

The Stage History  
of Goethe's *Faust I*  
in Imperial Russia:  
Performance and Archival Record

by

Viktoriya Melnykevych

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## **AUTHOR'S DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation is devoted to the stage history of Goethe's *Faust I* in Imperial Russia with the goal of initiating academic discussion of this previously ignored topic. The significance of this study lies not only in the fact that it enlarges our comprehension of the play's treatment in the Russian context, but more importantly in its direct implications for earlier studies of Russian literature in relation to Goethe's *Faust*. The dissertation records analytically dramatic productions of the play before 1917 and provides a bibliography of their production, performance and reception processes. The central premise of the dissertation is that theatre is a social phenomenon, informed by the contemporary setting in which it is produced and received. With this in mind, five distinctive adaptations are investigated with the goal of identifying the peculiarities of the play's treatment and highlighting the influences of the socio-historical factors surrounding it. In particular, this study considers the dependence of the adaptation on contemporary theatrical conventions and explores the relationship between theatre, culture and the state in Imperial Russia. It argues that a successful adaptation of Goethe's *Faust I* in Imperial Russia was delayed until the flourishing of 'directorial theatre', which in turn opened new possibilities for future theatrical explorations of the play. The analysis describes strategies of cultural appropriation and affirms the conformity and sensitivity of theatre to the state.

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It is my pleasure to thank a number of institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg that hold the documents analyzed in this study, including the staff of the Russian State Library, Central Scholarly Library, Russian State Library of the Arts, Russian National Literature and Arts Archive, Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum and Russian State History Archive for their expert advice and assistance in researching endless catalogue lists. Special gratitude goes to Elena Bakushyna and Marina Tsapovetskaya at the Russian State Theatre Library in St. Petersburg for their interest in this project and their help in acquiring the documents.

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## **DEDICATION**

In Memory of  
Dr. Yuriy Rudavsky  
and  
Kornelia Melnykevych

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## INTRODUCTION

This study sets out to document analytically the stage history of Goethe's *Faust* in Imperial Russia. As it takes into account past performances of the play and the attention they received, it takes the approach of theatre historiography. It thus aims to record performances of the play based on the preserved documentation, to compile a bibliography of the primary and secondary sources, and to provide a chronicle of the stage history of the play in Russia until 1917. This information will serve as a foundation for the remainder of the study. The purpose of this thesis is not merely to document specific and detailed aspects of performances in a descriptive manner, but also to establish the ways in which the productions deviate from the original. This will be achieved through a comparative analysis of characters and themes. Furthermore, the study will identify the extent to which productions were influenced by the theatrical conventions and in particular by the emergence of the 'directorial theatre'. The expansion of the analysis into contextual matters will establish the ways in which cultural and socio-political determinates imposed specific characteristics on the treatment of the original. Given the highly unstable peculiarities of the period from an historical perspective in combination with the powerful censorship practices of the age, I will argue that theatrical culture was characterized by its conformity to state policies.

The purpose of this introduction is to pave the way for the analysis of the theatrical reception of Goethe's *Faust* in Russia in the following ways:

- outlining the significance of this study;
- establishing a corpus for the analysis by providing a list of the theatrical adaptations of the play in Russia until 1917;

- discussing the theoretical framework and methodological approach to be used in the analysis.

### **Significance of the Study**

The influence of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust* on world literature is undeniable and has been dealt with extensively in studies of the play's domestic and international reception. The reception history of this drama, however, is not complete. For instance, the stage history of this play in Russia has received limited attention. Some performances are briefly mentioned in Russian theatre histories, providing sometimes contradictory information on the existence of such staging. An account of two *Faust* productions exists as a part of other, larger studies exploring the staging style of particular artistic directors based on cumulative theatrical work.<sup>1</sup> These inquiries are very specific in their treatment of the productions as they take into account only the theatrical factors involved in the production process and emphasize those aspects of the adaptations that suit this purpose. However, this one-dimensional approach does not do justice to the adaptation's relation to its source text and also fails to establish the wider socio-cultural context in which the productions were produced, performed and received. In addition, a dated article by Nikolai Volkov (1932) partially documents Russian productions of Goethe's *Faust*.<sup>2</sup> Based exclusively on production reviews, it does not contain any consolidated findings but provides a subjective judgement of the productions investigated. Regretably, only the study conducted by Victor Borovsky is available in English, as the remainder of the already limited works are written in

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<sup>1</sup> The 1912 staging of *Faust* has been commented on in two articles by Liubomudrov (1974, 1976) as well as in the book *A Triptych from the Russian Theatre* by Victor Borovsky (2001). Olga Maltseva has dealt with one of the most recent adaptations of the play in *Poetic Theatre of Yuri Liubimov* (1999).

<sup>2</sup> Nikolai Volkov's article "Gete v russkom teatre" published in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* dedicates four pages to the entire stage history of *Faust*.

Russian. Admittedly, the existing confrontations with the theatrical reception of the play in Russia are marginal and in some cases do not conform to the standards of the current scholarship. More importantly, they do not offer the possibility to follow the development of the theatrical reception history of the play in Russia, which was set as the initial goal of this project. This ambition has proven to exceed the framework of a single dissertation due to the number of Russian theatrical adaptations and the richness of the primary materials located in Russian libraries and archives. Therefore, the spectrum of analyzed productions has been narrowed in a temporal sense by limiting the focus of this dissertation to the first period in the performance history of the play, ending with the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917.

The absence of a comprehensive study dealing with Russian theatrical adaptations of *Faust* is astonishing in light of the overall reception tradition of the play in that country. In Russia, interest in the tragedy arose during the second decade of the nineteenth century and to date has continued to play an important role in the history of Russian literature. This is evident in the numerous translations and literary relations produced, as well as in the number of critical responses to the drama that exist. An extensive list of Russian *Faust* renderings produced until the first decades of the twentieth century can be found in an article by B. Buchstab, “Russkie perevody iz Gete” (1932). A chronological list of reviews and critical contributions on Goethe, including those on *Faust* from 1780 until 1932, appears in the bibliographical directory compiled by V. Zubov (1932). Major works on Russian literary connections to Goethe’s *Faust* and Russian renderings of the play for the period ending in the 1970s are listed in the *Faust-Bibliographie* by Hans Henning (1966-1976) in the sections “Goethes *Faust* im Ausland. Wirkungsgeschichte und Geschichte der Übersetzungen: Sowjetunion” (Part II, Vol. 2: 195-202) and “*Faust*-Dichtungen in Anderen Sprachen des 19.

und 20. Jahrhunderts: Sowjetunion” (Part III: 222 -244). The most comprehensive list of Russian *Faust* publications and critical works on the subject from their initial emergence until 1971 remains *Iogann Wolfgang Gete. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' russkikh perevodov i kriticheskoi literatury na russkom iazyke. 1780-1971* by Zinaida Zhitomirskaia (1972). Siegfried Seifert’s bibliography (1999) catalogues the published translations and collective works as well as the academic contributions on the subject that appeared between 1950 and 1990<sup>3</sup> and should be supplemented with the selected bibliography found in Lev Kopelew’s *Der Wind Weht, Wo Er Will* (1988: 375-78). Galina Yakusheva’s *Faust v iskusheniakh XX veka* (2005), provides an account of most recent Russian works on Goethe and his legacy (218-20).<sup>4</sup> Despite the fact that these bibliographies have assembled a great amount of scholarship on the Russian reception of the play, a bibliography of its theatrical reception in the country is still outstanding.<sup>5</sup> With that in mind, this dissertation will provide a bibliographical list of primary and secondary sources pertaining to the dramatic reception of Goethe’s *Faust* until 1917.

The task of providing a full account of the tremendous amount of scholarship dealing with Goethe’s heritage and particularly *Faust* is an enormous undertaking that seems unnecessary for the purpose of this study. Therefore, the following sketch of the literary reception of the play in Imperial Russia will simply elaborate on the fact of the play’s

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<sup>3</sup>See sections “Faust. Wirkungs- und Forschungsgeschichte: Rußland und Sowjetunion” (Vol. 3, 1127-1130), “Wirkung und Erforschung von Goethes Werk: Andere Länder und Regionen: Rußland” (Vol. 3, 1297-1302) and “Übersetzungen der Werke und Schriften” (Vol. 1, 162-166).

<sup>4</sup>Other bibliographical guides (e.g. *Goethe-Bibliographie* by Helmut G. Hermann (1991), *Goethe-Bibliographie* by Hanz Pyritz (1965)) provide a very limited account of the Russian reception of the play.

<sup>5</sup>Hans Henning’s bibliographical collection lists only three articles pertaining to the Russian productions based on Faust-material in the section “Bühnengeschichte, Filmgeschichte (Part II, Vol.2, 107-165). Siegfried Seifert’s bibliography lists selected works on Soviet film adaptations and German productions performed in the Soviet Union (Vol. 3, 17370, 17378, 17379, 16782-16784, 16855).

popularity in the given period. This will be supplemented by an overview of the most influential scholarly contributions on the Russian reception of Goethe's *Faust*, which are of particular relevance for this study.

As asserted above, the reception tradition of Goethe's drama in Russia began with the first translation of the scene *Vorspiel auf dem Theater* (*Prolog v teatre / Prologue in the Theatre* by Aleksandr Griboedov), published in 1824. It was connected to the Moscow literary circle of Liubomudry (Lovers of Wisdom), a philosophical group whose members admired Goethe and treated *Faust* as their intellectual and aesthetic ideal (Kopelew 52). However, during that time a publication of the entire translation of the play was not possible due to censorship regulations that viewed it as a product of critical bourgeois thinking that undermined the ideology of the Russian throne and the church (Zhirmunsky 394). Nevertheless, translations of individual scenes dealing initially with the love story of the play and slowly expanding to other themes appeared in literary journals in the following years. Aleksandr Pushkin's confrontations with Goethe's *Faust* made an essential contribution to the further dissemination and popularity of the play. The publication of the first full translation of the first part of the tragedy by Eduard Guber was allowed in 1838, with many alterations and omissions (Zhirmunsky 413). In 1844, Mikhail Vronchenko published his translation of the first part with a summary of the second. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, famous Russian writers made numerous attempts to translate not only several individual scenes from the drama but also *Faust Part I* and *Part II*. The first Russian translation of both parts by Nikolai Kholodkovsky, published in 1878, remained the most prevalent version of the play until the 1950s due to its "accuracy, clarity of content and poetic value" (Kopelew 55). Based on available lists of Russian renderings of

the play,<sup>6</sup> their overall number produced until 1917 is distributed as follows. The first part of the original has been translated by nine different authors. There exists one separate publication of a translation of part two and six separate publications by different authors dedicated to both parts of the tragedy, including those that feature a summary or an adaptation of the second part rather than its translation. The astonishingly high frequency of these translations testifies to the interest in the German tragedy among those able to read the original. The fact that ten Russian publications of Goethe's *Faust* had appeared in multiple editions before 1917 also indicates the popularity of the drama among Russian readers. Even a short overview of the translation history of Goethe's *Faust* in Imperial Russia indicates that the drama was of cultural interest and relevance.

Critical reception of the drama emerged as early as 1827 with the publication of a commentary on the recently published Helena scene.<sup>7</sup> From this point on to 1917, essays dealing with Goethe's *Faust* amounted to over one hundred.<sup>8</sup> An overview of these publications shows that most of those written in the nineteenth century commented on the new translations of the play or recorded short critiques by Russian literary figures. During this time, the first interpretative attempts of individual themes or scenes appear. Despite the official condemnatory view of the drama, which was referenced in the early evaluation of the play,<sup>9</sup> the critical responses to the play follow the stages registered in the translation history. In the nineteenth century, the Russian opinion of *Faust* proceeds from the romantic interpretations of the play followed by the growing interest in the play's philosophical

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<sup>6</sup> The author has consulted the lists by Buchner and Zhitomirskaia.

<sup>7</sup> Shevyriev, Stepan Petrovich. "Elena... Mezhdudeistvie k Faustu iz sochinenii Gete." *Moskovskii vestnik* 1827: 6.21. 79-93.

<sup>8</sup> The author has relied on information provided in the bibliographical directory compiled by Zubov and Zhitomirskaia.

<sup>9</sup> For criticism reminiscent of that of the official opinion see Zhukovsky. "Dve stseny iz Fausta." *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. Vol. 3. Petersburg, 1918. 272.

themes, with a particular emphasis on *Faust* as a product of the German national consciousness.<sup>10</sup> The first examples of serious academic scholarship on *Faust* appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century, mostly in the form of commentaries accompanying new editions of previous translations. The most extensive and comprehensive study of the early scholarship dedicated to both parts of the play was compiled by Nikolai Kholodkovsky and appeared as a separate volume with the new edition of his *Faust* translation in 1914. As was the case with most early studies on Goethe and his heritage, the edition was based on German materials and summarized the established reverential attitude of Russian literary critics towards Goethe's drama. Another important theme addressed in early scholarship on *Faust* is its influence on Russian culture, observed through the works of Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin (1799-1837), Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov (1814-1841), Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev (1818-1883), Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821-1881) and Anatoly Vasilievich Lunacharsky (1875-1933), to name just a few from the period in question.<sup>11</sup> These literary connections were recognized in the early critical essays dedicated to the significance of the play in Russian literature<sup>12</sup> specifically and expanded to the exploration of parallels found in works of world literature.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The development of the Russian philosophical interpretations can be observed in the commentaries of Belinski *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (241).

<sup>11</sup> A comprehensive list of Russian literature influenced by Goethe's *Faust* can be located in Galina Yakusheva's *Faust v iskusheniakh XX veka* (214-18).

<sup>12</sup> For Goethe's influence on Turgenev's *Faust* see Ovsianniko-Kulikovskii, D. N. "O turgenevskom i getevskom Fauste." *Sochineniia*. Vol. 2. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Moscow, 1927. 117-48. (first printed in 1895). For the literary connections to Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (1880) see Volzhskii, A. "Torzhestvuiushchii amoralism." *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii*. Moscow, 1902. 889-905 and Mishev, N. "Russki Faust. Opyt sravnitel'nogo vyiasneniia osnovnogo khudozhestvennogo tipa proizvedeniia Dostoevskogo." *Russkii filologicheskii vestnik* 56 (1906): 11-28.

<sup>13</sup> On *Faust* in world literature see Frishmut, M. "Tip Fausta v mirovoi literature." *Vestnik Evropy* 7 (1887): 89-129 and Bulgakov, F. "Iov, Prometei i Faust: Opyt etiko-istoricheskoi paralleli." *Istoricheskii vestnik* 4 (1884): 195-213.



The pre-1917 Russian literary and critical reactions to Goethe and *Faust* attracted the curiosity of scholars in the following decades. For instance, the collection of essays *Literaturnoe nasledie*, under the general editorship of Belinski, appeared to honour the anniversary of Goethe's death in 1932 and assimilated a tremendous amount of previous scholarship. The collection also covered biographical details of the author, discussing his cultural and historical background along with the literary reception of his major works in Russia. In addition to being very informative, the preface to the collection revealed a new direction of the theoretical interpretations of Goethe's heritage by placing it on a platform of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and laying the basis for subsequent scholarly examinations (*Literaturnoe nasledie* 1). An equally rich source of information on the subject is Viktor Zhirmunsky's study *Gete v russkoi literature*, first published in 1937. In the context of Russian reaction to Goethe, it is worth mentioning a two-volume edition by André von Gronicka, *The Russian Image of Goethe*, which explores this topic within the nineteenth century. Written in English, the study relies heavily on Russian sources, making them accessible to Western scholars. There are also two studies in German dedicated specifically to the Russian literary reception of *Faust*. These are Lew Kopelew's book chapter entitled "Faust in Rußland" and a collection of essays edited by Günther Mahal entitled *Faust-Rezeption in Rußland und in der Sowjetunion*. These concentrate on the history of translation, literary criticism, and literary connections of the play in Russia and form a substantial part of the accepted and broadly discussed reception of the play in that country. The Russian reaction to Goethe in the twentieth century is discussed in newer studies by Galina Ishimbaeva, *Rusaskaia Faustina XX veka*, and in the collection of essays compiled by Galina Yakusheva, *Gete v russkoi kulture XX veka*. A broader view on *Faust* within the

world literature of the twentieth century is provided in Galina Yakusheva's *Faust v iskusheniakh XX veka*.

Scholars' hesitation in pursuing the Russian performance history of such an influential play is astonishing, not only in light of the otherwise rich literary and academic reception of Goethe's *Faust* in the country, but also due to the ongoing presence of the play in the theatrical repertoire and comparably rich scholarship on the subject in Germany and beyond. German theatrical adaptations of the play have been discussed in a large number of publications and are well documented in extensive bibliographies on Goethe and *Faust*.<sup>14</sup> A partial documentation of the stage history of the play featuring one hundred productions can be found in Bernd Mahl's *Goethe's Faust auf der Bühne (1806-1998)*. Many scholars have provided interpretations of international productions.<sup>15</sup>

In this context, this study's aim is to draw attention to the overlooked theatrical reception of the play in Russia by providing an analytical record of its theatrical adaptations until 1917. By doing so, it will broaden our understanding of how the image of Faust has emerged in the Russian context and will pave the way for future studies of the theatrical reception of the play in Soviet Russia and the contemporary period.

### **Data Collection: Historiographic Aspects**

This study starts with an analysis of historical data and archival materials. The compilation and organization of data, as an essential step in any historical inquiry, is necessary for the formulation of research questions and hypotheses. First, the corpus of evidence to be

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<sup>14</sup> See for example sections on the dramatic reception of the play in Germany and in other countries collected in *Faust-Bibliographie* by Hans Henning and *Goethe-Bibliographie: 1950-1990* by Siegfried Seifert. A book by Bernd Mahl (1999) entitled *Goethe's Faust auf der Bühne* provides an overview of the important milestones in the theatrical reception of the play.

<sup>15</sup> For the international dramatic reception of Goethe's *Faust*, consult studies by Christopher Balme, David G. John, Xia Li, Lea Marquart, Paola del Zoppo.

analyzed must be established. Then, an understanding of the nature of the historical evidence as a representation of views on or a part of an event has to be acknowledged. As Gottschalk argues, “The whole history of the past (what has been called history-as-actuality) can be known to the historian only through the surviving record of it (history-as-record), and most of history-as-record is only the surviving part of the recorded part of the remembered part of the observed part of the whole” (45). Gaps in the documentary record impose limits on the number of possible meanings generated by the object of investigation. Misread or false information can lead to confusion and improper conclusions in the course of interpretation. In order to avoid these errors, the study employs various literary and theatrical sources in the recovery process and takes their reliability and credibility into account. Evidence of an incomplete or contradictory nature is dealt with case by case in the course of the analysis.

In order to locate the productions of the play in Imperial Russia, the author has examined a broad band of Russian theatre repertoires in the given period. Some theatre histories provide lists of the theatre repertoire of the Imperial Theatres and other theatrical enterprises in Moscow and St. Petersburg and were reviewed during the research phase of the project.<sup>16</sup> Repertoires of the provincial theatres located in the Russian State History Archive in St. Petersburg have not been included due to the fact that access to this collection was not possible as a result of the archive’s closure during the initial research trip in 2007 and the closure of the relevant collection during the second research phase in 2010. Primary materials about specific productions, such as director’s manuscripts, information about

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<sup>16</sup> A comprehensive and chronological repertoire lists of Imperial and some provincial theatres in Imperial Russia can be found in Efim Kholodov’s extensive study on Russian Theatre *Istoriia russkogo dramaticheskogo teatra*. The following studies on specific theatres contain lists of plays performed at individual companies: Abalkin. *Maly teatr: 1824-1917*. Vol. 1, Zograf, *Maly teatr vtoroi poloviny deviatnadtsatogo veka*.

costumes and decoration, and staging sheets are spread across the collections of the Imperial Theatres, and those on censorship or about individual people involved in these productions are located in various separate libraries and archives. In order to compile this information, the author conducted research at the following libraries and archives in Moscow: Russian State Library, Central Scholarly Library, Russian State Library of the Arts, Russian National Literature and Arts Archive, Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum; and in St. Petersburg: the Russian State History Archive and Russian State Theatre Library. In addition, the author has contacted existing Russian Theatre companies to inquire about additional surviving resources. Further, the research was expanded to North American libraries and archives, where documents were located at the Komissarzhevsky Collection at the Houghton Library (Harvard University).

Table 1 features a list of Goethe’s *Faust I* productions in Imperial Russia which have been identified in the course of the aforementioned research. Besides the titles of the productions, it specifies the years of production and the theatre companies involved. The list ends in the year 1912, which is the year the last identified production of the play was staged before the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917.

<i>Faust</i>	1877	Imperial Maly Theatre (Moscow)
<i>Faust and Margarita</i>	1878	Imperial Maly Theatre (Moscow)
<i>Faust</i>	1895	Private Theatre (Kharkov)
<i>Faust</i>	1897	Theatre of Literary-Artistic Circle (St. Petersburg)
<i>Faust I</i>	1902	Imperial Alexandrinsky Theatre (St. Petersburg)
<i>Faust</i>	1912	Nezlobin Private Theatre (Moscow)

**Table 1**

This overview should not be understood to be complete, since the repertoires of the provincial theatres have not been included. However, the list is based on a thorough investigation of the theatre repertoires in Moscow and St. Petersburg and includes productions that took place at the Imperial and Private Theatres in those cities. This is certainly sufficient to provide a reliable basis for the analysis and to obtain a comprehensive picture of the stage history of the play in Imperial Russia. Although the review of theatrical periodicals in the investigated period has identified one production staged at the provincial theatre in Kharkov, this production will not be integrated into the analysis due to the scarcity of available information.

The archival documents retrieved provide evidence of the production and reception process and will be used as a basis for performance analysis. Production-related documents and sources (such as text manuscripts, prompt-books, theatre memos, and set design descriptions) are valuable sources that indicate amendments to the text and demonstrate interpretative decisions made by the adapters regarding characterization, narrative, and the overall conception of the adaptation. In either stage directions or the spoken text they feature information on other elements such as costumes, set design, and blocking which enhance the performance of the play. Reception-oriented documents (theatre reviews, news reports, memoirs) are important pieces of information that reflect the contemporary reception of the theatrical adaptations and can serve as a point of departure for the analysis as well. When available, photographs will be integrated into the analysis to assist in the investigation of the stage semiotics employed.

