage to Pierre, and she eventually dies of complications relating to an abortion. Her sexual passions and the rejection of the role of mother are literally the death of her, and she ends up a barren woman with no family or children to leave behind. Vera and Berg's marriage is also characterized by selfishness, and, like Hélène's, it does not lead to the formation of a family. When Moscow is burning and the Rostovs are trying to figure out how

to fit all the wounded soldiers onto their carts to evacuate them, Berg comes to the family and asks for a cart so that he can go buy Vera a chiffonier and dressing table that he has seen at another house that is being evacuated. He tells the count, "You know how dear Vera wanted a chiffonier like that..." (766). Amidst the destruction of their capital, Berg and Vera can still only think of their own material well-being. Vera is always full of petty, superficial concerns and caught up in the cares of society life rather than family, which Tolstoy thought should be a woman's role. Her values come out glaringly in a conversation she and Berg have before their house party. While waiting for their guests to arrive, Berg remarks that they must not have children too soon, to which Vera agrees, saying, "I don't at all want that. We must live for society" (413). This desire not to be a mother is Tolstoy's ultimate mark against any woman. Vera has not learned to care for others and get past her own selfishness, and therefore her marriage remains sterile, never producing a family.

Conclusion

The significance of the sibling bond as a model for connection and caring is not only relevant to romantic relationships and the formation of families in War and Peace. Rather, its influence can be seen in the way Tolstoy handles all human interactions throughout the text.32 Characters who have caring bonds with their siblings are able to feel deeply and connect with a larger whole, while those characters without siblings end up barren and isolated (Pierre, through seeking out sibling-like bonds, provides an exception to this). Although Tolstoy portrays Sonya much more positively than Boris,33 both of these only-children follow the pattern of selfishness and sterility displayed by Hélène and Vera. Lacking the sibling model of caring, Boris and Sonya have as their primary motivation personal gain. (Boris seeking status in society and Sonya seeking a marriage to Nikolai.) Neither forms deep, meaningful connections or creates a family. Thus their paths through the novel can also be explained by the absence of sibling bonds in their lives.

While Tolstoy's female characters find connection to a larger whole through motherhood and the creation of new families, his male characters seek this kind of unity in the concept of universal brotherhood.³⁴

This underlying principle shapes Tolstoy's depictions of the Russian army. He describes the soldiers as part of a harmonious whole, working together in family units like brothers. The quest for this kind of universal brotherhood is also what drives Pierre throughout the novel. He is first drawn to Freemasonry by its promise of brotherhood and then to the Russian army by the type of sibling-like bonds he sees between the soldiers. It is not until Pierre encounters Platon and learns how to connect with all men around him like brothers that he is able to enter into a marriage that will produce a family. Tolstoy has raised the importance of the sibling bond, making it the model that is the key to human connections at all levels of the text.

Notes

- 1. Fenchel begins his article "The Status of Siblings in Psychoanalysis: A Missed Opportunity" with "It is very surprising indeed that although there is a wealth of material shedding light on the developmental processes, there are so few references to papers written about siblings in the psychoanalytic literature" (5). See also: Akhtar and Kramer; Bank and Kahn; and Coles.
- 2. Akhter and Kramer divide the evolution of psychoanalytic theory into four phases and consider the fourth (current) phase to be moving beyond the parental object to look at the role of grandparents and siblings.
- 3. For an example of his writing on sibling rivalry, see Freud (*Interpretation*) 250.
- 4. Coles writes on how psychoanalytic theory has focused on the Oedipal triad at the expense of exploring the complicating factor of sibling relationships (1-2). Linking this oversimplification to Freud, she writes: "One result of Freud's comparative neglect of the place of siblings in emotional development has been that there is almost no mention of siblings in psychoanalytic theory or practice and it is assumed that siblings play little part in people's health or mental distress..." (21-22).
- 5. For a sampling of materials that reflect this view, see Agger; Akhtar and Kramer; Bank and Kahn; Brody; Coles; Charles; Colonna and Newman; Dunn, Reese-Weber and Bartle-Haring; and Sulloway.
- 6. Famous articles such as Ernst Jones' "The Death of Hamlet's Father" are staples in books that deal with psychology and literature; for example, see de Berg; Kurzweil

and Phillips; Ruitenbeck. These same books include little or no mention of siblings.