The identified productions will be investigated in this study with the following goals in mind: to document available information on each production; to provide the adapter's

readings of the play; and to highlight aspects that may have led to such readings. The differences in the quality, quantity, and type of available materials in regard to each production will undoubtedly influence the degree to which the questions posed in this study can be answered. In the case of the productions staged in 1877 and 1897 available information is limited to reviews or even mere news reports. The integration of these productions into the analysis nevertheless provides valuable insights into the theatrical reception of the play and will be used in the study for the sake of a more rounded picture of the documentation. When possible, the analysis will provide general traits of the conception adapted for the production as well as possible influences on such readings. In cases where the linguistic base of the productions, i.e. the texts are available (productions staged in 1878, 1902, and 1912), these are examined in detail. They serve as primary but by no means isolated text bases for the discussion and form the foundation of the analysis. In the initial phase, this investigation highlights amendments applied in the adaptation via a comparative analysis of their structure with that of the German original. This foundation will be combined with information on the social and theatrical conditions of the period with the aim of showing why and how adapters of these three notable productions use Goethe's original in their specific setting. This contextual analysis aims to stress the social and cultural implications of theatre.

### **Performance Analysis**

The analysis in this study acknowledges theatrical adaptations of the play not merely as text but also as theatrical events within a specific social environment. This concept has been successfully used in performance analysis, marking the broadening of isolated textual analysis into a contextual framework. In his *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (2002),

Richard Schechner suggests that it is not enough to investigate the text-performance-audience interaction alone if one is to understand socio-cultural aspects of the theatre performance. Each performance has to be seen in its context, because it is situated among larger social events that together contribute to its structure and meaning (*Performance* 244). This theory was based on the social drama model proposed by Victor Turner. According to this model, social drama as well as aesthetic drama develops in four phases: Breach, Crisis, Redressive Action and Reintegration or Schism. The relationship between the social and the aesthetic is fluid, because each aesthetic drama is a commentary on social events. In Schechner's words: "the visible actions of any given social drama are informed, shaped, and guided by aesthetic principles and performance/rhetorical devices. Reciprocally, a culture's visible aesthetic practices are informed, shaped, and guided by the processes of social interactions" (*Performance* 76). In order to be able to situate a particular performance within its socio-historical context, one has to understand it not only as an action that takes place on stage. In Schechner's words: "To treat any object of work 'as' performance means to investigate what the object does, how it interacts with other objects or beings and how it relates to other objects or being" (*Performance* 30).

Another useful concept to be taken from Performance Theory is that of *restored behaviors* – performances as actions that occur not for the first time, but which are prepared and/or rehearsed (Schechner, *Performance* 29). This concept has twofold significance in the scope of this study. First, when performances are understood as constructed of sequences of *restored behavior*, they can be divided into smaller, fixed parts for the purpose of analysis. Second, this concept allows one to deal with the notion of evanescence as a peculiar feature of performances. As Marvin Carlson points out:

The analysis of theatrical performance has always provided a problem of particular difficulty, for a variety of reasons – the ephemerality of the event, the complexity of the interrelationships of so many communicative channels, the almost infinite variety of physical realizations that may be generated from a single written script, the phenomenological concerns generated by the physical presence of the event, and the effects upon interpretation of changing historical and social reception strategies. (“Invisible” 111)

Performances investigated in the present study are remote in the temporal sense and irretrievable in each individual case. Thus, the concept of *restored behaviors* allows one to focus on the more constant features of the production such as costumes, set design, and the general interpretation of the play, rather than aspects of a specific actor’s performance.

The object of the analysis is the conception of the adaptation, i.e. what results from an intentional organization of signs that can be investigated by means of semiotics. The choice of structural analysis for this study, as developed by Erika Fischer-Lichte (1983), was due to its flexible nature, as opposed to the method followed by Patrice Pavis and transformational analysis. In the case of the present study, the possibility of starting the investigation with any element of the theatrical text (Fischer-Lichte 246) is essential, as it allows one to apply the same general approach to a selection of *Faust* productions even though the categories of signifying elements may differ among examples.

Fischer-Lichte derives her approach from an understanding of the theatrical performance as theatrical text, and she argues that performance, as a structured complex of signs, is in itself a ‘text’. Since the signs presented in the text belong to the theatrical code, it can be defined as a theatrical text (173). She builds her argument on the understanding of “artistic



text” provided by the Russian structuralist Yuri Lotman (1971): “The artistic text is an intricately constructed thought. All elements are meaningful elements” (12). This implies that each element of the text can be interpreted. Its meaning, however, exists only within a particular artistic structure and is inseparable from it (Lotman 10-17). In order to describe the structure of the artistic text, Lotman identifies *explicitness*, *delimitation*, and *structuredness*<sup>17</sup> as main features.

The *explicitness* of the text refers to the fact that the text uses certain signs as fixed points of reference as opposed to extra-textual signs. In this sense the text is a material realization of a specific system or of specific systems (Lotman 51-52). In the case of theatre, Lotman is implying that a theatrical text is the realization of the theatrical code at the level of speech. At the systematic level, the theatrical code contains all theatrical signs potentially possible in theatre. The normative level includes all theatrical signs of a specific genre or period. Based on the notion of *explicitness*, a structural analysis of the text will situate a specific theatrical text within the context of the theatrical code as a system and as a norm (Fischer-Lichte 220). Further, a structural analysis will involve the description of elements selected and realized in the particular theatrical text as well as the combination of them (Fischer-Lichte 174).

*Delimitation* is particular to the text because it is limited to the signs involved in it (Lotman 52). Thus, elements that are excluded from the text can take part in the meaning-generating process and have to be considered in the analysis (Fischer-Lichte 175).

A text does not constitute itself as an incidental sequence of signs. The notion of *structuredness* is inherent to it: the text is characterized by internal organization (Lotman

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<sup>17</sup> These terms are used in the translation of *The Semiotics of Theatre* by E. Fischer-Lichte (174-175). The translation of Lotman’s *The Structure of the Artistic Text* uses “expression”, “demarcation”, “structure” (51-53) as translations of the Russian terms “*vyrazhennost*”, “*ogranichennost*”, “*strukturnost*” proposed by Lotman in *Struktura khudozhestvennogo teksta* (67-69).

53). Structural analysis presupposes the study of combinations that occur between signs realized in the text (Fischer-Lichte 175). However, before such analysis can be applied, the text has to be subdivided into segments that can be identified as belonging to different levels of semantic coherence. Only the totality of the levels of semantic coherence as well as their relationships provides the complexity of the theatrical text (Fischer-Lichte 220).

In his discussion of meaning and ways in which it is generated, Lotman also makes a distinction between *internal recoding*, in which meaning is formed within the same system, and *external recoding*, in which meaning is formed through the convergence of elements from two or more independent systems (35-37).

As shown above, Fischer-Lichte applies her understanding of text and meaning-generating processes as proposed by Lotman to theatrical texts. Fischer-Lichte formulates four methodological postulates to be used in the analysis of the performance. These are: (1) the necessity of analyzing theatrical texts on the basis of a theatrical code at the systemic and normative levels; (2) the division of the text into different levels of semantic coherence, with the totality of the levels and their reciprocal relationship making up its complexity; (3) the need to examine performance with regard to a specific *selection* and *combination* of theatrical signs present in it; (4) the need to determine the two modes of generating meaning (*internal* and *external recoding*) and explain their functions (220-22). These steps of analysis are useful tools for determining meaning-generating features that convey the conception of the adaptation, and they will be utilized in the performance analysis later on.

However, the limitation of the structural analysis and of semiotics in general lies in its isolated understanding of performance as text, as opposed to viewing a theatrical event within its social context, which has been indisputably identified in theatre research:

In semiotic approaches to theatre, [...] the analysis of the object is independent of social context precisely because the analysis is based on the linguistic model. This limitation is also evident in semiotics in general. In the case of theatre, particularly in the case of production (encoding-decoding) and reception (recodification) of the performance this type of analysis is essentially complex. More than any other form, theatre has always been intimately linked to socio-cultural context from the moment of production. (de Toro, 1992: 49)

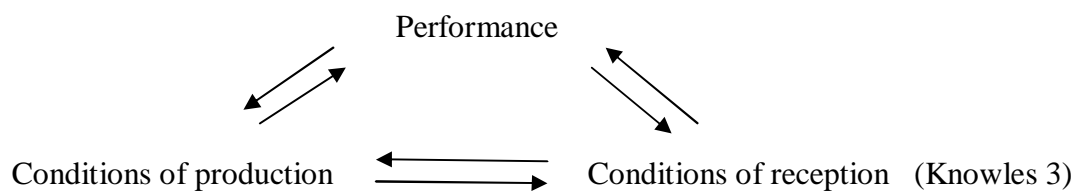
Given the necessity of acknowledging social features of theatrical productions, the analysis has to be expanded into contextual matters.

Ric Knowles, in his study of contemporary English theatre entitled *Reading the Material Theatre* (2004), provides a comprehensive and applicable model of site-specific performance analysis. It combines traditions of semiotics and material historicism and takes into account cultural and theatrical traditions in which theatrical performances are produced and received, multiple elements of theatrical production and reception, and the reciprocal relationships that occur between them (Knowles 3-4). Such an approach allows Knowles to place a particular production in its context, and even more importantly, it provides the means for highlighting the ways in which local cultural, social and historical features contribute to the meaning-making process and shape theatrical productions. This expansion into contextual matters acknowledges theatre as a social medium and allows for an investigation of performances not only as texts but also as theatrical events.

This study will take into account Knowles's suggestion that it is essential to consider the conditions of theatrical production, the performance itself, and the conditions of reception and their reciprocal relationship. He defines "conditions of production" as conditions

“through which performance texts come into being and make themselves available to read” (20). He distinguishes between historical and cultural aspects of the time, training, theatrical traditions and practices, such as directing, acting, design and technical theatre, as well as the following working traditions: structures of theatrical organizations, funding, stage architecture, and the programming of producing theatres (10-11, 19). Performance is seen as constituted by script, *mise en scène*, design, actor’s bodies, movement, and gesture (Knowles 19). The conditions of reception are understood as those conditions “through which audiences perform those readings and negotiate what the work means for them” (20). They can be divided into spatial conditions (the theatre location, special arrangements) and discursive conditions (programs, posters, previews, reviews, and discourses of celebrity). These spatial and discursive conditions must be viewed within their historical and cultural contexts (Knowles 11, 19).

According to this perspective, performance must be understood as a product of specific historical, cultural, and theatrical conditions. The meaning of a performance can be deduced based on the reciprocal relationship between all elements of the following triangle:



The application of this triangular model of the performance process encompasses the context in which the play was performed and decisively diverges from the traditional approach of literary criticism that would treat drama exclusively as a literary text. To avoid the pitfalls of such an approach, Knowles’s mode of performance analysis will be integrated into this study to complement the structural analysis.

## **Methodological Approach**

The performance analysis of the data gathered as part of the historical inquiry will utilize a combination of methodological approaches: the structural analysis proposed by Erika Fischer-Lichte and Rick Knowles's material semiotics. The former allows one to view theatrical texts as points of departure for the discussion, while the latter enables an understanding of theatrical performances within their socio-historic setting.

To provide a conception of the play in each production, a textual analysis of the theatrical texts will be undertaken by means of a comparison with the German original. This is justified by the fact that production-oriented evidence treats Goethe's play as the textual base of each production. This is evident through the examination of playbills which identified the translations of Goethe's *Faust I* as sources of the productions.

Based on the availability of primary archival materials, the methodological postulates proposed by Fischer-Lichte will be applied to the analysis of the theatrical texts. With regard to the first postulate, which serves as a prerequisite for the performance analysis, each production will be viewed in the context of the theatrical code, which functions as a system and as a norm. This implies, on the one hand, that a production is a singular application of the general theatrical system. On the other hand, the examination of the productions in question will involve constant recourse to the Russian theatre history of the period, paying special attention to the development of the theatre companies that staged the performances.

The structure of the theatrical text will be determined by means of a comparative analysis with the original. This will determine deviations from the original that are significant for the constitution of meaning. Based on the second postulate, understanding the segmentation of theatrical texts on the levels of semantic coherence is fundamental to a structural analysis.

Fischer-Lichte identifies four levels of semantic coherence: (1) the elementary level, which includes individual signs, such as individual gestures, movements, and parts of costumes; (2) the classematic level, which focuses on simple sign combinations such as certain costumes and spatial subdivisions; (3) the isotopic level, which examines different body-texts and spatial texts, e.g. the totality of costumes of a specific character or the totality of all decoration; and (4) the level of totality, which looks at the overall theatrical text (Fischer-Lichte 214-26).

The process of attributing meaning to the overall text must proceed from the level of isotopes, which is to say that it must refer back to the elementary level of individual signs and the classematic level of simple sign combinations (Fischer-Lichte 224-26). Consequently, the choice of the level of isotopes has a particular relevance for the analysis of the theatrical text as a whole. Depending on the nature of the production, as well as on the purpose of the analysis to be conducted, Fischer-Lichte suggests three types of isotopes that can be investigated: (1) the isotope of individual sign systems such as kinesic signs and the signs of external appearance; (2) the isotope of the syntagma of varying sizes. In the case of syntagma, the situation, scene, or act is analyzed at the isotopic level; (3) the isotope of intertextual categories, such as a character (227-28).

The study sets out to analyze theatrical productions that cannot be equally documented. Evidence in regard to individual sign systems varies from one production to another, as does their treatment in each case. Therefore, they have unequal weight for the understanding of the theatrical text as a whole. Furthermore, the selection and omission of scenes occurs differently in all of the productions. Thus, these elements cannot be selected at the level of the isotopes of all the productions in question. By contrast, main characters are fundamental

elements of the drama. They are employed in each production of *Faust* and without a doubt carry important meaning about the treatment of the original. In accordance with this, characters will be selected on the isotopic level for further analysis.

The selection of this type of isotope requires the researcher to analyze on the one hand the individual elements that are realized through the characters, such as their appearance, kinesic signs, etc. On the other hand, it demands that the researcher take into consideration signs of other semantic systems, such as decoration, music, etc. which contribute to the creation and demonstration of the character in question (Fischer-Lichte 228). Therefore, the corpus of isotopic levels for the characters of each production will be selected individually, based on the availability of extant materials, taking into consideration the preferences expressed in the employment of semantic systems which generate meaning.

As derived from the third methodological postulate, the identification of specific semantic systems can be conducted through the application of the *selection*<sup>18</sup> and *combination*<sup>19</sup> of theatrical signs. The examination of emphases on specific sign systems used in individual productions will provide the data about meaning at the isotopic level. In turn, the investigation of the *sign combinations* on the classematic level, that of the isotopes, and finally, the level of the theatrical text, will follow. Based on the procedures of *selection* and *combination*, the structure of the theatrical text will be identified in order to allow an interpretation of the overall theatrical text (Fischer-Lichte 238).

Based on the fourth postulate, the text will be investigated in terms of two meaning-generating modes: *internal* and *external recoding*. If the meaning of one element of the text

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<sup>18</sup> The notion of *selection* refers to the levels of the theatrical system and norm utilized in individual performances (Fischer-Lichte 230).

<sup>19</sup> *Combination* refers to the relationship between the elements within the production (Fischer-Lichte 233).

is determined by other elements within the same text, then it is generated via internal recoding (Fischer-Lichte 239). If one has to consider extra-textual systems in order to understand the meaning of an element involved in the text, then it is done via external recoding (241). However, in order to examine the meaning of the isotopes and the meaning of the overall theatrical text, one has to take into consideration the relationship between the two modes of generating meaning (245). Based on this assumption, the study will on the one hand refer to the relationship between elements within the theatrical text, and on the other take into consideration the extra-textual systems at work. It will draw on the reciprocal relationship between production, performance, and reception stages described by Ric Knowles to complement the structural analysis of the theatrical texts. In sum, to facilitate contextual analysis, the study will consider the historical, social, and cultural factors which are relevant to the period of investigation.

### **Chapter Division**

The interdisciplinary focus of the dissertation enables it to target a wide spectrum of readers with different levels of background in Russian theatre and history. Accordingly, chapter one will provide an overview of the historical and theatrical peculiarities of the period. This historical inquiry is a necessary preliminary step for two reasons. First, the depiction of the period from an historical perspective does justice to the notion of the theatre as a social phenomenon, capable of reacting to and mirroring socio-historical processes. Second, the review of theatrical aesthetics complies with the prerequisites of the semiotic analysis by establishing the theatrical norm of the period necessary for the inquiry following. Besides the general traits of the Russian theatre, this chapter highlights general censorship



regulations shaping the repertoire and takes into consideration the relationship between religion and theatre during this time.

The following five chapters devoted to the analysis of each production of Goethe's *Faust I* uncover factors unique to each as well as traits common among them. These chapters build on the observations made in chapter one to highlight when and how theatrical traditions as well as socio-historical realities of the period have influenced theatrical practices. Due to the low quality of extant evidence, chapters two and four are limited to analytical descriptions of the 1877 and 1897 productions of the play. These two chapters rely heavily on the information found in theatre encyclopaedias, histories of individual theatres, actors' memoirs and reviews in order to form an hypothesis about the general tendencies of the presented content and their relatedness to the realities in which they were produced. Chapters three, five, and six offer a more expansive critical study of the 1878, 1902 and 1912 productions based on a variety of evidence about the production and reception process. This allows the researcher to uncover the theatre's production strategies and identify factors that may have influenced the plays' reception. The analysis of the main characters and themes aims to reveal the traits preserved in the adaptation and will register disturbances with Goethe's definitions of characters. The last section of each chapter is dedicated to analyzing the production within the broader context in which it was produced. It aims at determining the role of the social, political, and economic environments in each theatrical event. Chapter seven will present the findings of this study and will elaborate on the relationship between theatre, the state, and culture as observed through the performance history of *Faust I* in Imperial Russia.

# CHAPTER ONE

## Theatre as an Historical Phenomenon

The following section offers a short overview of the historical processes shaping the landscape of late Imperial Russia from 1870 to 1917. This section is of an introductory nature and is intended to provide a sketch of the social, political, and economic environment of this period. Such an outline is essential for understanding the Russian theatrical practices in a broader context of social change. The discussion of singular events or policies that influenced the productions will be incorporated in the analysis chapters. This section will be followed by an overview of the theatrical tradition of the period in question, which will highlight a gradual change from actor-dominated theatrical practices to that of the 'directorial theatre'. This will be complemented by the discussion of censorship practices and the depiction of the church's attitude towards theatre as two major external factors shaping the theatrical activity of the period.

### 1.1. Historical Background

The last fifty years of the Russian monarchy were characterized by a rapid period of modernization that changed the political, economic, and social landscapes of Imperial Russia. This process was ignited by a series of liberal measures implemented after the Russian defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856). Following the abolition of serfdom in 1861, a number of reforms, including changes in administration, education, finance, the judicial system, the military, and also censorship gradually rebuilt the structure of the Russian Empire (Sakharov 788-89). On the one hand, these changes initiated the flourishing of commercialization and entrepreneurship, strengthening the capitalization process, and

stimulating social changes. On the other, they caused the formation of the 'populism' movement (*narodnichestvo*) among intelligentsia who were dissatisfied with the foundations of capitalism. This movement facilitated revolutionary activity against the monarchy and culminated in the assassination of Tsar the Liberator, Alexander II in 1881 (Freeze, *Reform* 192-93). In response to this event, the government instituted repressive measures to suppress radical and terrorist organizations, which helped to strengthen the police system (Seton-Watson 131). Under the guise of Russification, the government increased antireligious actions that severely impacted Roman Catholics and Protestants, who were both deprived of their rights and freedoms to ensure the absolute supremacy of Orthodoxy (Hutchinson 30-33). In an attempt to eliminate any manifestation of discontent, the government implemented repressive measures in education, reversing the accessibility and autonomy of universities granted by previous reforms (Seton-Watson 135). The strictness of censorship became more apparent, especially with the frequent banning of books and other restraining measures applied to the liberal press. The social climate of the 1880s therefore differed from the democratic enthusiasm of the previous decades by its overall skepticism, despondency, and disbelief as a reaction to the reappraisal of values that occurred during this period. However, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, this feeling of depression was replaced by new expectations.

The elevated spirit was largely ignited by the successes of the industrial revolution, which transformed the empire at the beginning of the twentieth century from a mostly agrarian and illiterate country to one with advanced industry, agriculture, labour, and education. The period is also marked by the emergence of a civil society that demanded participation in the political activities of the government. This growing political consciousness and

dissatisfaction with the current situation was compounded by the government's failure to find solutions to political and social problems (Badcock 10). This state of affairs led to the intensification of revolutionary movements (Seton-Watson 219). Among other disruptive forces that contributed significantly to the collapse of the monarchy was the policy of extreme Russian Nationalism that served to weaken the unity of the multinational empire and triggered a considerable influx of supporters of the revolutionary groups (McGrew 224). The social crisis facing the country at this time culminated in mass social and political unrest, which is known as the attempted revolution of 1905, and which in turn led to the establishment of a limited constitutional monarchy. Despite the freedom of the press and the legalization of political parties brought about by the 1905 event, the government continued to exercise repressive measures to suppress uprisings in the following years (Sakharov 914). At the same time, Russia was involved in a war with Japan (1904-1905), which was crucially detrimental to the people's confidence in the Tsar after Russia's defeat. Russia's involvement in World War I proved to be unsuccessful as well in rebuilding the confidence as the country suffered a series of humiliating defeats. World War I (1914-1918) brought about even higher levels of dissatisfaction with existing conditions at home, which included food shortages in the cities and rising inflation (Spector 299). All of these factors contributed to the political crisis that triggered two revolutions in 1917 and resulted in the overthrow of the Russian monarchy.

## **1.2. Theatrical Tradition**

### **The Actor's Domination of Stage in the 1870s**

The expansion of the urban population triggered by the emancipation of serfs translated into growing audiences, and thus more rigorous demands on theatrical performances. More importantly, the influx of people from the countryside, as well as greater educational opportunities granted to middle and lower classes, resulted in the formation of new social groups, not strictly along class, but rather occupational lines (Polunov 44). As a result, a wide contingent of socially diverse audiences emerged, challenging the theatre for the first time with differences in their educational levels and tastes.

The theatre mirrored these changes with increased performances reflecting Russian contemporary life, an interest that went hand-in-hand with the realism that dominated Russian art in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Marsh 146). Preoccupied with depicting and characterizing new social classes and their relationships with each other, the theatre not only recorded their establishment but also typified them by representing the habits and stereotypical appearances of groups (Kholodov 5: 41). Along with an increased demand for entertainment, the commercialization potential of theatre raised an interest in theatrical enterprises among private entrepreneurs and led to the emergence of commercial theatre in the provinces. In the capital cities, however, Imperial Theatres enjoyed a monopoly on all theatrical activity, which eliminated any competition and ensured their profits. Subsidized by the state, Imperial Theatres were part of the Ministry of the Imperial Court. As such they were affiliated with the court culture and mirrored cultural politics favourable to the Russian Empire (Slonim 84).

Standard practices in the 1870s remained as part of the theatrical tradition, which as yet had no concept of an overall coordinated production process. This lack of coherency was due to the absence of an artistic director, who we now understand as essential to theatrical practice. In the nineteenth century, the ‘repertoire inspector’ (*inspektor repertuara*) was the main director and was concerned mostly with the administrative aspect of productions. His artistic duties were restricted to organizing crowd scenes, supplying decorations and props, and creating special effects. Other aspects of the production did not fall under his jurisdiction; for example, he did not work with actors to ensure that they understood the play or that the artistic realization of individual roles was coherent. Visual elements, such as the stage design, decorations and props, costumes, etc. were chosen from a very limited stock of items to create stereotypical portrayals and accompany the acting (Syrkina 78). The Imperial Theatres’ disregard for scenery was affected by the politics of the directorate, which often reduced expenditures at the cost of the overall dramatic concept. Because the sensible coordination of costumes was the responsibility of the actors, they were obliged to own a personal wardrobe or to rent costumes from ateliers (Danilov, *Ocherki* 168). Konstantin Stanislavsky’s memoirs indicate that costumes represented “certain scenic stereotypes and were chosen without special consideration of the temporal or national aspects of the character” (“Teatralnaia zhizn’” 15). This overall situation prevented the development of a unified production style.

Another important characteristic of the theatrical practices of the period was the primary power of the actors over the production and performance processes; the artistic abilities of the leading actors especially were instrumental in ensuring the play’s general appeal to audiences. Often, an individual interpretation of a character as portrayed by a certain actor

would become famous and by itself guarantee the success of a play (Kholodov 5: 158). Yet the rehearsal convention of the period was problematic. In general, the actors' preparations for the performance were reduced to memorizing the text, a task mainly completed alone at home (Danilov, *Teatr* 175). Rehearsals at the theatre were intended to orient the actors to the arrangement of the scenes in the play. The limited number of rehearsals was not only part of the theatrical tradition, but to a great extent was caused by the intensive employment of the actors: they simply had little time to rehearse (Ashukin 85, Kholodov 5: 44). In some cases, however, actors took the responsibility to coordinate their interpretations of the characters with the other actors involved in the plays (Kholodov 5: 33). But even these rehearsal efforts could not replace those of a professional artistic director and therefore could improve the production quality only to a limited extent.

### **The Anticipation of Change: 1880-1890s**

The last two decades of the nineteenth century opened in the general spirit of the need for change, as the public criticized theatre for falling behind the social developments of turbulent reality. Disappointed in forms celebrated in the previous periods, writers, critics, and theatre practitioners proclaimed a general decline in the quality of theatre (Frame, *Imperial Theaters* 13). An acknowledged necessity for change was reflected in a wide spectrum of themes covered in the theatre debates of the period. Thus, articles on the artistic qualities of the performances and actors' techniques were well represented and mirrored the overall domination of the actor's craft, which continued from the previous epoch. The spirit of anticipation was to a large extent fuelled by the abolition of the monopoly held by the Imperial Theatres in the capitals (1882), commonly seen as a barrier for the development of the arts. The new opportunity gave rise to theatrical institutions of different kinds, which

emerged as a platform for innovations and declared themselves as holding high aesthetic standards. Guided by profitability to ensure their survival, private theatres soon acquired organizational principles that were similar to those of the Imperial stages, thus preventing theatrical innovation. Contrary to expectations, the change did not occur instantly or as the result of the above reforms, but was instead delayed until the turn of the century, eventually resulting from the initiatives of individual theatre practitioners (Kholodov 6: 9).

The widespread debate concerning theatrical innovations brought about a number of enhancements that gradually became established parts of the production process. The influence of the Meiningen Company's success touring the capitals in the 1890s popularized the coordination between various elements, leading to new stylistic developments in painted sets and decoration (Syrkina 7). Additionally, the tradition of individual actors selecting their own wardrobes was slowly weakened in favour of the overall coordination of costumes (Syrkina 8). Although the role of music in the production was acknowledged, it was still rare to have the music composed for a specific production, and the accompaniment was traditionally selected from the available stock collection (Slonim 94). Other improvements dealt with the organization of the rehearsal process, which included extensions in the number of rehearsals as well as the planning and rehearsal of the crowd scenes (Kholodov 6: 49). Another important advance was the use of electric lighting in theatres that provided opportunities for creating various special effects (Frame, *School* 112).

Most importantly, the emergence and accumulation of various innovations dealing with individual components of the production process sparked a discussion within the 'directorial theatre' about the function and the position of the developing professional identity of the director. Although the creative and interpretative role of the director was largely recognized,



the spectrum of his activities was still limited to coordinating the inanimate aspects of the production, while prestigious actors were actively involved in their own training. This is evident in the fact that the first dress rehearsal in Russian theatre history took place as late as 1894 (Nemirovich-Danchenko 98). The display of the actors' individual artistic talents was increased and gradually led to actor-oriented directorial practice, which then in turn defined the peculiar development of the Russian artistic director (Kholodov 6: 50).

### **Theatre of a New Era: 1898-1917**

The two decades preceding the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 represent a meaningful period for the development of the arts in Russia. Ignited by the search for new modes of expression at the end of the 1890s and absorbing a strong Western influence, this period became known as the "Silver Age," which influenced the flourishing of the arts after 1905 (Slonim 100). In theatrical circles the beginning of the new era was marked by the foundation of the Moscow Art Theatre (1898), which successfully challenged the notions of existing theatre and paved the way for a burst of innovative approaches to production. Informed by a variety of aesthetic movements such as naturalism, impressionism, symbolism and futurism, Russian theatrical life contained a wide spectrum of initiatives.

Although diverse and often contradictory, the theatrical experiments of the period were unified by a common thread: the creation of unified productions. This meant rejecting the actors' theatre and embracing the development of the director as a single creative force. The movement toward individual conceptions of directorial theatre went hand in hand with theoretical and practical explorations of new modes of expression and therefore with the art of acting and actors' training. It is worth returning to Konstantin Stanislavsky in this regard, whose legacy of establishing one of the most influential acting systems can scarcely be

overstated. The need for coordination among all elements of a production led to the recognition of theatre's ability to synthesize various art forms and launched the study of theatre decoration, costume, music, and theatre architecture in Russia. While exploring theatre's position within the web of arts, special attention was given to its relationship to literature.

Yet another area that provided a field for exploration and reevaluation was the role of theatre in society. Undoubtedly, the power of performances to influence audiences was recognized by the state and controlled in the form of censorship. As they continued to react to the immediate state of affairs and domestic policies, the censors were focused on determining whether or not the didactic role of particular performances was beneficial to society. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the public voiced demands for serious theatre, challenging the notion of theatre as merely a purveyor of entertainment. For instance, although Stanislavsky did not reject theatre as a medium of entertainment entirely, he did suggest that it is the aesthetic and intellectual quality of performances that have the power to educate their audiences (Stanislavsky, *Sobranie sochinenii* 5: 466). He understood theatre as a moral institution, arguing in favour of theatre's potential to serve a higher social purpose, and he called for performances that would address and reflect on contemporary issues and mirror society (Vinogradskaja 1: 501-502).

### **1.3. Theatrical Censorship**

The power of theatre to inspire its audiences was recognized by the government, which executed its controlling measures by means of censorship. In order to grasp the extent to which the state shaped the repertoire and content performed, it is worth outlining the

traditions and practices of censorship used by the Russian tsarist government at that time. Before a play was publicly performed it was subjected to preliminary censorship for licensing. This was a two-step process. First, a license for publication had to be obtained, followed by a review by theatrical censors (Swift 90). After this second approval the text was authorized for performance and often included amendments or modifications to be adapted into staging. Local authorities made sure that the performed play adhered to the approved text.

Censors reviewing the play relied on some fundamental rules produced in 1865 and described in the *Statute on Censorship and Press* [*Zakon o tsenzure i pechati*], which was limited to a generic list of topics deemed inappropriate for publication and performance. Without stressing specific thematic requirements for theatrical production, the law listed the following rules for censors who reviewed works intended for public distribution:

All works should be protected from containing any offence towards Christian teachings and practices. Works must protect the immunity of the supreme authorities and their attributes as well as the respect of the members of the ruling family, the stability of the laws, and the morality, honor and familial life of each person. Works containing harmful teachings of socialism and communism, which have a potential to overthrow current order in favor of anarchy, will be banned. Articles that arouse the hatred of one class to another or that contain offensive treatment of an entire class, government officials or public servants are not permitted for publication. When reviewing works of historical or political significance, the censors will make sure that the works do not insult the Russian government or those friendly to Russia. In dealing with questions of morality,

the censors must make sure that the vocabulary used satisfies a proper level of respect and decency. (*Zakon / Statute* 3349-3350: trans. V.M.)

Based on the information contained in the *Statute on Censorship and Press*, censorship at the time was mainly interested in the political power of the play to be staged. Any alterations were intended to uphold and guarantee the tranquility of the controlling powers of the Russian state. In contrast to literary censors, theatrical censors were well aware of the accessibility of performances to a larger audience and tended to be stricter (Swift 93). Therefore, under theatrical censorship the finished piece was usually altered to a greater extent. The generality and fluidity of the law governing theatre allowed the censors to judge the plays based on their own interpretations. Therefore, at times the censors' decisions were contradictory, and it is difficult to determine specific rules as the decisions were often based on ulterior motives (Kholodov 5: 43). Censorship was known to be very strict in dealing with the portrayal of the ruling powers and its symbols. For example, the permission to depict the Russian tsar was a new development in the late nineteenth century. However, this permission was limited to historic plays and Royal families prior to the Romanov dynasty (Drizen, *Sorok let teatra* 169). In addition, the Russian tsar could only be portrayed on stage to glorify the Russian State (Kholodov 5: 41). Furthermore, restrictions were applied to shape a positive image of certain social strata, such as the nobility, military, and government officials (Kholodov 5: 42). It is not surprising that a high level of scrutiny was applied to issues concerning religion. Censors eliminated any possible religious allusions as well as the representation of explicitly religious materials and characters. For instance, censorship did not allow any kind of religious debate on stage, since such disputes contradicted the teachings of Orthodoxy (Drizen, *Sorok let teatra* 238-39). The representation of Saints, the

presence of religious symbols, and reading prayers were all prohibited (Chudnovtsev 44). In defining what was impermissible, the censors reacted to immediate developments in the state, which can be observed in plays with potentially political symbols or themes. With the developing social crisis, Russian theatre became apolitical, as the plays containing revolutionary ideas were suppressed. In fact, from the 1890s, censorship regulations specifically prohibited the depiction of unrest at the factories, as well as any representations of working conditions or the relationship between the workers and factory owners (Kholodov 7: 8). In addition to thematic specifications, the censors took into consideration the ability of theatre to create a special interpretation of the play by means of theatrical signs (Swift 93). Although the *Statute on Censorship and Press* does not contain any restrictions on other elements of theatrical production, contemporary reports state that censors also paid close attention to the visual aspects of the production (Drizen, *Sorok let teatra* 249). Thus, from the beginning of the twentieth century the presence of the censors at the final rehearsal became a common practice. The severity of the final judgment varied from the inclusion of modifications to a complete ban of the play immediately before its première (Chudnovtsev 59).

#### **1.4. Orthodoxy and Theatre**

In the early nineteenth century, the attitude of the church towards theatre was marked by disinterest yet tolerance. Because theatres were not widely accessible to the public, they were therefore not yet too influential in the public sphere. As a result of the reforms in the 1860s, which triggered rapid developments among theatrical enterprises in the provinces, this attitude changed in the seventies to active condemnation. Threatened by socio-political

developments overall and concerned about the interest of religious believers in theatrical performances, the church took precautionary measures to prevent people's familiarization with the arts, a factor they viewed as influential in the decreased number of churchgoers. Unable to prohibit theatre as institution, the church initiated active propaganda against theatre which was intended to restrict the latter's activity and potential influence. Thus, from the 1870s on, the number of publications exploring theatre's pernicious influence on the human soul increased. To justify its hatred of theatre the church built the discussion around two related arguments: the examples of theatre criticism from early Christian canons and the teachings of the Church Fathers, as well as the assertion that theatre is incompatible with Christian morality (Chudnovtsev 13). To emphasize the latter, the most conservative representatives of the clergy referred to salvation of the soul as the only purpose of earthly life, a concept that involved complete physical and spiritual abstention. Within this view of the essence and purpose of life, any favourable attitude towards art was out of the question. The church criticized all types of involvement in theatrical enterprises, such as soliciting the audience's participation and encouragement. It criticized the theatre as useless activity and a depraved influence on the masses (Chudnovtsev 23-30).

Despite the fear of theatre as an immoral force, there is no evidence of the church's direct involvement in the question of theatrical censorship in the years preceding the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. As part of the governmental system, the Orthodox Church was protected by the censorship laws restraining plays that did not adhere to the Orthodox tenets or contained religious criticism. Judging from various studies, censorship officials did exercise vigilance in religious matters, which was satisfactory to the church (Drizen, *Sorok let teatra* 238, Kholodov 5: 41). With the growing social crisis, however, the absolute

reliance of the church on the government censorship changed in favour of active involvement. Initiated in the 1890s by isolated instances of the church's interference in secular censorship, the engagement of the church in theatrical matters developed into a common practice and the number of suspended plays previously approved and performed on stage increased (Chudnovtsev 66). Granted legal authority in all religious matters, the church's governing body, the Holy Synod, became the highest instance consulted in controversial cases when the censors were in doubt and often overrode the decisions of the state's censorship (65). The gradual subordination of the censorship office to the rulings of religious officials is indicative of the status of the Orthodox Church as a political force in late Imperial Russia. Until the collapse of the Empire in 1917, the Orthodox Church remained consistent in these efforts.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Faust* [Фаясмъ], 1877

#### 2.1. Moscow's Maly Theatre

The first Russian production of Goethe's *Faust I* took place at the Moscow's Maly Theatre – one of the oldest theatrical enterprises in Russia. Established in 1806, the theatre originated from Moscow University's drama company, founded in 1754 (Londré 307). Protected by the Monopoly of Imperial Theatres in the capitals, it was the only dramatic theatre in Moscow until that unique privilege was rescinded in 1882. The Maly Theatre was often described in contrast to its counterpart in St. Petersburg, the Imperial Alexandrinsky. Both were controlled by the state in the late nineteenth century, functioned under the same directorate, and complied with the same organizational principles and rules of censorship. However, due to its proximity to the court, St. Petersburg's Alexandrinsky Theatre was more conservative (Frame, *Imperial Theatres* 26). The Maly Theatre, by contrast, was considered to be “Moscow's second university” due to its close relationship with the academic world (Slonim 85) and the educational role it played for Moscow's audiences (Ashukin 125). New dramatic pieces often premiered there before they were staged in St. Petersburg (Kholodov 5: 25). This seems to be true in the case of Goethe's *Faust*, which premiered at the Maly in 1877 and reached St. Petersburg's Imperial Theatre in 1902.

As one of the Imperial Theatres, Maly belonged to the national establishments subsidized by the monarchy, which functioned under the patronage of Tsar Alexander II until 1881. The structure of theatre administration, established in 1842, remained unchanged during the rule of Alexander, whose relationship towards art may have been indifferent (Drizen, *Sorok let teatra* 150). The Imperial Theatres were part of the Ministry of the Imperial Court until 1917



and were managed by a board of directors who mainly served the needs of ‘aristocratic audiences’ and promoted foreign companies and ballet at the expense of drama. The directorate’s cost-saving policy, introduced as a result of the theatre’s inability to ensure profits despite its privileged position in the capital, was not beneficial for the visual side of the productions. The actors’ difficult working conditions, such as a growing number of performances initiated by the expansion of theatrical audiences and the extension of the theatrical season, further diminished the quality of the entire theatrical production, which was measured mainly by the acting techniques of the leading players. The situation was aggravated by the generational shift among the acting corps. Along with the poor organization of actors’ training, such circumstances negatively impacted the actors’ abilities to rehearse, prepare, and perform. Together with the absence of an artistic director, these complaints added to the difficulties that preoccupied the Maly Theatre during the 1870s.

## **2.2. Adaptation of the Play**

The production of Goethe’s *Faust* premièred on November 14th, 1877 and was repeated on the 16th and 17th of the same month. The playbill reads: “*Faust*, scenes from the first part of Goethe’s tragedy in 5 intervals (peremenakh). Translation by M[ikhail]. P[avlovich]. Vronchenko” (Zograf, *Maly teatr* 598).<sup>20</sup> The information provided in the playbill reveals the influence of the theatrical traditions of the period, in which the productions were staged without the involvement of the artistic director. The play was chosen for a benefit performance by actress Nadezhda Sergeevna Vasilieva (1852–1920). However, any reference to the role she played in the production is missing. This is an unusual

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<sup>20</sup> An actual playbill is missing, the information provided was printed in Zograf’s *Maly teatr*.

circumstance, as the beneficiary typically selected a play to best demonstrate his or her artistic abilities and appeared in a leading role in a benefit performance. The fact that Margarita was played by Maria Nikolaevna Ermolova (1853-1928) and not by the beneficiary suggests that the play was selected for alternate reasons. Perhaps the choice reflects the need for fresh work in the repertoire to attract audiences and ensure a profit for Vasilieva.

The playbill defines the production under the category of “scenes” (*stseny, kartiny*) – a common practice of the period, and one that reflects the difficulties of defining theatrical genres at the time (Kholodov 5: 48). Most of the plays appearing under this designation were works of popular entertainment written by second-rate playwrights or actors. Based on anecdotes or amusing incidents, these plays of manners and “scenes” were similar to vaudeville, as they tended to portray the everyday lives of common people, petty government clerks, or members of the middle merchant class. The fact that the adaptation of *Faust* appeared under this designation indicates that only a limited number of scenes were included in the production. It also suggests that the play was produced for the purpose of light entertainment. One can argue that the audiences accustomed to a certain type of “scenes” expected the same from this production of Goethe’s *Faust I*.

An overview of the preserved scenes helps to determine the themes included in the performances of 1877, which in turn sheds light on the purpose of the production itself. Due to the unavailability of the production documents,<sup>21</sup> we must turn to information gathered

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<sup>21</sup> Nikolai Volkov wrote in 1932 that the manuscript of the play used for this production was housed in the Maly Theatre Archive (911). Today, the library of the Maly Theatre does hold manuscripts of the productions staged at the theatre, but the manuscript of the 1877 production of *Faust* is missing (Information based on author’s personal inquiry to Maly Theatre personnel, November 3, 2009). Several copies of *Faust* published in 1844 are currently in the St. Petersburg State Theatre Library,

from various Russian theatre histories and chronicles of the Maly Theatre. Based on a report by N.A. Popov, who examined the manuscript at the Museum of the Maly Theatre (Volkov 911), the text contained 340 lines and was performed in forty minutes with one short intermission. However, Nikolai Zograf, a historian of the Maly Theatre, stated that the play was given “without intermission with short breaks [in plural] filled with music” (*Maly teatr* 387). The fact that the play contained only five scenes and was performed in forty minutes indicates a substantial reduction of the original. The nature of the changes from the original can be deduced by examining the scene titles. Two sets of scene titles were provided in the secondary literature: one referring to a thematic line of each scene (Zograf) and another to the location of the action and the length of the individual scenes (Volkov).

Zograf:

1. “Margarta Rejoices over a Casket of Jewels Found”;
2. “Mephistopheles Arranges a Rendezvous”;
3. “Martha’s Garden”;
4. “Valentine’s Death”;
5. “Dungeon” (*Maly Teatr* 387).

Volkov:

1. “Margarita’s Room” (39 lines);
2. “Garden” (39 lines);
3. “Martha’s Garden” (80-95 lines);
4. “In Front of the House” (80-95 lines);
5. “Dungeon” (80-95 lines) (911).<sup>22</sup>

Judging from the preserved scene titles and the length of the scenes, the production omitted twenty-three of the twenty-eight scenes and preserved approximately 7% of the original dialogue.<sup>23</sup> An examination of scene titles reveals that the storyline was limited to the love

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which holds the resources of the Imperial Theatres directorate. However, it is impossible to determine whether or not they were used as scripts for the 1877 production.

<sup>22</sup> Author’s translation from Russian. Original Russian titles can be found in Appendix A.

<sup>23</sup> The production contained approximately 340 lines, which is an average length based on the approximate length of each scene. It makes for about 7 percent of the original 4612 lines.

intrigue between Faust and Margarita and neglected the philosophical content of Goethe's play. The Gretchen tragedy at the heart of the production was removed from its context, starting when Margarita finds the gift from Faust, without providing any exposition to explain his role as a scientist or his pact with Mephistopheles. This makes Mephistopheles' involvement in the play unclear, and the role of Faust is diminished to that of a lover. The fact that the production is dedicated exclusively to Faust's romantic involvement suggests that this was the major force behind applied reductions which turned the play into light entertainment. Despite the fact that the production is dedicated exclusively to the love story, its brevity suggests that this part of the original had not been staged in full. Scenes and episodes containing dialogue between Faust and Mephistopheles as well as those dealing with the contemplations of Faust and psychological development of the Gretchen character were omitted, thereby reducing its complexity and limiting it to a mere reproduction of events. Therefore, the exclusive concentration on the love story and simplistic reproduction of events were two key factors guiding the process of scene selection.