- 7. For the purposes of this paper, I am using the term "romantic" to refer to amorous relationships between the sexes and do not mean to imply any connotations of passionate romantic love.
- 8. See Agger 26.
- 9. There are two major schools of thought accounting for the incest taboo. The first centers around the theories of Finnish anthropologist Edward Westermarck, and the second around the theories of Freud. Westermarck postulates that childhood propinquity results in a positive aversion to incest (80). This aversion has become part of custom and is the source of prohibitions again sibling incest. In opposition to this view, Freud argues that people's first love-choice is usually an incestuous one and that prohibitions against incest were created to counter that desire. For a complete comparison of the various theories on reactions to the incest stimulus, see Fox 130-136.
- 10. Rancour-Laferriere notes that although Tolstoy was almost two when his mother died, he later confused this point and claimed that she had died several months earlier, after giving birth to his younger sister, Maria. Rancour-Laferriere suggests that by mistaking the date of his mother's death and linking it to childbirth, Tolstoy was also connecting her death with sex and thus exacerbating his issues with sexuality (1988: 37, 55).
- 11. Quoted in Troyat (14).
- 12. Holbrook writes: "No earthly love, obviously would do, and so Tolstoy's actual love relationships at the level of profane love, love of women, in marriage, were disastrous" (23-24).
- 13. This idea is discussed by Akhtar and Kramer 14-15.
- 14. It is interesting to note that in *Totem and Taboo*, Freud actually acknowledges that a man's first incestuous object choice may be his sister as well as his mother. There Freud writes that it is "regularly found that he chose his mother as the object of his love, and *perhaps his sister as well*, before passing on to his final choice. Because of the barrier that exists against incest, his love is deflected from *the two figures* on whom his affection was centered in his childhood on to an outside object that is modeled upon them" (16; my italics). Clearly, Freud was aware of the possibility of incestuous sibling feelings, though he never chose to pursue

this idea. Tolstoy's sibling model applies to the siblings in *War and Peace*, but not to Kitty in *Anna Karenina*, who has only sisters and therefore does not experience any of these incestuous undertones.

- 15. See Benson; Holbrook.
- 16. Tolstoy writes of this very explicitly in *The Kreutzer Sonata*.
- 17. This fits with Westermarck's theory that siblings who have grown up together, like the Rostovs, would naturally lack the desire to consummate their relationship sexually.
- 18. This desire to remain a pair forever fits with the type of sibling attachment known as twinning and is described by Akhtar and Kramer (11-12).
- 19. Benson points out that Tolstoy does nothing to distinguish between Natasha and Maria's reactions to Andrei's death, though one would expect a lover and a sister to respond differently to the loss (65).
- 20. Gray and Steinberg write that children's early relationships, which would include sibling relationships, function as a "template for the nature and quality of later relationships" (245). Colonna and Newman write of how the sibling bond can affect the choice of romantic partners later in life (297). Agger writes that when siblings play a nurturing role like a parental substitute, this can influence their adult selections of romantic partners (26).
- 21. Reese-Weber and Bartle-Haring's study of conflict resolution styles found that the patterns of interactions between siblings carry over into their interactions with romantic partners. Specifically, the negative methods siblings use in resolving conflicts are directly related to the way they resolve conflicts in romantic relationships.
- 22. See Wilson 23; Maude 422.
- 23. Gary Saul Morson emphasizes the fact that Maria's attempt not to be affected by sexual desires is a "strenuous exercise of the will" (263).
- 24. This idea is discussed by Holbrook 82-83.
- 25. Mandelker writes on the mushroom as a sexual symbol when examining Varenka's failed romance with Koznyshev in *Anna Karenina*.
- 26. Jahn argues convincingly that in Tolstoy's struggle to dissolve the tension between self and other to create universal brotherhood, he came to see the other as a dimension of the self, thus expanding the borders of the self. Though

- Jahn claims the insight that the other was an aspect of the self did not come for Tolstoy until the 1880s, I would argue that it is already present in *War and Peace*.
- 27. This ideal of all life being connected is exemplified after Karataev's death in Pierre's dream about a globe made up of shifting and merging drops that represent life (941).
- 28. See Gray and Steinberg.
- 29. Sendich argues that Tolstoy's ideal of brotherhood is exemplified in Maria's "God's people's" view of self-sacrifice and universal love and in Natasha's 1812 prayer for world unity.
- 30. Rancour-Laferriere points out that Pierre and Hélène are distantly related, spent time together as children, and are living in the same home during their courtship. He goes on to suggest that their relationship has an incestuous quality (1993: 52). Rancour-Laferriere portrays Hélène as a mother icon, but I would argue that the traditional Oedipal model does not apply and instead the feeling of incest fits with Tolstoy's sibling model; the two are like siblings, not mother and son.
- 31. See Sulloway.
- 32. Colonna and Newman write that the sibling relationship is a model for all peer relationships (303).
- 33. Although Sonya grows up in the Rostov family, she lacks a last/family name and is outside of the family unity. This lack of belonging is made most evident in the scene when Natasha and Nikolai are sharing collective memories and Sonya cannot keep pace with them, despite the fact that she was present for all the events they are recalling (461). Further, from the time of her first introduction in the novel, Sonya is in love with Nikolai and is viewed as a romantic prospect, so she cannot be simultaneously seen as a Rostov sibling. Throughout the text Tolstoy describes Sonya using the metaphor of a kitten/cat—an animal associated with independence and selfishness.
- 34. The idea of the sibling bond being the basis for Tolstoy's ideal of brotherhood is one that deserves future research. In the papers from the 1996 conference held in Ottawa to discuss Tolstoy's views on brotherhood (ed. Donskov and Woodsworth) the concept of brotherhood is explored from various philosophical angles, but almost no mention is made of the fact that it is literally a *sibling* relationship.

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