Undoubtedly, the single theme of the production reflects the conventions of the theatrical tradition of the period. Thus, the absence of directorial theatre and the poor coordination between the individual components of the production created difficulties in staging plays with complicated storylines, initiating a practice of simplification observed in the example of this Russian adaptation of *Faust*. The specificity of theme selection itself is not surprising for various reasons. First, it mirrors the historical literary reception of the original, which sprang from the translation of the romantic scenes. Secondly, a love intrigue with a tragic outcome is a common theme of interest for socially-diverse audiences and therefore provides an effective means of moderating its public appeal. This suggests that the general selection

process was guided by the popularity of the theme, which in turn ensured profits. Third, the choice of the theme enabled the actors to avoid commenting on the religious and political issues embedded in the original metaphysical framework of the play and in the storyline featuring Faust as a scholar. The neglect of these topics can be viewed as an effective strategy in meeting censorship requirements. Fourth, major events included in this production coincide not only with those of Goethe's *Faust*, but also with Charles Gounod's opera *Faust* (1859). The popularity of the opera on the Russian Imperial stage reflects its familiarity to both the audiences and theatre practitioners. The emphasis of the opera on the trivial romantic matters undoubtedly influenced the shaping of the adaptation in the same direction. As noted above, even parts of the love story were eliminated, providing a clear-cut view of the reasons behind the tragic outcome of the events. This is clearly a desirable strategy to provide light entertainment to the audiences, leaving no room for alternative views which could potentially challenge commonly accepted behavioural norms. In addition, the brevity of the production revealed in the restrictive number of the spoken dialogue is a product of the technical, organisational, and artistic abilities of a company exhausted by frequent premières, insufficient rehearsal times, and numerous performances.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *Faust and Margarita [Фаустъ и Маргарита], 1878*

#### 3.1. Description of the Production

The second staging of Goethe's *Faust* was also undertaken at the Maly Theatre in 1878, only a couple of months apart from the first production. The play was chosen as a benefit performance for the leading actress Glikeriia Nikolaevna Fedotova (1846-1925) and was premièred on March 18th with performances following on March 22nd, 27th, 30th, and April 3rd. The playbill of this production reads "*Faust and Margarita*, drama in 5 acts, 7 scenes by W. Goethe. Translated for the stage by N. B. [N. Bitsin]" (Abalkin 650, Kholodov 5: 528, Zograf, *Maly Teatr* 599).

It is necessary to clarify the dates of this production at this point due to the fact that secondary sources show discrepancies in this regard. The sources cited identify the performances of 1878 as comprising a separate production from that of 1877, now under the title *Faust and Margarita*. However, the repertoire list for actor Aleksandr Pavlovich Lensky, who played the leading role in the 1877 and 1878 productions lists only one production of Goethe's *Faust I* in the season of 1877-78 (Podgorodinskii 334). Zograf and Volkov record that the 1877 production of the play called *Faust* was based on five scenes of the original, dealing exclusively with the love story (Zograf, *Maly teatr* 387, Volkov 911).<sup>24</sup> The manuscript of this second 1878 production features a wider selection of scenes. In addition, it is impossible to understand the latter production as a revised version of the first attempt due to the fact that, besides a new title, it uses a new translation of the original, which differs from the text employed in 1877. A comparative analysis of the translation

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<sup>24</sup> See Appendix A.

published in 1844 by Mikhail Vronchenko (1801-1855), which has been identified as the textual base of the first *Faust I* production (Zograf, *Maly teatr* 598), and the manuscript used in 1878 production shows no similarities on the lexical level (see text excerpts in Appendix B). The implementation of a new textual base in the performances of 1878 proves that this was a separate production of the play.

### **Reception of the Play and Discourse on Celebrities**

There is little surviving evidence that gives a sense of the reception of the play.<sup>25</sup> Yet what information we have should not be dismissed as it provides unique insights into the realization of certain characters on stage. Both contemporaries and theatre scholars of the later periods registered this production as being unsuccessful. They cite the reductive interpretation of Goethe's drama and actors' performances as the two major reasons for its failure. For example, in the publication *Sovremennye khroniki*, an unknown observer characterized the attempt to stage the play as a "melodramatic" performance and noted the audience's disappointment with this approach (Postoronii 4). He reported that the meaning of the tragedy was reconstructed "unnaturally" and that the portrayals of the main characters revealed an incomprehension of the issues discussed (Postoronii 4). In the *Maly teatr vtoroi poloviny XIX veka*, Nikolai Zograf suggested that the protagonist's philosophical reflections faded into the background while the tragedy of Margarita was placed at the centre of attention (387). As a result, the dramatic composition prevented the actor in the role of Faust

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<sup>25</sup> A review of the production was printed on March 21, 1878 in the weekly journal, *Sovremennye khroniki* in a column entitled "Teatralnaia khronika". A confirmation of the event can also be found in the work of A. Zinov'ev, *Taina geniia* (97). The production is further mentioned in an article by Anatoly Lunacharsky "K 100-letiiu Malogo teatra" (4). Three Russian theatre histories list the production in the theatre's repertoire (Abalkin 650, Kholodov 5: 528, Zograf, *Maly teatr* 599). In addition, Nikolai Zograf briefly described its structure and thematic line, and provided a criticism of the artistic realization of the play (387-88).

from creating an image of a striving scholar and reduced the portrayal of this figure to that of a lover (388). Zograf's criticism of the Mephistopheles character describes the elements he felt this portrayal was lacking: "philosophical meaning, defiance towards mankind, slyness, mockery, cynicism" (388). From the description here it is impossible to understand Mephistopheles's role in the production. Zograf characterized the image of Margarita as distorted, mainly due to the actress's inability to portray the maidenly naïveté of the figure in the opening scenes and her attempts to overcome her passion (387). However, he noted the successful presentation of the character's insanity in the final scenes due to Fedotova's solemn presence and her personification of the role (387). In his report, the illustration of the tragic destiny of Margarita in the final scenes was the only successful part of the production.

Clearly, the reductive interpretation of the original was a key factor in determining the production's unsuccessful outcome. A similar and even more radically reductive approach to Goethe's play was observed in the adaptation of the play a couple of months earlier at the same theatre. This continuity verifies the fact that theatrical traditions of the period created difficulties in staging plays with complicated storylines. The poor coordination of individual components due to the absence of an artistic director led to a common practice of simplification to ensure the staging itself, but this was not beneficial to the quality of the production. One of the setbacks caused by this strategy of eliminating the context of the events was a shift of the storyline and a change in the involvement of characters.

The organization of the benefit performances, which guaranteed a privileged role for the beneficiary, is certainly another factor that initiated the shift of emphasis to the female character of the production, as indicated in its title. Glikeriia Fedotova, who had chosen Goethe's *Faust I* for her own benefit performance, appeared in the production in the role of



Margarita. The actress was a star of the Maly Theatre company. Until the 1880s she was the leading actress for the roles of young women (Shabalina). Audiences, critics, and theatre professionals had celebrated her acting talent. Konstantin Stanislavsky, for instance, had acknowledged her talent and had spoken highly of her ability to portray the inner world of the characters she played (*Moia zhizn' v iskusstve* 39). In light of the actress's status, Zograf's negative assessment of her portrayal of Margarita's feelings as a young girl is astonishing. We can speculate that Fedotova's age, appearance, and inner maturity could have had a negative impact on her ability to portray a fourteen year-old character. The fact that shortly after the production Fedotova changed the type of role she played and became a character actress of mature women supports this assumption.

While the actress who played the role of Margarita enjoyed the privileged status of a star at the theatre, the position of the actor cast for the role of Faust was different. Although Aleksandr Lensky was a popular provincial actor before his employment by the Maly Theatre in 1876, he was heavily criticized in the reviews and received poorly by Moscow's audiences in the first years of his employment at the Imperial stage (Pazhitnov 70). Undoubtedly, differences in the status of both actors played a crucial role in the reception of the performances. Although it served the purpose of showcasing the talent of the beneficiary, the audience's cold reception of Lensky the actor aggravated the overall weak presence of this character.

While the examination of differences in the status of actors sheds light on the casting strategies of the period, a review of Fedotova's repertoire in the years before the production provides interesting information about how the actress approached the role of Margarita. Fedotova was cast in Aleksandr Ostrovsky's *The Storm* (1859), a play that was performed

frequently and successfully at the Maly Theatre. It features a young woman, Katerina, whose destiny resembles Margarita's.<sup>26</sup> Both female characters have strong Christian beliefs. They both fall in love and have illegitimate relationships causing them to develop a guilty conscience and eventually leading them to their deaths. Glikeriia Fedotova had played Katerina for thirty five years, starting in 1863 (Shabalina). Her success in this role is recorded in various sources (*Zograf, Maly teatr* 310, Ashukin 124). The intertextuality between these two female characters which existed especially in the tragic outcome suggests that the actress's understanding of the destiny of Katerina and her ability to illustrate the anxiety of the Russian character had influenced her interpretation of Margarita in the last scenes of the play. This suggests that she approached Goethe's character through the prism of the Russian contemporary play. Clearly, this strategy was beneficial for the realization of the last scene of the production, as Fedotova's presentation of the character's development in the dungeon was remarked upon positively by the critics as the only successful part (*Zograf, Maly teatr* 387). By the same token, this strategy provides insight into the weak presentation of the young Margarita in the opening scenes of the production, substituted by an image of a more mature female character. This picture alludes to the characterization of Katerina in *The Storm* where the story revolves around conjugal infidelity featuring a young married woman. Consequently, by approaching Margarita through a familiar role, Fedotova invested Goethe's original character with the features of a more mature Katerina. By doing so, the actress failed to differentiate between the two, which prevented the creation of a distinctive image of a young girl. While the influence of the Russian contemporary play on the

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<sup>26</sup> Literary connections of Ostrovsky's *The Storm* to Goethe's *Faust*, beyond parallels found between the two female protagonists, have been acknowledged in comparative studies and are discussed in M. Dziubenko "Goethe – Turgenev – Ostrovsky. Iz istorii retseptsii i transformatsii siuzheta o Fauste v russkoi literature."

interpretation of *Faust* is revealing in terms of the artistic realization of the Margarita character, it is also fascinating in the broader context of the play's theatrical reception as it provides an example of cultural appropriation through a familiar theatrical text. More interestingly, it captures a reciprocal relationship between the literary and theatrical reception of Goethe's *Faust I*, as the dramatic production of the play is reinterpreted through a Russian play.

### **Primary Materials**

There remains just one item of primary material related to this production in the Russian State Theatre Library in St. Petersburg, a manuscript of the entire dramatic text on thirty-four legal-sized, double-sided pages, hence sixty-seven pages in total.<sup>27</sup> This manuscript is clearly a valuable piece of evidence as it provides significant information on the theatre's treatment of the original play. It not only contains the linguistic base of the production, but also presents some information on the staging. The manuscript begins with the title as it appeared on the playbill. It provides a list of characters along with a description of their social strata and relationships to other characters (Appendix C).<sup>28</sup> The cover page of the manuscript ends with information on the date and place of the first performance, verifying information found in the repertoire lists. Numerous scenes and lines from the original do not appear here. The manuscript itself also contains hand-written amendments and deletions. Changed or added lines are written either on top of the crossed-out text or on the side at the position at which they are to be read. Actors' names noted in the right or left margins mark

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<sup>27</sup> In the following analysis the front side of the manuscript pages is referred to by the use of the letter "a" after the page number; the reverse is referred to as "b".

<sup>28</sup> The author does not have the right to include the manuscript as a whole. The original of the manuscript is available for the reader to view in the Russian State Theatre Library in St. Petersburg: Gete, *Faust i Margarita*, perevod Bitsina, O1, SH18, P3, M59.

their stage entries and exits. Actors' movements on stage, information on props, as well as sound and lighting effects, where noted, are given in the margins of the respective pages. In sum, one can conclude that the manuscript was written in different hands and therefore consists of more than one layer (Appendix D, Fig.1-5). The identification of these layers is necessary for the sake of a precise description of the primary evidence. Changes applied to the dialogues are minor and do not influence the overall interpretation of the play. Therefore, the analysis will be based on the text of the manuscript meant to be reproduced in the performance.

The first distinction among the handwriting samples lies in the use of the writing tool. The main part of the manuscript is written in ink. Changes and additions made to the dialogues of this layer have been made in pencil and show two different handwritings. Stage directions were written in pencil by a fourth hand (see Appendix D). The handwriting in Figure 1 exhibits consistencies in the page placement, alignment, size, and proportion of the letters. Figures 2 and 3 consist of changes to the dialogue written in two different hands. One shows large, round letters, irregular in size, with the tendency to decrease in size towards the end of the word. It is written by applying heavy pressure to the writing tool. The other handwriting uses light pressure, and the size of the letters is small and confined. The direction of the lines tends to go upward. The handwriting in Figure 4 differs from all others in its general layout as it does not follow the baseline but rather is written at a forty-five degree angle on the page. These differences in the handwritings likely show four different phases of writing and amending and indicate through their nature that one is a consistent assembly of the manuscript and the other three deal with the occasional introduction of changes.

The existence of four different handwritings raises questions about the order of their application. Based on the central page placement, the handwriting in Figure 1 is clearly the first written layer of the text, i.e. the original manuscript. The first text excerpt in Figure 3 sheds light on the order of amendments applied to the dialogues, as it exhibits cuts not only to the first layer, but also to the amendments applied in the handwriting from Figure 2. Consequently, these deleted amendments can be verified as the second layer and the changes in handwriting from Figure 3 as the third layer, the final version of the dialogues. The temporal location of the handwriting featured in Figure 4 is problematic. The only assumption in this regard can be made based on two examples which exhibit the change in page placement from angular to vertical (Fig. 5). This irregularity occurs in combination with amendments of the second and third layer, leaving limited space in the margins. According to this reasoning, it can be assumed that the handwriting in Figure 4 was applied last.

Another important question is the authorship of each layer. Some pages of the manuscript are signed with two initials (Fig. 1, 11) which do not correspond with those of either the author of the adaptation or the main director of the Maly Theatre at the time of the production, who was supposed to be in charge of stage direction. The title page of the manuscript bears the initials N.B. [Н.Б.], who can be identified through secondary literature as the author of the translation, Nikolai Bitsin [Николай Бицин] (Kholodov 5: 528). However, this name is missing from the Index of Names listed in Histories of the Maly Theatre, Russian theatre encyclopaedias, or any other pertinent secondary literature (Zograf, *Maly teatr* 618-631, Ashukin 329-334, Markov). It is possible that a freelance translator

working occasionally for the theatre may have penned the adaptation, which was a common practice of the period (Kholodov 5: 55).

Presumably, the first layer of the text belongs to the hand of the translator or theatre clerk preparing a stage copy. The second and third layers contain textual emendations of the dialogue exclusively. This, together with the theatrical tradition of the time, where the overall interpretation of a theatrical adaptation was left to the leading actors (Kholodov 5: 38), could indicate their involvement in these changes. The fourth layer, which provides stage directions, presumably belongs to the repertoire inspector, who according to Russian theatre histories, was responsible for the spatial arrangement of props, scenery, and the actors on stage (Kholodov 5: 37).

### **3.2. Structural Analysis**

#### **Structure**

The structure of *Faust and Margarita* is not easily traced back to Goethe's *Faust I* because the play is divided into five acts, each featuring various numbers of scenes ranging from four to twelve (Appendix E). Two pictures [картина] appear in the second Act, presumably painted perspectives done on large stretched-out canvases placed at the back of the stage. The thematic structure of the script follows the stages of Gustav Freytag's dramatic pyramid (115). Act One introduces Faust and briefly provides background information regarding his dissatisfaction with life. It ends with a doubly inciting moment when the protagonist signs the contract with Mephistopheles and imagines Margarita as the object of his desire. The action rises in Act Two with the portrayal of Faust's path to Margarita. It ends with a complication: Faust understands the impact of his actions on Margarita's destiny. Their

relationship reaches a climax at the end of Act Three with Faust's entrance into Margarita's room, indicating their sexual relationship. The action falls in Act Four, when societal judgment is passed on Margarita's actions. The catastrophe occurs in the fifth Act, which is set in the dungeon, and culminates in the death of Margarita.

In most cases, the scene divisions do not follow the original. Often, the action Goethe placed in a single scene is divided into several in the manuscript (Appendix E). This happens not only to longer scenes, such as "Studierzimmer II"<sup>29</sup> and "Kerker", but also to "Auerbachskeller in Leipzig", "Strasse", "Abend", "Der Nachbarin Haus", "Ein Gartenhäuschen", "Marthens Garten" and "Nacht". In other cases, the action of several scenes is combined and reduced into a single scene. For example, Faust's suicide attempt from the "Nacht" scene and the passages from "Studierzimmer II" that curse human existence both appear in Act 1, scene 1.

### **Summary of Differences on the Level of Scenes and Thematic Complexes**

The analysis thus far shows similarities in the plot structure of the original and text used in the production, but the quantity of deletions applied to the dialogue is substantial (Appendix E). The manuscript includes the majority of the original scenes, but entirely omits six out of twenty-eight scenes and features only twenty-five percent of the original dialogue. The percentage of that dialogue that precedes or does not deal with the romantic storyline is much lower than in the scenes dealing with the story of seduction and abandonment.

An overview of the scene deletions made to the script of the production shows the following thematic tendencies:

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<sup>29</sup> German scene titles refer to the original play. The manuscript does not provide scene titles, therefore when discussing the manuscript, act and scene numbers will be provided in text. Appendix E provides an overview of what was included in each scene.

- Reduction of the philosophical content;
- Altered representation of religious themes;
- Deletion of imaginary elements;
- Deletion of morally questionable issues.

On the level of scenes, major cuts were made to the beginning of the first part, and three scenes that precede the sub-title *Der Tragödie erster Teil* were omitted. The entire second part of the original was not included in the production. Such a simplified approach demonstrates the theatre's intent to eliminate elements not directly connected to the romantic storyline of the first part, which reduced the philosophical significance of the original. This tendency is also evident throughout the text of the manuscript in an altered version of the Helena vision and in the omission of the Wagner character. Most importantly, this reductive approach initiates a simplified portrayal of the central figure, whose ambivalent nature is much weakened. Faust's extensive monologues are shortened and summarized, and references to motifs taken up in part two are eliminated. For instance, Faust's alchemical experiments are excluded and his views on religion are reduced and altered. Faust's view of the macrocosm, his encounter with the Earth Spirit, and his translation of the New Testament are omitted, thereby reducing his characterization as a scholar.

The alteration or elimination of scenes featuring religious content suggest the influence of censorship on the theatre. On the level of deleted scenes, this can be verified by the absence of the "Prolog im Himmel", which in the original features a portrayal of God. Censorship regulations at the time viewed the appearance of religious figures on stage as inappropriate (Chudnovtsev 44). Such deletions led to a failure to integrate the storyline with the pact between Mephistopheles and God, where the protagonist and his actions are viewed as the



object of the Lord's plan; thus the position of Faust is essentially altered to an autonomous agent and the original magnitude of his actions is contracted to a level of an individual experience.

The examination of the omissions and alterations applied to the original attitude of Faust towards theological doctrine assists in determining the nature of the reductive approach towards religious themes. Faust's original neglect of religion is much weakened in the adaptation by the alteration of the lines: "Fluch sei der Hoffnung! Fluch dem Glauben, / Und Fluch vor allem der Geduld!" (1605-06), which are translated in the Russian text as: "И славе, и надеждам ... но стократъ / Тебе проклятье, глупому терпенью! [And fame, and hopes, but most of all / I curse stupid patience<sup>30</sup>] (3a). Here, the reference to God's love presented in Goethe's text in line 1604 is missing. The deletion of "faith" and the use of the plural form of "hope" instead of its singular eliminate the segment's reference to fundamental Christian virtues that Faust rejects in the original and provide evidence that the negative views of Faust on this subject were problematic in light of the censorship. In addition, the deletion of the New Testament translation removes Faust's critical approach to Christian teachings, suggesting that the direct discussion of theological themes was to be reduced. Mephistopheles's criticism of the church was even removed from his lines in the dispute with the student; the original text's discussion of theology (1982) was substituted by philosophy (8a). Moreover, the protagonist's dismissal of religion, after he is distracted from his suicide attempt (765) is deleted, strengthening the remaining admiration of the sounds he hears and their role in his decision to change his mind. In sum, the adaptation resorts either

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<sup>30</sup> All Russian quotations in this chapter are from the manuscript *Faust and Margarita*. Trans. N.B.

to elimination or alteration of religious content to initiate the positive, salutary potential of Christian belief.

The presence of imaginary characters and sexuality in the original explains the deletion of the scenes “Walpurgisnacht” and “Walpurgisnachtstraum”, which can be understood as a means for passing censorship regulations. Similar motives led to the omission of the scene “Hexenküche”, which is left out except for a few lines. The single unreal character preserved, although with extensive cuts in appearances, speeches, and actions, is Mephistopheles. Yet his appearance as a poodle and his transformation are missing, possibly due to the difficulties to stage these episodes. The portrayal of morally questionable issues appears to be problematic and leads to the removal of witches and the simplification of original passages in the scene “Vor dem Tor”, which deals with the relationships between the sexes. The latter scene is misplaced and heavily edited, as it appears after the wager and creates a frame for the partial depiction of “Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig”. Eliminated are elements from the original scene “Vor dem Tor” that characterize Faust or typify different social groups. The presence of different social strata is used merely to create the image of a young, good-natured Margarita. Soldiers in this scene introduce Valentin, who praises his sister for her beauty and intellect (10b). The beggar character demonstrates the kindness of Margarita, who gives him some money (10b). Similar to the altered version of the Helena vision which showcases Margarita, these changes are meant to ensure the character shift initiated by the title of the production and to support the emphasis on the romantic story line.

The above instances of text alterations reveal the attempts of the theatre to create a smooth presentation of the remaining scenes. However, there are numerous examples in the text where the deletions were not compensated for by means of additions, leaving the

storyline inconsistent. Thus, Faust's appeal to save Margarita's life is missing from the manuscript as the result of the fact that the vision of her headless spectre in the original "Walpurgisnacht" was removed. The elimination of the scene "Nacht, Offen Feld" also excluded the vision that foretells Margarete's execution. The scene "Trüber Tag. Feld" is reduced to a few lines delivered already in the dungeon, where Faust sees his beloved condemned to death. However, his readiness to save her life is confirmed by his presence, but with no explanation of the reasons that led him to her. A certain degree of distraction is caused by small mistakes on the textual level, testifying to the lack of attention to the original text. Margarita's reflection on Faust's wisdom is misplaced in the adaptation and appears as her opening line during their encounter in Act Three in the garden (20a). Although confirming her admiration for the protagonist, this passage is confusing in this place, as she draws the conclusion prior to her conversation with him. Another misunderstanding of the same sort appears by means of the mixed use of the formal and informal pronoun 'you' (20b-22b) in the translation of the respective parts of the original. Faust begins this scene by addressing Margarita with an informal 'you' (*ty*) (translation of 3166-78), but once he inquires about her daily routine, he switches to the formal 'you' (*Vy*) (3108), and later back to the informal form (3186). In light of the overall concentration of the production on the romantic storyline of the original, these inconsistencies are surprising and reveal that the complexity of the original was not the only obstacle encountered by the theatre in staging Goethe's *Faust I*. These gaps in the simplified version of the original suggest that the absence of an artistic director prevented the theatre from producing a unified reading of the preserved storyline.

The analysis on the level of deleted scenes and larger thematic complexes certainly testifies to the theatre's need to satisfy censorship regulations. So far, it also validates the critics' position on the simplifications made in this production. *Faust and Margarita* is a loose and reduced translation of Goethe's *Faust I* which essentially reproduces the storyline of the Gretchen tragedy, which is at the centre of Goethe's *Urfaust*. Such prioritizing is noticeable not only in the percentage of the original dialogues adapted but also in the alterations applied in order to strengthen the portrayal of the main female character. However, the theatrical tradition of the period, which included among other things the absence of an artistic director, left its mark in the unresolved gaps in the development of the Faust figure overall and specifically within the love story. Two alterations testify to the influence of the opera *Faust* by Gounod on this production. These are the modification of the Helena vision and the appearance of Valentin before Faust's encounter with Margarita. Finally, some practical aspects of the changes should be noted. Most of the eliminations reduced the number of actors needed for the production. The imaginary content of the deleted scenes would have created technical difficulties and necessitated new decoration and wardrobe. The restrictive budgetary policy of the Theatre Directorate with respect to dramatic performances, as well as the fact that this production was a benefit performance, explains why such extra elements were disallowed.

### **3.2.1. Characterization of Faust**

Previous sections have highlighted the fact that scene deletions in the manuscript alter the portrayal of the Faust figure in this adaptation. These distortions are of interest in this chapter, which aims to identify the peculiarities of the protagonist's characterization as a

scholar and a lover in comparison with Goethe's Faust figure. It will be argued that the first discrepancy lies in the transformation of the original restlessness of Faust the scholar into resignation from his scholarly pursuit and the acceptance of the limitations of human condition. The second difference appears in Faust's treatment of the religious component as his original disillusionment is altered to showcase a salutary mission of the religious belief. Lastly, the original open-ended wager is changed into a traditional pact with the devil, which initiates the interpretation of Faust along the lines of a wrongdoer, as illustrated in the example of the Gretchen tragedy.

### **The Scholar's Predicament**

The manuscript begins with Faust's monologue in his study (1a), which is a condensed translation of the original passage dealing with the characterization of the scholastic academic tradition (354-364). In line with the original, the protagonist is portrayed as a man of scholarly learning who realizes the uselessness of the knowledge he has acquired for the understanding of a higher, genuine truth: "Мы подбираемъ лишь названья для вещей / А въ глубину, въ ихъ суть не проникаемъ." [We only name things / but do not penetrate their essence] (3a). In the subsequent development of the Faust figure, however, the adaptation diverges from the original as it is devoted exclusively to the protagonist's discontent. His disappointment in the limitations of human cognition culminates in the partial implementation of the original passage, in which Faust curses all forms of human achievement (1583-1606). Placed immediately after the description of the protagonist's initial position, the passage pronounces a malediction upon knowledge, human ambition, and a preoccupation with magic arts (3a). The growing discontent with the possibilities of science constitutes the entirety of the characterization of Faust the scholar in the manuscript,

whereas in the original he attempts to transcend the limitations of human cognition through study and magic. These aspects are omitted entirely in the manuscript of the adaptation. Thus, the adaptation does not feature Faust's contemplation of the macrocosmic sign and the encounter with the Earth Spirit. Together with the removal of his meeting with Wagner, these omissions lead to the elimination of the fundamental notion of this figure as a symbol of human striving and energy. These changes initiate a transformation of Goethe's restless human being defined by his search for the understanding of basic principles of the universe into the disappointed scholar of the adaptation, whose scholarly work is devoid of any further expansion. After this state of mind is reached, the adaptation is dominated by Faust's interest in private and societal matters.

The portrayal of Faust from the singular perspective of fatal disappointment lacking the will for activity shifts the meaning of his suicide attempt despite the superficial agreement of the storyline with the original. In Goethe's text, Faust explains in an extensive monologue his belief that his final act in his human, earthly life will lead him "zu neuen Sphären reiner Tätigkeit" (705). He considers his suicide to be just another step in the quest for knowledge, another manifestation of his ambition. To that end, the direct use of words indicating death by means of poison is avoided. Instead, his last drink is described with the adjectives "exclusive", "crystal clear": "einzige Phiole" (690), "kristalne, reine Schale" (720). In the adaptation, the absence of Faust's will to undertake a journey toward universal truth results in completely opposed lexical choices that introduce his suicide attempt: "Вотъ чаша смертная!.. последний друг нашъ – ядъ. / Мигъ, - и конецъ мученью" [Here is the deadly cup! Our last friend – poison / A moment and it is the end of suffering] (3a). The combination of the words "death" and "poison" allude to the traditional conception of death

as a final act. Devoid of activity, his life has become a burden, a suffering that will end with no continuation. Consequently, the function of the song that distracts him from consuming the last drink in the original is transformed in the adaptation into a saving element. This newly acquired function of the song is seen by the altered reaction of Faust, who finds peace with himself: “О, райскіе, божественные звуки! / Вы съ неба къ намъ залетные друзья! / Я слушаю ... и замирають муки. / И плачу... и смиряюсь я” [O heavenly, divine tones / Our friends coming from the sky / I listen and the pain goes away / And I cry and resign] (3a). In the context of Faust’s initial disappointment in the sciences, this resignation translates as his acceptance of the causes of his despair, i.e. the limits of human cognition. This discrepancy with the original is later confirmed in his dialogue with Mephistopheles. Here the original remark on the existence of heaven and hell (1679-1670) is transformed to convey Faust’s belief that it is impossible to understand what happens after death: “Не в нашемъ разуменьи / Что будет тамъ.- Тамъ есть ли верхъ и низъ?” [It is not in our understanding / What happens there. – Is there an above and below?] (5a). Consequently, the depiction of Faust as a scholar in the adaptation stands in contradiction to that of the original. The author of the Russian adaptation appears to be uninterested in the development of the figure as a symbol of human striving, as any emphasis on his thirst for knowledge is omitted from the start. Substituted by Faust’s despair, the original restlessness of this figure is transformed into resignation. This transformation demonstrates that metaphysical issues are not at stake in this adaptation. This departure from the philosophically-loaded original text in combination with the exclusive emphasis on the private matters initiates the dominance of trivial matters in the adaptation and limits the potential of Goethe’s play.

The alteration of Faust's response to the song that interrupts his suicide attempt is significant if viewed in the context of religion, as his change of mind could be understood as a temporary restoration of his faith. Thus, the newly acquired saving function of the song depicts religion as a source of salvation for mankind. The alteration is crucial in light of the protagonist's initial rejection of theology among the other disciplines he has studied,<sup>31</sup> as it provides a solution in the form of absolution based on Christian teachings. While this emphasis is a substantial distortion from the original conception, in the context of the nineteenth century, when Orthodoxy flourished as the official religion of the Russian Empire, it establishes a desirable depiction of the church by restoring its authority. The didactic nature of the alterations in this episode, which are appropriate in light of the historiographic context, shifts the characterization of Faust to that of a pious man, which differs from Goethe's portrayal of Faust as a symbol of human striving. Consequently, the similarities between the suicide attempt in the original and its portrayal in the adaptation are limited to the external construction of the content. Internally, the comparative passages are diametrically opposed, as are the images of the protagonist himself.

### **The Contract**

Similar to the scenes discussed above, the passages of the wager between Faust and Mephistopheles bear resemblance to the original on the level of their external construction and implement a fair amount of its dialogue. However, misplacements and deletions, together with the previous changes, reshape the original meaning and create a new concept of the object and terms of the wager. The elimination of the protagonist's characterization as

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<sup>31</sup> “И философию, и богословье, и медицину, и права – все изучилъ [...] Я знаю только то, что ничего не знаю” [Philosophy, theology, medicine and law – I studied it all [...]I only know that I don't know anything] (3a).



a symbol of human energy and the transformation of his attitude into complete passivity create difficulties for the original purpose of the devil's temptation. Goethe's Mephistopheles proposes quiescence (1691) to win over Faust, expecting to quench his energy with its opposite in compliance with his pact with the Lord. In the revised manuscript, however, this meaning of Mephistopheles's proposal is unnecessary, as Faust's will for activity has already been eliminated. Also, the complexity of Faust's nihilism is reached in the original simultaneously, allowing the wager to cover all areas of the discontent. The adaptation, on the contrary, deals with the discontent in two stages. Once the adaptation establishes Faust's disappointment with the sciences, it neglects the higher purpose of his life completely and concentrates on its private sphere exclusively. Thus, Faust summons the devil after he reaches discontent with symbols of human happiness in its materialistic sense: "Клянѹ величье лживого кумира / Что мы Богатствомъ, Славою зовемъ – / Ребенка, женщину, нашъ плугъ, нашъ домъ, - / И блескъ, и шумъ, и прелесть мiра..." [I curse the greatness of the false idol / That we call wealth and fame - / Child, woman, our house / Brilliance, sensation and magnificence of the world] (4a). The devil's appearance as a result of the protagonist's dissatisfaction with his achievements in private and social life limits the proposal to the experience of earthly satisfaction devoid of philosophical meaning: "Уж дам чего не снилось и во сне! / Увидишь самъ: блаженства море" [I will give you what you have never dreamed of / You will see – there is a sea of pleasures] (5a). Although the protagonist substantiates the object of his desire in rather abstract terms such as "satisfaction" in combination with his preoccupation with his "body" rather than his "mind", his desires evolve out of trivial matters: "Мое ведь тело / Здесь только радо солнечнымъ лучамъ. / Мне здесь найти-бы удовлетворенье" [My body

cherishes the sun's rays only here / If only I could find satisfaction here] (5a). Faust's interest in earthly pleasures is further emphasized by his vision of Margarita sitting at a spinning wheel, which represents another discrepancy with the original (6a). His fascination with a young girl, as opposed to the original admiration of an image of the Eternal Feminine, reinforces the focus of the adaptation on realistic and trivial matters on the individual scale. Moreover, it confirms that the object of the contract is not defined in the adaptation within the thirst for striving, but is limited to the experience of sexual satisfaction. It is Faust himself who reduces his expectations to the level of triviality, which, on the one hand, supports the removal of the original philosophical component, and, on the other, initiates and points to the action of the Gretchen tragedy. In addition to this, the adaptation changes Goethe's open-ended wager to a contract with exact terms, because Mephistopheles understands his terms exclusively in the temporal sense: "Пока ты здесь – я весь к твоим услугамъ, / Распоряжайся, как собакой, мной. / А тамъ за то... боюсь смутить испугомъ... / А тамъ – ты будешь мой" [While you are here – I am at your service / Rule as you wish / And there – I am afraid to frighten you off / and there – you will be mine] (5a). If the wager is signed, the sentence will be executed when Faust dies. The original conditionality of Mephistopheles' terms "Wenn wir uns drüben wieder finden, So sollst du mir das Gleiche tun" (1658-59) that hints at the possibility of Faust's salvation is missing in the adaptation – a typical trait of *Faust* operas. This departure from the original in terms of the wager is not surprising in light of the elimination of the protagonist's characterization as a symbol of human energy. In the original, eternal striving is proclaimed by God in "Prolog im Himmel" to be the condition of human existence: "Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt" (317), which allows for Faust's salvation at the end of Part II: "Wer immer strebend sich

bemüht, / Den können wir erlösen” (11936-37). The omission of the “Prolog im Himmel”, as well as the transformations of the protagonist, removes the possibility of the original outcome for Faust, who now will be condemned to hell upon his agreement to Mephistopheles’ terms. This one-dimensional temporal condition resembles the scheme dictated by a traditional pact between a tempter and a tempted. Consequently, the adaptation is not built around the battle for Faust’s soul. The final judgment on Faust is made at the moment he agrees to accept Mephistopheles’s service. His actions are unequivocally deemed wrong and the play is transformed into a moralizing piece that concentrates on the impact these deeds have on the destiny of the others involved. In this context, Faust is not a righteous man or a servant of God who errs so long as he strives (317) and is tested by the temptations of Mephistopheles. He is, rather, a cautionary example of a man who sells his soul to the devil in order to experience pleasure. This is a distortion from Goethe’s original that closely resembles the message of Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*.

### **The Love Story**

The structure of the Gretchen tragedy remains similar to the original, with some deletions, misplacements, and alterations that minimally affect the course of action of this part of the play. With respect to the characterization of Faust, the main difference occurs in the deletion of passages dealing with the references to the original image of Faust the scholar. This omission is not surprising in the context of this figure’s transformation before the meeting with Margarita. The overall narrowness of the adaptation is carried over into the story of seduction which depicts Faust from a morally questionable perspective in line with the conception of the contract.

Reductions of Faust's monologue in Gretchen's room attest to the exclusive focus of the adaptation on the love story. In contrast to the original, this passage omits the discussion of the balance between limitations and freedom (2690-94), a theme demonstrated in the original by the use of paradoxical descriptions: "Armut Fülle bringt" and "Im Kerker Seligkeit ist". Such a deletion eliminates the references to the scholar's predicament and creates a detached image of him. The misplaced and abbreviated scene "Wald und Höhle" reinforces this tendency. It is limited to the protagonist's self-accusations as well as reflections on the consequences of his actions and omits the original deliberations about nature and Faust's self-indulgence in it. Thus, the adaptation retains the elements that are directly connected to the development of the Margarita story with Faust, causing her destruction.

The prevalence of the seductive nature of Faust's intentions is highlighted in the Russian manuscript by the misplaced scene "Wald und Höhle". The passage included shows a dialogue expressing Faust's desire to satisfy his lust as he states his firm decision to have an erotic experience with Margarita: "И мне разстаться съ ней?! Бежать! / Какъ? Мне ея любви не знать?! / О, на груди прекрасной / Уснуть хоть разъ!.." [And I should leave her? Run? / I will not know her love? / I wish I could fall asleep with her even once] (19a). Similar to the original, in this passage Faust realizes the consequences of his union with her: "Пусть я погибну, но со мною / Пускай-же гибнетъ и она" [Let me perish, but with me / she will perish as well] (19b). Regardless of this understanding, he is unable to release himself from the spell of Mephistopheles and urges him to connect their destinies: "Скорей съ моею судьбою / Ея судьбу вяжи, о сатана!" [Quickly tie my destiny with hers, you Satan] (19b). Faust's determination to seduce the innocent girl and his awareness of the devastating effects his actions will have on her destiny evoke the motif of guilt present in the

original. Faust's understanding of the impossibility of happiness with Margarita is reached in the Russian text before the actual seduction begins. The misplacement of this passage after the acceptance of the present and Mephistopheles's arrangement of the rendezvous opens up an opportunity to avoid the tragic destiny of the female character – a discrepancy from the original. However, this option is not viable in the context of the contract as it is interpreted in this adaptation. In contrast to Goethe's *Faust*, the Russian protagonist does not have a choice in his actions once he falls under Mephistopheles's spell. He is unable to act in a morally acceptable way due to his inability to overcome Mephistopheles's influence: “И- горе – я рубежь переступилъ. / Весь околдован властью роковою... / Ужъ выбиться – нетъ больше силъ” [A disaster – I have crossed the border / I am bewitched by a deadly power / I do not have the strength to escape] (19a). His deeds, influenced by devilish powers, are depraved and will lead to the destruction of others. Thus, Faust's guilt in choosing to be aided by Mephistopheles is carried over into the love story of the adaptation.

Faust's characterization as a wrongdoer set on this path by the contact with Mephistopheles is confirmed in the alteration of the original scene “Abend”. The original contrast between Faust's lustful intentions and happiness in the family as a traditional unit of society are preserved in the loose translation of the lines 2697-98: “О, дедами благословенный домъ- / Изъ старины приют патриархальный!” [This home, blessed by forefathers / Patriarchal shelter from the antiquity] (18b). Although Faust suddenly acknowledges the value of family life (“О, милая! приютъ твой обрачень / Въ рай светлый, какъ не беден он” [My darling! Your home is transformed / Into a heaven, despite its poverty] (18b), he does not enter the room, which could be explained by theatrical circumstances, either by the absence of the necessary props or because the appearance of a

bed on stage was considered inappropriate. In terms of Faust's characterization, his position on stage indicates that despite his understanding of familial happiness, this option is not available to him because he lacks the will-power to release himself from the influence of Mephistopheles who enters the stage at this point. The victory of Faust's lustful desires is further confirmed in the following exclamation: "Постель ея! / Тамъ въ неге сладострастья / Я целые часы простаивать-бы могъ, / И голова кружилась-бы от счастья!.." [Her bed, / I could spend hours here in voluptuousness / and I would be dizzy from happiness] (18a) and "Что страсть свою зову святою" [I call my passion sacred] (19a). This passage is used in the manuscript to emphasize Faust's intentions to seduce Margarita, confirming the domination of lust by means of the selected lexical choices of "voluptuousness" and "passion". The motif of marital happiness is used here merely as an example of a traditional societal norm. Such a motif contrasts with the intentions of Faust – a wrongdoer whose actions are caused by the influence of the devil.

The discrepancies found in the adaptation of these scenes from the love story follow along the lines of the general tendencies of the production. Intended to diminish the philosophical significance of the original, the Russian text creates a detached image of the protagonist, shifting the emphasis solely to the tragic destiny of seduction and abandonment. In line with this, the traits of the original Faust as scholar are removed, and his actions are portrayed from a morally questionable perspective. In the context of Faust's understanding of Margarita as the object of the devil's temptation and his awareness of her destruction before the actual initiation of an illicit relationship, Faust's actions are dominated by a seductive mood and confirm his image of the wrongdoer initiated in the interpretation of the contract in the adaptation.

### **3.2.2. Characterization of Margarita**

#### **Symbol of Christian Virtues**

The image of the young Margarete created in Goethe's original includes the highest Christian virtues of innocence, naivety, piety, and humility, which then highlight her tragic destiny. Although the plot of the love story is structured similarly in the adaptation, this image is affected by some omissions and alterations that disturb the characterization of the original character in the scenes leading to her seduction. The scene featuring Margarita accepting Faust's present proceeds in one phase and the donation of the present to the church is eliminated. This solution is a distortion from Goethe's original and can be understood as a strategy to pass censorship regulations by omitting the criticism of the church and its servants. It also suggests the influence of Gounod's opera where Faust's gift-giving proceeds exactly the same way. There is no doubt that the episode containing the criticism of the church and its servants is eliminated to pass censorship regulations. However, this omission is not beneficial in terms of constructing an image which encompasses the highest Christian virtues. For instance, the elimination of the mother's involvement in this scene introduces the theme of deceit on Margarita's part which, in the original, is initiated by the acceptance of the second present at the insistence of her neighbour. In the original, Gretchen is compelled to show the gift to her mother, and, as a result of what she learned about the donation to the church, she becomes dissatisfied with the rules of society. The naivety and innocence of Margarita are much weakened in the adaptation, as she fears her mother's involvement without this incident. One can assume that she is not only aware of societal norms and the consequences of non-compliance with them but also, more importantly, that she transgresses acceptable behaviour at the first opportunity. Margarita's immediate

decision to follow her impulse and keep the jewellery is morally problematic and stands in contradiction to her portrayal as a symbol of Christian virtue. The adaptation's stronger focus on Margarita's awareness of tradition is further revealed in her remark in response to Marta's loss of her husband, in which the word *marriage* is stressed instead of the original lexical choice of *love* (2921-22): "Не вышла замужь никогда-бы!" [I would never get married!] (16). Margarita's thoughts are not romantically biased; rather, she is concerned with the traditional views on family, which include marriage as a desired outcome for a young girl. The emphasis of her remark initiates a shift from the level of emotions to the level of personal interest. While these textual changes provide a pragmatic subtext to the otherwise preserved portrayal of Margarita, it is the implementation of the costume that most damages the original purity of the character. The costume worn in the scenes of temptation and seduction consisted of a contemporary dress, a white wig, and one or two black beauty spots (Strepetova 156). These were most likely added to increase the sexual appeal of the character and spark Faust's interest in her. Their addition also served to eliminate the connotations of naivety crucial for the original portrayal of this figure. Such appearance does not undermine Margarita's ability to experience love, but it does diminish the original effect of her tragic destiny.

### **Margarita's Salvation**

A major difference from the original reveals itself at the end of the play. The voice of the spirit, who appears to be Margarita's saviour, is missing in this interpretation. This omission follows the general pattern of the production to eliminate all imaginary and religious characters. The play ends with the phrase: "Я спасена!" (34) [I am saved], which is proclaimed by the female protagonist herself. The removal of the divine powers at the end of



the adaptation is representative of the ways in which it remains and functions within an earthly domain, but such an omission serves to weaken the original text's statement regarding Margarete's salvation. Although the adaptation does not provide the viewer a firm answer to the salvation of her soul, it nevertheless highlights Margarita's unconditional belief in God's mercy as the only possible resort for an individual who has been tempted and committed sin. This interpretation of the final scene reinforces the suggestion of the intertextuality between this adaptation and Ostrovsky's *The Storm*. In the Russian play the final verdict on the female protagonist is made by the character Kuligin, commenting on the strictness of the social norm versus the availability of forgiveness in the divine sphere: "Вот вам ваша Катерина. Делайте с ней что хотите! Тело ее здесь, возьмите его; а душа теперь не ваша: она теперь перед судьей, который милосерднее вас!" [Here is your Katerina. You can do with her what you want. Her body is here, take it, but her soul is not yours: it is now in front of another judge, who is more merciful than you are!] (88). By shifting the final judgement to the human agent both plays emphasize the religious faith of the characters in the possibility of redemption and salvation, avoiding the judgement itself. This substantial deviation from the German original, which brings the adaptation closer to a contemporary Russian play, is an example of cultural appropriation of the play which will be viewed in the context of Russian Orthodoxy as opposed to Western Christianity in the last section of this chapter.

### 3.2.3. Characterization of Mephistopheles

#### Treatment of the Devilish

Mephistopheles is the only character in this adaptation who does not belong to the real world. Utilized to preserve the storyline of the original, his speeches and entries are greatly reduced. Already in the initial lines, Mephistopheles calls himself “a devil”, which evokes traditional connotations of evil. Goethe’s Mephistopheles is portrayed as one of the devils relying on the powers of other devilish creatures, such as witches and evil spirits, who represent the web of his servants. In the Russian manuscript, he acts on his own, which attests to his ultimate power and self-sufficiency, depicting him not as a minion of Satan, but Satan himself. Ultimately, the omission of the scene “Prolog im Himmel” initiates the portrayal of Mephistopheles as an autonomous power, thus preventing the anticipated relationship between good and evil as two sides of a coin and the conception of evil as a necessary stimulus of human creativity. Mephistopheles’s self-sufficiency is confirmed in the description of his nature. He portrays himself as “Я тотъ кто зломъ творить благое” [I am the one who through evil creates good] (4a), partially translating Goethe’s “Ein Teil von einer Kraft, Die stets das Böse will, und stets das Gute schafft” (1335-36). Such a translation of this phrase omits the original text’s description of Mephistopheles as only part of a whole. Together with the omission of his appearance as the Lord’s subordinate in the “Prolog im Himmel”, this phrase loses its original twofold meaning which was established by the reference there to Mephistopheles as a necessary part of God’s plan. The emphasis is placed on Mephistopheles’s own understanding of his nature as “der Geist der stets verneint” (“Духъ отрицанья я” [4a]). Following the original, Mephistopheles explains that destruction, death, and evil are part of his essence, indicating a reversed understanding of the

concepts of “good” and “evil”. This remains the only philosophically-loaded passage alluding to the original definition of Mephistopheles. The original description of Mephistopheles’s place within the creation process (1346-1358), the depiction of his destructive powers (1359-1378) are beyond the scope of this adaptation.

The involvement of Mephistopheles in the temptation of Margarita is manifested more strongly in the manuscript by means of alterations to the original scene “Dom”, immediately after Faust flees the city. As the choir sings “Dies irae, dies illa / Solvet saeculum in favilla” (30a), it is not an Evil Spirit, but Mephistopheles who reminds Margarita that she is responsible for the death of her mother and brother (30a). By exploiting her vulnerability while the Choir sings of the Final Judgment, Mephistopheles himself hopes to incite Gretchen to suicide, a sin from which there can be no redemption. It is his presence that causes Margarita to hear voices and convinces her that there is no way out of her situation, which would seem to invest him with deceptive powers, confirm his status as tempter in general terms, and suggest his self-sufficiency. In addition, it confirms the shift of the production to the Margarita tragedy and reveals that Mephistopheles’s goal is to collect Margarita’s soul for himself.

Overall, Mephistopheles seems to be labelled as a “devil”, as opposed to one of many evil spirits, thus removing him from the hierarchy of demonic powers. He is not portrayed as a necessary part of the universe, an emissary of God, but as an autonomous agent. Clearly, the adaptation is only interested in defining Mephistopheles as a personification of evil in general terms as opposed to the original elaborations on the essence of this character associated with the pursuit of knowledge. By investing him with general powers, the adaptation widens the function of this evil spirit to the corruption of vulnerable individuals

in general, eager to encourage any transgression that leads to the disruption of moral values. Such a limited portrayal of this figure as a symbol of evil diminishes his philosophical depth in the original, where Mephistopheles symbolizes an essential part of the creation process. Together with other alterations in the portrayal of the play's main characters, the transformation of the Mephistopheles figure serves to emphasize the tragedy of Margarita as the central theme of this production.

#### **3.2.4. The Reading of the Production**

The analysis of the main characters involved in the production *Faust and Margarita* staged in 1878 has confirmed the main tendencies identified in the examination of scene deletions. Directed to avoid imaginary elements and the philosophical significance of the original, the production limited the context of the play to the portrayal of the love story within real and individual settings, with a didactic subtext shifting the character of Margarita to the centre of the plot. This simplified approach influenced the portrayal of the Faust figure significantly as well. Contrary to the original character, he does not symbolize human energy; his constant search to expand the limits of cognition is missing from the Russian text. The only distinctive features of this character are his resignation from scholarly work and the desire to experience physical pleasure. The shift of emphasis to purely earthly, temporal, and morally problematic matters invests the portrayal of the protagonist with the romantic features of a lover which in the context of the devil's service develop into the motif of lust. This establishes a tone of triviality for the rest of the storyline.

The figure of Margarita which appears in the middle of the adaptation is portrayed closely to Goethe's original character. Despite some textual and visual inconsistencies at the

beginning of her appearance, she contrasts with Faust by becoming an example of moral superiority due to her ability to eventually repent her sins. The image of Mephistopheles remains similar to the original portrayal of the character in regard to his characteristics as a tempter. Yet the spectrum of his interest is expanded to sinners in general, alluding to him as an ultimate symbol of evil. As in the case of Faust, the elimination of philosophical strata keeps the image of Mephistopheles within the realm of temptation from the moral perspective.

Clearly, such a reading of the original play has been heavily influenced by the theatrical tradition of the time. Its simplified approach served to reduce the complexity of the original content to a love story. The adaptation is characteristic of pieces staged at the Maly Theatre, which tended to produce plays with a complex storyline in a simplistic manner with the goal to entertain audiences. Among the important factors influencing the reduction of the original play are the structure of the theatrical enterprises and funding policies of the Imperial Theatres. The weak technical capabilities of the theatre in the nineteenth century were responsible for the simplification of certain thematic concepts that dealt with imaginary content. The secondary status of the dramatic theatres of the time, as opposed to operatic performances and ballet, determined the choice of costumes and presumably of the scenery, which created conflicts with the characterization of the main figures. Censorship regulations caused deletions of morally questionable issues as well as deletions and alterations of religious themes. The influence of Gounod's opera *Faust* was also observed in the structure and overall conception of the adaptation. The organization of the benefit performances, including the privileged position of the beneficiary, is certainly one of the factors that initiated the shift of emphasis to the female character of the production. However, the

inconsistencies in the development of the plot, as well as in the portrayal of characters, suggest that the main obstacle of the production remained a theatrical tradition which lacked the position of artistic director.

### **3.3. Contextual Analysis**

#### **Socio-historic Reading**

The analysis of the manuscript suggests that the muting of the Faust characterization as a symbol of human energy is balanced by the concentration on the tragic destiny of Margarita, a phenomenon prevalent in the production of 1878. As this can be understood in the context of the audience's interests, it thus shows that the theatre was aware of the tastes of its audiences. We have described how this period was marked by the emergence of a new type of Russian society (see p. 29). The rapid growth of urban population contributed to the emergence of a new theatre which in turn polarized audiences according to their levels of education and taste. Certainly, the simplified approach to the philosophically-loaded narrative of Goethe's *Faust*, which was grounded in the domain of earthly and temporal issues, reflects the theatre's attempt to make the play not only understandable for this diverse audience but also entertaining. This shift of emphasis cannot be ignored; yet it is not the omissions or reductions that are of primary interest in this chapter, but instead the socio-historic influences that necessitated them. Although these changes could have been influenced by numerous social and political circumstances of the time, an examination of the Orthodox teachings as well as the Russian educational policies and societal moral values of the period contextualizes the muting of the motif of knowledge and the emphasis on the tragedy of Margarita.

This historical era was one of great reforms, due largely to Russia's defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856). This failure identified slow industrial growth as one of the major flaws of the state. One of the measures undertaken by the state to counteract this was the promotion of science and education to support the technological development and economic growth of the empire, which in turn led to the expansion of Russia's scientific infrastructure and the spread of education (Bradley 938). As the result of educational reforms, elementary schools were opened to all children, including peasants, and later to women (Buchner 76). Moreover, the tsarist state granted universities the right to create and develop various scientific societies. Sanctioned and patronized by the state, a number of private societies emerged and worked in collaboration with the state to achieve a degree of scientific literacy among the population through the dissemination of practical education and scientific knowledge. Russia's devotion to pursuing scientific progress was celebrated in the Polytechnic Exposition of 1872, which presented the country's potential in the worldwide arena.

In this climate, supportive of the dissemination of knowledge to the population, the original characterization of Faust as an image of European Enlightenment was relevant. Yet it is muted in the 1878 production despite the fact that the Maly Theatre was known for its devotion to emerging social issues (Marsh 146). The manuscript of this production features one passage that originally reflected the protagonist's will for activity (19b).<sup>32</sup> Clearly, the image of the protagonist as a symbol of human energy was not restored by means of this passage, not only due to its placement within the love story, but, most importantly, owing to the prevalence of the protagonist's indifference to knowledge in the production overall. The

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<sup>32</sup> “Не я-ли, без цели, готовъ былъ целый векъ – / Какъ бешеный потокъ со скаль метаться / Чтобъ въ мрачныхъ безднахъ затеряться?” [I was ready for eternity / to go down the mountains as a furious stream / In order to get lost in the abyss] (19b).

insertion of this passage could have been overlooked, which is not surprising in light of the numerous inconsistencies pointed out in the analysis. Nevertheless, the included passage deals with the will for knowledge only in general terms, which could reflect the efforts of the state to equip the Russian population with practical knowledge above all. Faust's original attempts to expand his knowledge go beyond the study of natural phenomena as he is drawn into more abstract spheres. It is his interest in the supernatural, depicted in the original by use of the macrocosmic sign and the encounter with the Earth Spirit, which transcends the boundaries set for the education of the Russian people. The elimination of these passages in the 1878 production, along with the majority of the imaginary characters and themes, suggest that the development of independent thought within the realm of the mystical and the supernatural was not encouraged, even within the context of theatre. This assumption can be supported by the recollection of views of the Orthodox clergy at the time about the concept of Christian enlightenment. From a religious point of view at that time, a distinction was made between scientific and spiritual education. The latter was understood to be responsible for the "evolution and improvement of human nature by means of religiously-moral upbringing" (Ostromyslenskii 6). Traditionally, priestly sermons were accepted as the main and exclusive source of spiritual knowledge. The reading of the Bible was considered to be unnecessary and even dangerous. A quotation from the *Patriarchal Letters* to the Synod reflects this opinion: "Any pious person is allowed to hear Holy Writ for he could trust with heart in truth and with his mouth could profess for a salvation; but not everyone is allowed to read some parts of Holy Writ, particularly of the Old Testament" (qtd. from Evseev 69). The controlling power of the Orthodox Church, which denied the right to freely interpret religious texts, testifies to its opposition to the development of independent thought



in the realm of religious teachings. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that this understanding of Christian enlightenment influenced the decision to delete the protagonist's deliberations about the macrocosmic sign as well as his attempts to translate the New Testament. These two deletions contribute to the muting of the motif of Faust's restlessness. Perhaps for the same reason, Faust's mystical encounter with the Earth Spirit was cut.

The manuscript retains the reference to Faust's preoccupation with the black arts, which serves to position his activity in the past. In the context of theological doctrines appropriated by the Russian people, the protagonist's resort to magic initiates the characterization of him as a wrongdoer. In the Russian culture of the period, individuals who practiced the black arts were viewed as "demons' deputies" (Worobec 64). This characterization of the protagonist creates a logical opportunity for the devil to appear before him and lead him into the domain of the demonic through his occupation with the black arts. If seen from this perspective, the protagonist's despair and nihilism can be viewed as consequences of his unrighteous behaviour.

The influence of religion in the production is further apparent by an examination of the altered scene which includes Faust's suicide attempt. Here, theological teachings are emphasized in two ways. First, the commencement of a song saving Faust from death points to God's forgiveness being offered even to sinners. This alludes to the *Parable of the Lost Sheep* from the New Testament, which depicts the theological acceptance of human weakness when confronted by devilish temptation. Second, it reveals the only possibility for the protagonist's salvation, as exemplified in Faust's temporal resignation to God's will. However, Faust's weak faith in God's mercy, caused by his preoccupation with the black arts, is reflected in his determination and refusal to submit to the divine powers. From the

point of view of Orthodoxy, this attitude prevents his submission to God and leads to Faust's signing of the contract with Mephistopheles. As argued above, the contract between Faust and Mephistopheles is formulated according to a traditional form, which required that the battle between good and evil for the protagonist's soul ends with the triumph of the latter.

This interpretation, however, contradicts the Orthodox worldview, whose critical ingredient was the emphasis on the ultimate triumph of goodness conquering the demonic (Worobec 41). This belief is closely connected to the Orthodox understanding of the devil as a divine creature ultimately subordinate to God, who "continually tests humans", "seeking to deceive them and inspire them with false notions and evil wishes" (Worobec 25, 41). It is striking that this view corresponds with the notions presented in the original scene "Prolog im Himmel" which was deleted from this adaptation's manuscript. This omission confirms the supposition that general censorship laws, intended to restrict any discussion of religious topics on stage, were a leading reason for the deletion of this scene. In terms of the contract, the ultimate superiority of the Lord as viewed by the Orthodox Church allows for the interpretation of Faust's loss of his soul to the devil as God's wrath for his lack of faith – a belief that has often been invoked in Russian culture to explain misfortunes (Worobec 65). This conception of the contract transforms the original play into a traditional Christian cautionary tale which, through the experiences of the protagonist, warns the reader that his eternal soul will be lost if he sells his soul to the devil in exchange for his service, similar to treatment of the Faust material in the English tradition led by Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* of 1588.

The battle between good and evil is at the centre of the story of seduction and abandonment; indeed, this has been identified as the dominant storyline of the production

and seems to be appropriate within a tradition that focuses on the triumph of goodness. Within the prevailing theological framework the story of the ruined life of Margarita reinforces cultural understandings of religious values and sets an example of obedience. Her submission to God's mercy is possible only by means of her strong faith which, despite her sinful activities, makes a case for her forgiveness. Her moral superiority is emphasized in contrast to Faust's inability to counteract the temptations of the devil, which leads to his damnation.

The alteration of the original finale of *Faust I*, which transfers the judgement to a human agent and in that resembles the outcome of the popular Russian play, is not surprising if viewed in the context of the Russian Orthodox teachings being opposed to those of the Christian West. Despite the fact that both doctrines share the same scriptures as the source of their teachings, one of the many differences between Western and Eastern approaches lies in their respective understandings of death. While Roman Catholics and Protestants believe that the final judgement is made immediately after the death of an individual, the Orthodox Church stresses that it is delayed "until the end of history" (Zernov 235). Therefore the original ending of *Faust I*, where the salvation of Margarita is proclaimed by the divine powers immediately after her death, does not conform to the Orthodox doctrine and is removed on those grounds.

The dominance of Margarita's destiny in the manuscript raises a question regarding the degree to which her story relates to Russian society at the time. An inquiry into the phenomenon of illegitimacy is necessary in order to shed light on this aspect. The matter of illegitimacy was one of the most important issues in the second half of the nineteenth century in Russia. It has been estimated that in the 1890s there were 9,000 illegitimate

children born in Moscow, which testifies to the contemporary relevance of the topic (Alpert 146). These children were under the jurisdiction of the civil legislation that regulated social aspects such as the status of such children and matters of inheritance (Glagoleva 465). The Church dealt with the “moral consequences of adultery” by condemning and threatening with severe punishment those who gave birth to children outside of marriage (Ransel, *Village Mothers* 20). In Russian society, which was strongly influenced by religious considerations, sexual relationships were tolerated only within marriage as a means of bringing children into the world and of satisfying sexual needs, which were at the same time largely viewed as a symptom of human weakness. Together with lust, even conjugal sex was understood as sin (Buchner 200). Because of the patriarchal context in Russia at the time, women were viewed as more predisposed to sin due to their moral frailty. As a result, the consequences of an illegitimate relationship were borne solely by women, and women who transgressed sexual norms experienced primitive treatment by society. They were subjected to “ritual shaming”, humiliation, gossip, and a loss of reputation, all of which irreversibly damaged their lives (Alpert 8). These informal consequences of an illegitimate relationship, which served to uphold the community’s norms of morality, reveal that the stigma associated with bearing an illegitimate child was grievous. In the manuscript, the public penance to which a fellow girlfriend, Varka, refers, as well as Margarita’s brother’s condemnation of her “sinful” behaviour, are consistent with the moral values and behavioural models typical of Russian society at the time, which was firmly committed to the Orthodox faith and its doctrines on social life.

The topic of infanticide also alludes to the reality of Russian life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a time when this problem, along with infant abandonment, was on the

rise. In order to deal with this crime, the government inflicted severe penalties on women who killed their infants. In cases of infanticide of both legitimate and illegitimate children, the Military Code of 1716 enforced a death sentence by means of torture on a wheel (Glagoleva 470). Catherine the Great was more liberal in confronting this issue. Between 1764 and 1771, the state established two foundling homes for unwanted children in Moscow and St. Petersburg, where unwed mothers could give birth safely and secretly (Ransel, *Mothers of Misery* 31). Although the births of illegitimate children remained numerous in the second half of the nineteenth century, infanticide rates gradually declined as a result of governmental measures. It has been estimated that in this period the central foundling home in Moscow was receiving between 13,000 to 24,000 children annually (Glagoleva 477). The inclusion of infanticide in the plot of the adaptation does not reflect the standing of this issue in late Imperial Russia, but it does highlight Margarita's fear of the societal judgment associated with the moral values of her society. The description of the derogatory attitudes toward women who engaged in premarital sexual activity does not appear in the manuscript either, and thus it did not directly break with or criticize current moral concepts. Rather, condemnatory societal behaviour is didactically directed toward the development of sin awareness and the reinforcement of traditional views of morality.

The examination of the destinies of both protagonists within the socio-historical framework discussed in this section has provided insight within the context of Russian culture during the time in which the adaptation was performed. Although many scholars have argued that the power of the church began to be undermined in the nineteenth century as religious appeal declined, in at least the capitals (Freeze, "Intelligentsia" 224, Dixon 125), it is clear that the Maly Theatre's adaptation of Goethe's *Faust I* nevertheless made

significant changes to the text of the original play in order to comply with the Orthodox teachings of the time. Despite some political and social changes that initiated the spread of secularization among the population, the vast majority of people continued to be influenced by Orthodox beliefs, which, in turn, dominated their lives and views on morality.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Faust* [Фаястъ], 1897

The next revival of the play occurred at the theatre of St. Petersburg's Literary-Artistic Circle in 1897, almost twenty years after the first two attempts at the Imperial Theatres in Moscow. Given the fact that many new translations of the play appeared in the last two decades of the nineteenth century,<sup>33</sup> this substantial gap in the performance history of Goethe's play cannot be justified on the basis of public disinterest in the original. As our previous analysis of the reception documents suggests, it was rather the unfortunate experience with the 1877 and 1878 productions that caused hesitation to stage *Faust I* again in the capitals. The failure of those productions to convey the meaning of the original play was viewed as the evidence that the complexity of the original storyline made the play unsuitable for the Russian stage.

#### 4.1. Theatre of Literary-Artistic Circle

It was no coincidence that the play was revived at the theatre of the Literary-Artistic Circle.<sup>34</sup> Founded by the successful Russian publisher and influential literary figure Aleksey Sergeevich Suvorin (1834-1912), the Suvorin Theatre was St. Petersburg's only private dramatic theatre with a permanent company (Streltsova 377). Suvorin was a passionate admirer of the theatrical arts and an active participant in the public campaign against the monopoly of the Imperial Theatres in the capitals. The repertoire of the Suvorin Theatre consisted of fashionable and new plays to attract the aristocratic audiences, whose popularity

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<sup>33</sup> Based on the information provided in the list of Russian translations compiled by Buchstab, there were seven translations of individual scenes from *Faust* and eight new translations of Goethe's *Faust* in that period. Three full translations were reprinted or appeared in new editions.

<sup>34</sup> In 1899 it was renamed to Theatre of the Literary-Artistic Society.



it enjoyed (Streltsova 377). Familiar with the shortcomings of the Imperial theatres, Suvorin attempted to create a new theatre by synthesizing old theatrical practices with theatrical innovations of the period. He relied heavily on the prestige of his actors to attract audiences, which is evident in the high status of those he employed. Suvorin also understood the significance of the artistic director for the success of productions, which in turn led to the shifting of conventional organizational and artistic practices. The tendency to consider the artistic director as the interpreter of the play characterized the theatre's innovative production process. Such a process challenged older traditions, in which the success of the production was measured by individual character portrayals. This distinctive feature of the Suvorin theatre might have motivated the decision to stage Goethe's *Faust I*. One can argue that the potential of the artistic director to unify individual character portrayals was seen as a factor that could lead to the successful realization of the play on stage.

#### **4.2. The Adaptation of the Play**

The intention to stage the play was announced in the first issue of the journal *Theatre and Art (Teatr i iskusstvo)* ("Khronika iskusstva" 7). The actor Grigorii Grigorievich Ge (1868-1942) chose it for his benefit performance, and it was directed by Petr Petrovich Gnedich (1855-1925). The production premièred at the end of the theatrical season,<sup>35</sup> on February 14, 1897. The playbill of the production reads: "*Faust*. A tragedy in 4 acts, 9 pictures." The beneficiary played the role of Mephistopheles, Faust was played by Vladimir F. Elsky<sup>36</sup> and Gretchen by a guest actress, Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaja (1864-1910). There is little

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<sup>35</sup> The Suvorin Theatre opened its season on October 15 1896, and closed it on February 25, 1897 (Streltsova 376).

<sup>36</sup> Strangely, Elsky's name does not appear in Russian theatrical encyclopaedias.

surviving information about this production: only a sketch of the Mephistopheles figure and one review of the performance in the journal *Theatre and Art*, which deals mostly with the realization of the leading male characters. The information does, however, suggest the general direction of the play's interpretation.

The reviewer judged the play negatively, claiming that the play's content was closer in style to Gounod's opera than to the German drama (N. 149). This observation suggests that the adaptation follows the tradition of previous productions by approaching the original as a love story with its emphasis on the Gretchen tragedy. The critic also claims that Goethe's original was lost in the interpretation, leading him to the conclusion that any comparison to the German play is impossible. By providing reasoning for this harsh judgement, the critic lists the reductionist approach applied to the text base of the adaptation as well as poor realization of the Faust character as the decisive factors. He indicates that substantial textual cuts in combination with alterations of the remaining dialogues were among the strategies applied to the performance text. These changes were crucial to represent Faust as the scholar, because the play's original dimensions of "metaphysics, rationalism, idealism" were lost in the revision process (N. 149). Troubled by "the extraordinary weak" realization of the principal character, the critic concluded that the remaining dialogue did not establish any traits of the scholar that were inherent to the original character (N. 149). The critic also exemplifies the actor's failure to create a believable image of the scholar, which was limited to the following lines: "какъ обниму я тебя, необъятная? тайный родникъ бытия, где я найду?" [how can I embrace you? where will I find the secret well of existence] (N. 149). This quotation sheds some light on the content adapted into the production and suggests that the theme of the search for knowledge was to some extent alluded to.

The reviewer's opinion on the performance of Mephistopheles by Grigori Ge was relatively positive; the reviewer was captivated by the character's portrayal, pleased with the appropriately devilish depiction of the character (N. 149). Among the details that signify evil, the reviewer lists long, hook-shaped nails and a prolonged W-shaped forehead (Appendix F) created by the use of a cap. He maintains that by hinting at claws and horns, these aspects of his costume elements allude to the traditional animalistic portrayals of the devil without overemphasizing them. These details were complemented by the "energetic" and "playful" performance of the actor, which prompted the critic to point out the contemporary dimension of the created character and overall success of the actor Grigori Ge in this role (N.149).

The difference in the realization of these characters, as reported by the critic, is striking. Initially, the critic's praise of Grigori Ge seems slightly suspicious, suggesting that the positive review might be due to his status as beneficiary. However, the inclusion and severity of the critic's negative judgements contradicts this assumption, as this review likely damaged the reputation of the overall production, therefore negatively influencing the attendance figures. It is rather the statuses of the actors themselves and their overall artistic abilities that are registered in the review. Astonishingly the name of the actor who played Faust is missing from available theatrical sources, suggesting that the theatrical career of Vladimir F. Elsky was not acknowledged by his contemporaries nor by later scholars. This, in turn, points to the poor artistic qualities of his acting. Grigori Ge, on the other hand, was among the prominent Russian actors of the period; contemporaries commented on his talent and scholars recognized as significant his contribution to theatrical developments. The season of 1896-1897, in which he debuted in the capitals, ensured his later engagement at the

Imperial Theatres. Grigori Ge's realization of Mephistopheles in the 1897 production of *Faust* contributed to his successful profile in the capitals and admission to the group of privileged actors of the Imperial Theatres.

This contrast of acting quality reveals the lack of consideration involved in the process of role distribution, a weakness typical within the tradition of benefit performances. Engaging a secondary actor in the role of a complicated and ambivalent character served to highlight the beneficiary as a primary performer, as we observed in the previous productions. Furthermore, the fact that Mephistopheles's character dominated the production suggests that the play was interpreted through the portrayals of individual characters and lacked coherency in its content, supporting the observations of the critic. Both peculiarities of this 1897 production provide evidence that this private theatre confirmed some of the old organizational and production principles, but combined with an important innovation: the engagement of an artistic director. This production of Goethe's *Faust I* suggests Russian theatre's entry into a transitional period, marking the beginning of the age of the director in Russia.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### *Faust I* [Фаясмъ I], 1902

#### 5. 1. Description of the Production

After the first attempt to stage Goethe's *Faust I* at the Suvorin Private Theatre, Petr Petrovich Gnedich (1855-1925) undertook a second attempt in 1902 as artistic director of the Imperial company at the Alexandrinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Imperial Alexandrinsky is its connection to the Russian court, as its company originates from Fedor Volkov's (1729-1763) troupe, which prompted the establishment of a permanent public theatre subsidized by the state in 1759 (Derzhavin 11). Besides having the title "Imperial", this dramatic theatre was named in honor of Tsar Nicholas I's wife Alexandra Fedorovna, making its bonds with the ruling family close. In addition, the connection to the state is apparent in the theatre's physical structure. Designed by the Italian architect Carlo Rossi and erected in 1832, the Alexandrinsky building, like other landmarks of St. Petersburg, is an impressive example of Russian court architecture (Frame, *Imperial Theaters* 34). With its central location in the city facing the Nevsky Prospect, the Alexandrinsky Theatre is located near the offices of the Directorate and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is indisputable that the theatre's financial and administrative dependence on the state and its proximity to the administrative institutions had a direct influence on its character, namely its adherence to values of the tsarist officialdom. The patronage of the ruling family and the royal presence at performances, however, primarily established the privileged status of the Alexandrinsky Theatre and its actors.

Since his appointment in 1901 and following a period of overall dissatisfaction with the theatrical arts in Russia, Gnedich directed all of his efforts towards creating a strong

repertoire, which he saw as largely connected to the establishment of his role as the principal interpreter of the play (Kholodov 7: 272). His choice of Goethe's play is therefore not accidental and was caused by his desire to integrate serious classical works into the theatre's corpus of works performed.

The playbill of the production reads: "*Faust I: Dramatic Poem in 15 pictures. J.W. Goethe. Translation by Nikolai Kholodkovsky*" (Kholodov: 5, 528). The characters of Faust, Mephistopheles, and Margarita were played by Roman Borisovich Apollonsky (1865-1928), Grigorii Grigorievich Ge (1868-1942) and Vera Fedorovna Komissarzhevskaja (1864-1910) respectively. It premiered on February 11 with performances following on the 12th, 15th, 17th (morning), 22nd (morning) and March 2. The same production was repeated in 1904 on November 3, 7 (morning), 9, 21 (morning), December 5 and in 1905 on October 9 (morning), November 8, and December 31 (morning) (Kholodov 5: 528). It was the first production of the play in Russia that survived more than one theatrical season. Judging from the total number of performances, the play was performed an average number of times for that company. However, it was not among the plays that dominated its repertoire.<sup>1</sup>

### **Primary Materials**

The corpus of evidence that survives in regard to the production process consists of a prompt-book, a theatre report on the choice of the translation<sup>2</sup> and scenery installation instructions.<sup>3</sup> The report on the suitable translation is dated April 25, 1901 and suggests that the production process began approximately nine months before the premiere in 1902. It consists of two pages including a cover page providing information on the committee and a

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<sup>1</sup> The average frequency of performances at the Alexandrinsky Theatre between 1900 and 1917 was 13.5 times. Some plays were performed over forty times (Frame, *Imperial Theaters* 92).

<sup>2</sup> Available at the Russian State History Archive in St. Petersburg (RGIA) F497, O18, D147.

<sup>3</sup> RGIA: F 497, O 8, D 577.

verdict concerning the play's suitability for staging, as well as a printed page of the report with handwritten revisions describing the committee's argumentation. Scenery installation instructions are handwritten on a printed form that features seven columns on five pages. Columns are entitled to record information on the set, props, actors, costumes, hair and make-up, head-dress and shoes. However, in most cases only the information on the set and props is provided. Factual information on actors and scenery employed as well as pictures of the production can be found in *Yearbook of the Imperial Theatres* ("St. Peterburg. Russkaia drama." *Ezhegodnik imperatorskikh teatrov*). In addition, two reviews of the production (Beliaev, Kugel) and a characterization of the Margarita character (Rybakova) are available for analysis.

The most valuable source for the analysis is the prompt-book used as the text base of the production, which is a published translation of Goethe's *Faust* by Nikolai Kholodkovsky consisting of 251 pages.<sup>4</sup> It features numerous amendments applied to the text of the translation by hand in pen and in pencil. Scenes not included in the production are simply crossed out. Smaller lexical changes are entered at the sides of the text. In cases where entire passages are heavily altered, an additional page is glued into the original book. Besides the text base of the production, the prompt-book provides information on scene divisions, the length of scenes in minutes, the use of the curtain and the blocking of actors, entered by hand in the left and right margins of the translation.

The appearance of amendments raises a question concerning the number of individuals who worked on the prompt-book, which can be answered by means of a handwriting analysis (Appendix G). The examination of differences in the use of a writing tool (pen, fine

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<sup>4</sup> The prompt-book is available at the St. Petersburg State Theatre Library: Russian Drama Collection O1, SH5, P6, M79.



tip pencil and chisel tip pencil), in combination with variations in pressure, suggests that the text was revised at least four times by a number of individuals (Fig. 1). The analysis of letter formation provides evidence that the amendments belong to two individuals (see Appendix G). With regard to the sequence of the amendments, samples in Figure 4 suggest that handwriting one in pencil belongs to the first edited version of the translation followed by textual revisions applied by the second individual in pen (Excerpt 1). The final editing to the dialogues seems to have been applied by the second individual in pencil (Excerpt 2, 3). The temporal location of the amendments applied in pen to the scene “Prologue in Heaven”<sup>5</sup> cannot be determined due to the absence of any other revisions. The authorship of both handwritings is not identified in the text. However, it is likely that one of them belongs to the artistic director of this production Petr Gnedich, who in his memoirs described his work on the production of the play, which involved the choice of the translation, his work on the text, and negotiations with theatrical censors as well as his active participation in the rehearsal process (Gnedich 258-61).

### **Director’s Approach**

Petr Gnedich shared his approach to the production of the play in his memoirs, published in the book *The Book of Life (Kniga zhizni)*. His general intention to achieve a successful dramatic adaptation was to part from the operatic traditions of the previous Russian *Faust I* staging, including his own in 1897 at the theatre of Literary-Artistic Circle (Gnedich 261). Undoubtedly, Gnedich’s previous experience with the play and consequently his familiarity with the challenges in staging it were among the factors that influenced his approach.

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<sup>5</sup> Author’s translation of the Russian scene title provided in Appendices G, H and I. This will be used in the analysis referring to the text of production. When a reference to Goethe is made, scene titles will be given in German.

However, the importance of the departure from operatic tendencies acknowledged by the director reflects the tension between operatic and dramatic performances with the privileged position of the former typical for the Russian theatre of the period. Gounod's opera *Faust* belonged to the most popular pieces staged at the Imperial Theatres in St. Petersburg, ranking third among the Imperial repertoire with seventy-three performances at the Mariinsky Theatre from 1900 to 1911 (Frame, *Imperial Theaters* 107). Such high performance frequency suggests that the story of Faust and Marguerite based on the opera was known to, and well received by the St. Petersburg audience. This can be supported by an opinion of a specific audience member in regard to the audience's familiarity with the German play versus the opera. A letter to the editorial board of the periodical *Theatre and Art* (*Teatr i iskusstvo*), printed as part of the review of the 1902 production, asks to which degree Goethe's *Faust* was known to the theatrical audiences of the Imperial theatres, who considered themselves belonging to the "educated" classes of Russian society (Kugel, "Zametki" 177). The author of the letter, Petr Nemvrodov, recalls the public's disappointment after the actors' announcement in the 1902 production that the character Siebel would be played by the secondary actor Nikolai Petrovich Shapovalenko (1862-1923), despite a general expectation to see the highly acclaimed Yuri Mikhailovich Yuriev (1872-1948) in this role (qtd. from Kugel, "Zametki" 177). Clearly, this attitude of the public had to do with the confusion of Goethe's character Siebel, one of the drinkers in the scene "Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig" with the lovesick boy Siébel from Gounod's opera. Furthermore, the lack of familiarity with the German play is evident in an opinion voiced by one of the audience members after Gnedich's *Faust I* production, who regrets the omission of the aria by Siébel as he left flowers at Marguerite's doorstep (Kugel, "Zametki" 177).

Undoubtedly, the audience's expectation concerning this character suggests that the contemporary audience at large failed to differentiate between *Faust* as a drama and as an opera, which indicates that Goethe's text was not largely known to theatregoers. Moreover, it reflects the audience's familiarity with the storyline of the opera and with conventions of the operatic theatre employed in the popular productions of Gounod's *Faust*. Thus, the task of staging a dramatic production which would appeal to that audience was complicated by their over-familiarity with the opera of the same title, a challenge acknowledged by the artistic director of the production. Moreover, the observation on the audience's familiarity with Gounod's opera reveals an interesting fact about the Alexandrinsky's audience profile. It suggests that the majority of the public present at the performance of Goethe's *Faust I* belonged to the clientele of the privileged Mariinsky Theatre, which provided entertainment for the political and social elite of the capital. Despite the fact that the Alexandrinsky's preoccupation with dramatic performances attracted many middle-class audience members and some of the intelligentsia, it is safe to say that the elite of Russian society were well represented among those attending the new dramatic production.

Evidence from the early stages of the production process suggests that the popularity of the opera was acknowledged by Petr Gnedich as a challenge. He went to great effort to address this, focussing on the choice of a Russian translation, the implementation of the original scene "Prolog im Himmel", and the use of new costumes and scenery. Clearly, his attention to scenery and costumes implies that he wanted to create a previously unknown setting on stage to offset the audience's expectations of the familiar and alert them to the new text at hand. Unfortunately, Gnedich's efforts in this regard were ignored by the director of the Alexandrinsky, Sergei Mikhailovich Volkonsky (1860-1937), who prevented the

artistic director from creating a new framework and instead emphasized the familiar in the stage design of this new production. Based on the repertoire report of the Alexandrinsky Theatre, most of the costumes and scenery used in the production were borrowed from three operas: Charles Gounod's *Faust*, Arrigo Boito's *Mephistopheles*, and Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* ("St. Petersburg. Russkaia drama" 87). Only two sets were created anew, for the scenes "Prologue in Heaven" and Faust's study, which is not surprising in light of the budgetary situation of the Imperial theatres, characterized by limited allowances for dramatic productions.

Notwithstanding the importance of a suitable translation for a production of a Russian adaptation which could familiarize the audiences with the German original, the reasoning behind the decision to use the text of Nikolai Kholodkovsky's translation remains unclear. Among the translations considered by the director one finds three published Russian texts, ignoring other available translations for reasons not included in Gnedich's memoirs.<sup>6</sup> Overall, his examination of the translations took into consideration these two factors: linguistic clarity to facilitate the text's comprehensibility by the audiences, and fidelity to the original ideas, both of which confirm his attempt to present a new and previously unknown production of *Faust*. Gnedich saw the translation by Nikolai Grekov (1859) as the most suitable for the stage as it is the most comprehensible and colloquial, but criticized the translator's failure to portray the character of Mephistopheles as well as to stay true to the original drama (Gnedich 258). The verse quality of the translation by Afanasi Fet (1882) appears to be the main reason he declined that version (Gnedich 258). Despite the fact that Gnedich provides examples of Nikolai Kholodkovsky's translation as being partly of poor

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<sup>6</sup> For a list of Russian translations of Goethe's *Faust I* and *II* consult Buchstab.

quality, he decided in favour of it, and lists details about its history, familiar to him through his acquaintance with the translator (Gnedich 258-59). The personal relationship between Gnedich and Kholodkovsky may have been only a coincidence, which did not necessarily influence the choice of translation; however, the lack of argumentation in favour of this translation suggests that the artistic director may have been led to this decision without carefully considering the quality of the text itself. The only justification for his favouring this translation was its acceptance by the star of the Imperial Company Vera Komissarzhevskaja, who was to play the character of Margarete. These circumstances reveal the ongoing and undeniable influence of the leading actors of the Imperial company on all theatrical matters despite the presence of a developing profession of artistic director.

A report from the Theatrical-Literary Committee meeting dated 25 April 1901 provides an official version of the decision about the choice of translation. It lists a variety of Russian translations available at the time of the production process which were taken into consideration, including those by Eduard Guber (1838), Mikhail Vronchenko (1844), Nikolai Kholodkovsky (1878), Afanasii Fet (1882), Nikolai Golovanov (1889) and A. Mamontov (1897). The report acknowledges the problematic nature of these translations, identifying the challenge of the work to stay true to the original's poetic form and its philosophical ideas. Without detailed examination of individual versions, Nikolai Kholodkovsky's translation of the first part was found to be the most suitable for staging due to several factors. The tendency of the translator to choose a rhyme that did not correspond with the original but was traditional for the Russian language was found beneficial in the belief that the familiarity of the rhyme would facilitate the audience's reception of the dialogues. This clearly contradicts Gnedich's criticism of the linguistic qualities of this

translation. In addition, the Committee found the general construction and content of each scene of this translation to correspond with the original, presenting a shortened but true version of Goethe's drama. Despite "numerous discrepancies with the original", which were unidentified in the report, the Committee concluded without comprehensive explanation that the content of Kholodkovsky's translation was "sufficient enough" to represent Goethe's *Faust* on the Russian stage. The lack of cogent arguments in favour of the chosen translation suggests that the decision rested on subjective preferences of the leading actors rather than objective criteria.

A more serious approach to the text of the German drama can be observed in the inclusion of scenes previously suspended from staging. Petr Gnedich's intention to expand the familiar love story of the opera to include the story of a disappointed scholar is reflected in his negotiations with the censorship authorities about the permission to include Goethe's "Prolog im Himmel". Surprisingly, the chief of the censorship department, Prince Nikolai Shakhovskii (1856-1906), found nothing unacceptable in the text of this scene (Gnedich 259). However, censorship regulation prohibiting the appearance of God on stage led to the creation of a different character. The first change was to the character's name. Following the example of the previous Russian translations, the character of God was called the Pure Spirit (*Svetlyi Dukh*) and this name appeared so on the playbill of the production (Gnedich 260). In addition, the censor requested that this character be changed from an older man to a shepherd in a short shirt accompanied by a sheep. This was consistent with the fact that God as Shepherd appears in the Bible (Psalm 23; 79: 2; John 10: 1-6). Although such an appearance would have restored the connection to the original character, the suggestion was declined by the artistic director, who argued for the removal of the sheep and the use of a long tunic to

create the connotation of divinity. This change was accepted by the censor. The most crucial alteration to the appearance of God dealt with the gender of the actors. The censor requested that the character of the Pure Spirit be played by a young woman with a contralto voice reciting. Along the same lines, at the last rehearsal, Prince Shakhovskii requested the removal of the wings on the costumes of the Angels, who were to be played by women and renamed First, Second, and Third Spirits. Similarly, an attempt to use a censor on stage was rejected based on a censorship regulation which prohibited the use of any attributes of the Christian church in the theatre. Mephistopheles was the only character featuring his origins as a Fallen Angel in a costume with wings. Clearly, changes to the original scene “Prolog im Himmel” reflect the intention of the censorship authorities to remove religious connotations from the appearance of characters, a strategy which mirrors regulations of the literary censorship of 1844, which allowed the publication of this scene with a change in character names in Mikhail Vronchenko’s translation. Despite alterations which transformed the original appearance of the characters, the director’s achievement cannot be underestimated, since for the first time a previously suspended scene was allowed to be staged at the Russian theatre. This offered the possibility of including the original metaphysical framework. An examination of the reception of the play will shed light on whether or not the attempt was seen as successful.

### **Reception of the Play and Discourse on Celebrities**

The reception of the 1902 *Faust I* production consists of two reviews printed in periodicals, a short comment on the success of the production in a letter to the artistic director quoted in his memoirs, and a summary of the role of Margarita in a biography of Vera Komissarzhevskaja. Both reviews identify problematic areas of the adaptation, linked to

gaps in the production process discussed above. Aleksandr Kugel, Russia's leading theatre critic and editor of the journal *Theatre and Art* (*Teatr i isskustvo*), maintained that the poetic quality of the translation used was very poor and did not complement the theatrical integrity of the drama (175-76). The reviewer's dismissal of the translation is not supported by any evidence, but he is certain that the translations of Afanasi Fet (1882), Aleksandr Strugovshchikov (1856), Mikhail Vronchenko (1844) or Nikolai Grekov (1859) would have been more suitable. The same position was taken by Yuri Beliaev in the newspaper *New Time* (*Novoe vremia*), stating that the troublesome nature of the chosen translation was aggravated during the performance by pronunciation errors by Grigori Ge in the role of Mephistopheles. One of the critics suggested that the numerous intermissions created gaps in the already slow dynamics of the performance, complicating the task of maintaining the audience's interest (Beliaev 2). Beliaev classified the production as "operatic", regretfully commenting that Gnedich and his company would have been wiser had they satisfied the expectations of the audience by singing instead of reciting their parts (2). With regard to the scenery, both reviewers agreed that it was very poor and often disturbing, as in the case of Faust's study, which rather resembled a gothic cathedral than a working space for a scholar (Beliaev 2). The issue of inappropriate scenery and decoration even prompted the reviewer from *Theatre and Art* to criticize the administration of the Imperial Theatres, for being guided by financial benefits rather than by the artistic realization of the production in the selection of the repertoire (Kugel, "Zametki" 176). These critical remarks show that the strategy of the artistic director to create a new production of Goethe's *Faust* independent from the audience's familiarity with Gounod's opera under the same title was not successful. This, together with the information discovered about theatre decisions on the choice of the



translation and introduction of new scenery, demonstrates that the lack of consideration as well as limitation of the financial support of the production were among the factors causing these negative reviews.

As far as the content and the artistic realization of the characters are concerned, the reviews lamented the absence of philosophical content, the generalization of the Faust figure, and the weak presentation of Mephistopheles. Beliaev found most of the scenes boring and unnecessary, most likely referring to those preceding the love story. He disliked “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig” due to the choice of the set which recreated the atmosphere of a “Viennese restaurant” (Beliaev 2). In contrast, the letter from an audience member printed as part of the review in *Theatre and Art* lauded that same scene (qtd. from Kugel, “Zametki” 177). This opinion is supported by the recollection of the artistic director that the audience was most fond of the scene due to the various effects and overall festive mood (Gnedich 261). The success of “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig” clearly indicates that the main function of the Imperial Theatres at the beginning of the twentieth century remained entertainment. With respect to omitted scenes, both reviewers agreed on the importance of the original “Hexenküche”, indicating that its deletion created a gap in the portrayal of the Faust figure, who appeared on stage after “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig” as a young man without any explanation of his transformation (Kugel, “Zametki” 175). Kugel acknowledged that the task of staging the “Hexenküche” successfully was complicated by the absence of necessary financial support as well as the short duration of the rehearsal process. The realization of the “Prologue in Heaven” troubled both reviewers, prompting Beliaev to observe that it bore a resemblance to the “Parisian Cabaret du Ciel” with no connotations of the original heavenly space (2). The review does not offer comment on the motives of such observations, and one

could suspect that it was the female cast of the scene that disturbed the reviewer most of all. At the same time, Kugel acknowledged the importance of the “Prologue in Heaven” as well as of Faust’s philosophical reflections for the representation of Goethe’s text and recognized the intention of the artistic director to stay true to the original (“Zametki” 176). However, he heavily criticized the choice of the actor playing the character of Faust. He stated that despite the artistic talent of Roman Apollonsky, the actor failed to grasp the depth of Faust’s thoughts and was unable to understand abstract concepts, which prevented him from the clear and logical presentation of the character’s multifaceted image (“Zametki” 176). Weaknesses in the make-up did not escape the attention of this critic either, who maintained that the use of a grey beard contradicted the youthful appearance of the actor, and his overall healthy skin colour did not support the image of a scholar. Thus, the disappointment of the protagonist in all areas of life was not convincing, but rather ridiculous at times (Kugel, “Zametki” 176). The critic’s dismissal of the realization of the Faust figure in the production exemplifies the conventions of the so-called “old-school” actors relying on their artistic talent, rather than on professional training and rehearsal of the part they were to play. An insufficient quantity of rehearsals was indeed one of the factors recognized by the artistic director as preventing this *Faust I* adaptation from enjoying greater success (Gnedich 261).

Grigorii Ge, in the character of Mephistopheles, was received more warmly by critics, who acknowledged his energetic and amusing portrayal as one of the most entertaining elements of the production and credited this performance as one of the most successful in the actor’s career (Kugel, “Zametki” 177). However, both reviewers maintained that this relative success in the realization of the Mephistopheles figure was possible only against the background of the weak image of the protagonist. Critics observed that Mephistopheles was

lacking sarcasm and appeared as a delightful imp, but not as a personification of evil battling for human souls, implying that the image of this character was weakened in Gnedich's adaptation (Kugel, "Zametki" 177).

The realization of Margarita by the actress Vera Komissarzhevskaja received mixed reviews. Kugel pointed out with regret that the actress failed to create a new image of a female character, as she played the role of Margarita in her usual acting style in line with her previous involvement in the plays of Hermann Sudermann's *The Destruction of Sodom* (1891) and *Battle of the Butterflies* (1895) ("Zametki" 176). Aleksandr Kugel's reservation about Komissarzhevskaja's performance in the role of Margarita is typical of his general opinion on the actress's work because he did not approve of her artistic style (Borovsky 128). At the same time, the reviewer from the newspaper *New Time* seemed to be captivated by her artistic talent and her appearance in the role of Margarita. He observed that the audience's attention was riveted on her from her first entrance in scene eight, placing the image of Margarita at the centre of the production as a whole (Beliaev 2). The critic continued to praise the actress's work, suggesting that she was successful in creating a new type of female character "at the crossroads of the familiar opera and Goethe's drama" (Beliaev 2). Without making a clear distinction between the qualities of these characters inherent in the performance of Komissarzhevskaja, he recalled her interpretation of Margarita as "down-to-earth with the nervousness and sensitivity of the actress's talent" (Beliaev 2). The biography of the actress provides more details on the impression she produced playing the character of Margarita. The similarity with the characters of Sudermann's plays Klärchen and Rosy is set at the beginning of the love story, where Komissarzhevskaja created a quiet and humble image of the young woman she played.

However, in the last scene of Margarita's madness, the actress accomplished the feat of depicting Margarita as a strong and energetic character (Rybakova 68). The successful realization of the character of Margarita was also noted in a letter from the publisher of the newspaper *Field (Niva)* to the artistic director Gnedich, as was quoted in his memoirs (Gnedich 261).

The contradictory nature of the reviews of the 1902 production certainly reflects their subjectivity, characteristic of such evaluations in general. The examination of the reception record suggests that the scene "Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig" and the last episodes capturing Margarita's tragic destiny made the best impression on the audience. This observation confirms the tendency of the theatre-goers to be captivated by plays which depicted humour and love intrigues (Frame, *Imperial Theaters* 93). From the point of view of the audience's interest, critics' dismissal of the philosophical content of the production reflected audience demand for entertainment and its disregard of plays of serious nature – another tendency commented on by contemporaries (Homo Novus 89). This conformity of the reviews to the general pattern of audience taste is clear, but the audience's ignorance of the philosophical framework of the production is not surprising, as it seems logical in light of the decisions made by the theatre administration during the production process. Little consideration of the choice of the text base, insufficient financial support to create new sets, decoration and costumes, censorship regulations, as well as a short rehearsal time certainly prevented the theatre from creating a new production of Goethe's *Faust I* which would challenge the popularity of Gounod's opera. Moreover, the judgement of the reviews on the Faust character implies that this integral part of the Goethe's original was not given appropriate attention, which was underscored by the actors' profile. In a theatre rooted in type-casting,

Gnedich's decision to give this role to the actor usually cast for first lover contradicts his intention to challenge the familiar, operatic character of Faust with Goethe's multifaceted protagonist. The appearance of the actor Boris Apollonsky in the role of Faust undeniably influenced the audience's reactions, adding to the shift of emphasis to the love story rather than the philosophical deliberations of the original character. Apollonsky's performance received a condemning response, reviewers being troubled by the lack of profundity in his representation of Faust as a scholar. Other factors, such as the actors' unfamiliarity with Goethe's play and exaggerated rhetoric of the actors, contributed to the fading of the representation of the Faust figure as a scholar in this production as well. Apollonsky's experience with the play before its production at the Alexandrinsky was not equal to other leading actors involved to the detriment of the role he played. His encounter with Goethe's drama was initiated when he was cast for the role of the protagonist in the 1902 production while the actors playing the roles of Mephistopheles and Margarita have been involved in the previous production of *Faust I* at the theatre of Literary-Artistic Circle in 1897.

The success of the love story, as registered by the critics, can be explained by considering the status of Vera Komissarzhevskaja, who played the role of Margarita. At the turn of the century she was a celebrated actress, appreciated and loved by audiences. Her performance style was acknowledged as extraordinary and new to the Imperial Theatres. She was primarily interested in creating "mental attitudes" of a character she played rather than producing "a superficial appearance of reality on stage" (Borovsky 124). Her acting style was characterized by a nervousness and expressivity which fascinated audiences. Clearly, Apollonsky's Faust was overshadowed by the audience's fascination with her, resulting in the shift of the emphasis to the female protagonist of the original.

## 5.2. Structural Analysis

### Structure

A report on the production which provides a fair amount of factual information was published in the Imperial Theatre's periodical and claims that the production was divided into fifteen scenes or pictures (картина). However, this scene division as well as the titles of the scenes differs from the information found in the text of the adaptation as well as in the instructions for scenery installation.<sup>7</sup> Based on the comparative analysis of available sources available in Appendix H, this is the complete list of scenes played "Prologue in Theatre" (or "Director's Office"), "Prologue in Heaven" (or "Heaven"), "Night" (or "Faust's Study"), "In Front of the City Gate", "Faust's Study I", "Faust's Study II", "Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig", "Street", "Margarita's Room" (or "Evening"), "Marta's Garden" (or "The Neighbour's House"), "Marta's Garden", "Marta's Garden", "Morning" (or "Street"), "Night" (or "Street"), "Dungeon".

The structure of the play generally followed the original with some scene deletions. Some scenes were combined. None of the sources indicate the division of the production into acts; however, based on the information provided in the prompt-book, the play was supposed to be given with one intermission. Judging from the review written by Yuri Beliaev, there were several intermissions during the first performance (2), which suggests that at least some of the numerous curtain falls indicated in the prompt-book were transformed into intermissions. The full length of the production was 200 minutes; there is no temporal pattern in the use of the curtain falls, as they vary from 13 to 78 min. The intermission noted in the prompt-book

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<sup>7</sup> A table featuring Russian scene titles from the available sources with the author's English translations against the background of the original German play is located in Appendices H and I. A comparative analysis of these three sources is available at the end of Appendix I. The structure of the performance text as identified in the course of this analysis is provided in Appendix J.

took place 45 min. into the play after the scene “Night”, and seems to have separated the story of the independent scholar from that of Faust under the influence of Mephistopheles. The following curtain falls were placed for the purpose of montage to indicate that the actions do not immediately follow each other. A curtain was used after “Study I” as the protagonist falls asleep. Next it appeared after the scenes “Ravine in the Forest” and “Morning” (which combined the original “Am Brunnen” and “Zwinger”) to separate the seduction and the consequences of it for Margarita. The last curtain fall was inserted after Valentine’s death to separate the protagonist’s escape from his attempt to rescue his beloved.

### **Scene Deletions**

The examination of the prompt-book reveals that approximately 62% of the original dialogue of Goethe’s *Faust I* appears in the 1902 production (Appendix L). The average percentage of the lines included varies in individual scenes and seems to be dependent on the theme of the dialogue. In general, scenes dealing with the scholar’s predicament (“Nacht” to “Studierzimmer II”) were altered to a greater extent in comparison with those dealing with the story of seduction and abandonment (“Strasse” to “Kerker”) with approximately 40% of deletions in the first case and 15% in the second. This imbalance in the included dialogue suggests that despite the initial intention to showcase the philosophical depths of the original, the translation was revised to emphasize the love story. Furthermore, cuts made within the romantically-biased part of the original itself justify this assumption. Thus, the scene “Walpurgisnacht” is eliminated entirely. Other scenes included are altered to remove the traits of Faust the scholar to the advantage of the development of the love story. For instance, the original “Wald und Höhle” was reduced to showcase the protagonist’s thoughts about Margarita exclusively, eliminating his deliberations about nature. The scene “Kerker”

was shortened more heavily than those which featured actual seduction. Faust's dialogue in this scene was reduced by more than half (only 17 lines out of the original 37 preserved), while only 19% of lines spoken by Margarita were deleted (32 lines deleted out of 167). Cuts applied to the final scene of the 1902 adaptation, "Kerker", provide evidence that the romantically-biased part of the original was revised to highlight the character of Margarita.

An examination of the prompt-book identifies seven scene deletions out of the original twenty-eight. The original scenes "Hexenküche", "Spaziergang", the second scene "Strasse", "Dom", "Walpurgisnacht", "Walpurgisnachtstraum", and "Nacht. Offen Feld" are present in the text of the Russian translation but are crossed out and were consequently omitted in the performance. These omissions reveal the following thematic tendencies:

- Omission of critical views on the church, the monarchy, and specific ethnic groups.
- Deletion of magical elements and sexually suggestive themes.
- Omission of passages not directly connected to the main storyline.

The scene deletions in the 1902 production correspond to those in the 1878 adaptation suggesting that the factors facilitating them remained the same. This observation implies general conformity of theatrical practices to the censorship regulations protecting a certain degree of decency and the authority of the ruling powers and provides evidence of the consistency of censorship rules. In addition, the correspondence shows that practical factors shaping theatrical practices such as the requirement of new scenery, costumes, and the involvement of new actors in the spoken dialogues were considered during the production process. For example, the omission of the "Hexenküche", "Walpurgisnacht", and "Walpurgisnachtstraum" scenes reduced the number of dialogue participants approximately by half, which seems to support the tendency toward short rehearsal times in the Russian



theatre of the period. Although the involvement of at least forty-six secondary actors in the production is evident in Fig. 1 (Appendix K), the number of dialogue participants in the scene “In Front of the City Gate” is limited in the production to three (Peasant, Elderly and One of the People). The latter would have to be expanded dramatically with the inclusion of the above-mentioned scenes. From the practical point of view the cuts were likely initiated not by the non-availability of the actors but by the difficulty of training a large number of secondary cast members for spoken parts.

One characteristic exclusive to the 1902 production is the deletion of the scene “Dom”, which is consistent with the strategy to avoid criticism of the church since in the original it serves to illustrate the moral judgement of Margarita from the point of view of religion. This scene was partially performed in the production of the play in 1878, featuring Mephistopheles instead of the character of the Evil Spirit (*Böser Geist*), implying that the critical context of it was not considered by the censors at that time. It is possible that the new censorship review of the 1902 production led to the omission of the scene because of the conservatism of the censors’ office in St. Petersburg, which was closely linked to the court. By contrast, the adaptation suggests an encouragement of church attendance and confession. Societal condemnation of Margarita’s behaviour is preserved in general commentary on the fate of a girl in her situation (3563-3569, 3574-3576) and later in the dying speech of Valentin (3726-3731, 3735-3763). These examples of social judgement are not criticised but underscore the importance of being aware of sin. Society is presented as the guardian of Christian morality by detecting and punishing those who do not conform to it, which sets an example for future generations. In the case of Margarita, this provides an opportunity to stress the authority of religious practices and justify behavioural models of society. It is

societal judgement that leads to the self-recognition of her sins and facilitates the transition from societal to spiritual concerns. Her strong belief in redemption and her ability to repent are portrayed in her prayers to the Mater Dolorosa and become a prerequisite for her salvation in the closing scene of the play.

### **Tendencies of the Production**

The general tendencies of deletions on the scenic level are reinforced by changes in the dialogues and the use of props. With regard to dialogue changes, the following alterations of religious and scriptural themes show the general conformity to the prevailing constraints of censorship. Objections to direct references to God or the Lord result in the renaming of the character of God as the Pure Spirit (*Svetlyi Duch*) in the “Prologue in Heaven”. The original reference to God in the published translation is deleted from the dialogue to accommodate the change in the character name: “Опять, о Господи, явился Ты межъ нас...” [Oh, Lord, you have appeared among us once again<sup>8</sup>] to “Опять, О, светлый дух, явился Ты меж нас” [Oh, Pure Spirit, you have appeared among us once again] (17). This tendency to avoid the name ‘God’ as well as religious exclamations continues throughout the adaptation and comes to a climax in the deletion of the following lines: “Творцом на радость данный нам” [Given to us by the Creator] (24), “О Боже мой, зачемъ напрасно жаждалъ я!” [Oh, Lord, why did I strive in vain] (26), “А тамъ - пускай все остается, / Какъ Богъ пошлетъ!” [Let everything to remain, at God’s will] (26). Furthermore, statements questioning the theological teachings of the Orthodox church are also deleted, as for example Faust’s statement about his uncertainty regarding the afterlife: “И есть ли тамъ, в мирахъ чужихъ,

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<sup>8</sup> All Russian quotations in this chapter refer to the propt-book *Faust. Dramaticheskaiia Poema Wolfganga Gete*. Trans. Nikolai Kholodkovsky.

/ И низъ, и верхъ, какъ в этомъ мире!” [Is there in a different world, heaven and hell as in this world!] (77).

Deletions of this sort provide examples of cultural appropriation as they reflect a widespread fear in Orthodoxy of pronouncing the name of God, a fear that is most likely based on a misreading of the biblical commandment “You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name” (New Revised Standard Version, Exodus 20:7). At the same time, direct mention of religious holidays, which was not specifically defined as undesirable by the censors, is retained in the adaptation, following the original by setting the action of the scholar’s predicament at Easter. The original reference to Easter Sunday (598), which does not appear in the published translation of the original scene “Nacht”, was inserted into the adaptation to emphasize the saving power of the Christian faith. This change suggests that religious references were viewed as desirable as long as they supported a salutary view. Despite numerous alterations to the protagonist’s reflections on the life of the ordinary people (903-940), only those including a festive mood of spring and specifically that of the Easter holiday are retained. The positive depiction of religious themes leads to a violation of one censorship law which prohibited the use of any religious attributes as stage property: the prompt-book retains the translator’s addition to the original which instructs the protagonist to use an actual crucifix to reveal the essence of the poodle (60). The passage in which Faust summons the devil (1271-1321) is heavily revised to eliminate vestiges of magical elements and to support a symbolic meaning of the crucifix as the only effective means to ward off demonic influences: “Но знай же: если ты, наглець, / Изъ ада мрачного беглець, / То вотъ - взгляни - победный знак! / Его страшится адъ и мракъ.” [But if you, insolent fellow, have escaped hell, than

look at this victorious sign, feared by hell and darkness] (66). Thus, a certain degree of relaxation in regard to the enforcement of the censorship policies appears to have been possible, if used to support the dominant religious view.

The following examples suggest a shift in the enforcement of censorship policies from a complete avoidance of religious issues to a neutralized criticism for the benefit of a particular religious view. The passage exposing the crimes of the Inquisition associated primarily with the Roman Catholic Church (591-93) is retained. It is, however, neutralized to avoid a negative depiction of the masses, which in the religious context could evoke a connotation of priests violating the secrecy of confession and could cast an unfavourable light on all Christian practices including Orthodox: “Где те немногие, которые открыто / И смело всемь сказать, что думаютъ, могли, / ~~Открывши глубь души предъ черню неразвитой?~~ / Ихъ распинали, били, жгли...” [Where are those few who could openly say what they think, ~~opening their soul in front of the primitive people,~~ they were crucified, beaten and burned] (31-32). Another example of religious criticism utilizes a comparative strategy which favours Orthodoxy. In his advice to the student, the Mephistopheles of the published translation suggests that theological science is based on a complete falsification – a statement removed from the theatrical text during the editing process: “все в ней ложно” [everything in it is a lie] (90). In the context of Imperial Russia, the resulting passage suggests that despite the mendaciousness of others there is only one true religion, Orthodoxy: “Въ науке сей / Легко съ дороги сбиться: ~~все въ ней ложно;~~ / Такъ яду скрытаго разлить много въ ней, / Что с пользой различить его едва ли можно. / И здесь учителя вы слушать одного / Должны и клясться за слова его” [In this science, / It is easy to stray from the true path, ~~everything in it is a lie,~~ / As it is full of concealed poison, /

Which is not easy to distinguish. / And here you are to listen to one teacher and vow to his words] (90-91). Mephistopheles's emphasis on the importance of the word in religious teachings seems consistent with the policy of the Orthodox Church that disallowed any interpretation of the religious script and insisted that the only true reading was that officially recognized by the Orthodox Church. Any other reading, including those of other Christian denominations, was deemed wrong. Such comparison is yet another violation of the censorship rules prohibiting the criticism of any religious belief. Certainly, the depiction of religious and scriptural themes in the 1902 adaptation was strategically directed to support the dominant religious view of Imperial Russia and its Church. The seemingly uncompromising nature of the censorship rules with respect to the depiction of religion on stage was in fact relaxed to a certain degree.

The same tendency can be observed in the criticism of the state. An avoidance strategy is applied to all general commentaries that could possibly be linked to the ruling powers of the Russian monarchy and their legislation. This is seen in the removal of remarks criticising the new governing mayor and the state tax system: “Нетъ, новый бургомистръ ни к черту не годится: / Что день, то больше онъ гордится. / Все дрянъ, кого не выбирай; / А городъ - выгодно ли, нетъ ли - покоряйся: / Знай только подати давай, / Да отъ налоговъ разоряйся” [No, the new burgomaster is worthless, / With every new day he prides himself, / Regardless of the choices, all of them are trash, / And the city, regardless if it's profitable, has to comply, / Pay taxes and / Ruin themselves] (42). The implied ineffectiveness of legal documents presumably led to the omission of the following lines: “Беда, когда по делу вамъ / Въ источникахъ порыться приведется: / Все пыльный соръ, заплесневелый хламъ - / И много, много, если там / Актъ государственный по счастью попадется, / Съ

пустым набором пышныхъ словъ, / Столь важныхъ и святыхъ, по мнению глупцовъ”  
 [It’s a bad job, / If you need to search the sources. / All that is dusty litter, mouldy rubbish. /  
 And one is lucky to find an official act, / Filled with fervent words, / Which in the opinion  
 of the fools are important and holy] (31). Mephistopheles’s lines suggesting the injustice of  
 law and uselessness of jurisprudence as a discipline are removed on similar grounds:  
 “Законы и права, как старое именье / Как старую болезнь, с собой / Несеть одно  
 другому поколенью, / Одна страна стране другой. / Безумством мудрость станеть,  
 зломъ – благое.” [Similarly to an old estate, / Or an old disease, / Laws and rights are  
 carried over from one generation to the next, / From one country to the other. / Wisdom  
 becomes madness, good becomes evil] (90). Moreover, the strategy of avoidance is applied  
 to passages that criticize the ruling establishment by reporting the difficult conditions of the  
 everyday life of ordinary people: “Прошли бесконечные зимніе дни; / Изъ комнаты  
 душной, съ работы тяжелой, / Изъ лавокъ, изъ тесной своей мастерской, / Изъ тьмы  
 чердаковъ, изъ под крыши резной / Народъ устремился гурьбою веселой.” [Long winter  
 days have passed, the people have left their stuffy rooms, their hard work, their cramped  
 workshops, their dark attics under the roofs] (45). This trend is also evident in the shortened  
 version of Margarita’s narration about her own everyday life. The adaptation keeps the  
 general comment on the girl’s engagement in housework as a way to emphasize her  
 diligence (3111-3114), yet a precise description of the work she has to carry out every day,  
 together with her expression of dissatisfaction with it, which in general term alludes to the  
 people of her class overall, are removed to neutralize the possibility of criticism: “А по  
 утрам – белье: чуть-светъ встаю и мою; / Тамъ время на базаръ, на кухню тамъ пора - /  
 И такъ-то целый день, сегодня, какъ вчера! / Да, очень нелегко бываетъ намъ порою!”

[And in the mornings, as soon as it is light, I get up to wash clothes, / Then it is time to go to the market, and then into the kitchen. / And that is how the whole day goes by, today as yesterday. / Oh yes, it is not easy for us] (163).

At the same time, two passages containing criticism of the ruling establishment are retained in the adaptation. In the context of the overall avoidance of state criticism, the appearance of some judgemental passages suggests, by contrast, that they were not viewed as potentially dangerous for the supremacy of the Russian monarchy. Both of these passages appear in the scene “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig”, which is the only scene containing direct reference to Germany, and this by the use of a city name in the title. This, in combination with the unchanged character names in the scene, highlights the overall intention to set the play in Germany and likely indicates that the content of this specific scene refers exclusively to that country. A close reading of the passages critical of the state supports this assumption. First, the dialogue between Frosch and Brander targets the state by their ridicule of the Roman Empire: “Святой, высокій римскій тронъ, / Как до сихъ поръ не рухнетъ он?” [I wonder how the Roman throne / Has not collapsed yet in its Holiness and Highness] (97). Clearly, the combination of the words “holy” and “Roman” alludes to the Holy Roman Empire, the predecessor of the united Germany. Also, Mephistopheles’s “Song of the Flea” aims to reveal the corruption of the feudal state in a satirical manner (104-106). It does not challenge the authority of the Russian state since it refers to a king as opposed to the Russian Tsar, and hence targets Western countries. The mention of feudalism as a set of customs in Medieval Europe makes a connection to an older form of government, which at the beginning of the century would mean a monarchy as opposed to a republic. The fact that German rulers assumed the title King of the Romans until the end of the Holy Roman

Empire in 1806 is also a reference to the German state. This appearance of passages containing judgemental attitudes towards European ruling power is controversial in the context of the strict theatrical censorship repressing criticism of the state in general. Yet it suggests a relaxation of censorship rules in cases where the criticism explicitly targets the ruling powers of states other than the Russian Empire. The fact that the adaptation contains criticism of the German state specifically is provocative and should be understood within the context of Russian public opinion and official policies and practices towards Germany.

Further changes in the dialogue occur in lines that deal with morally questionable issues, confirming the tendency to avoid such matters in order to protect the Russian code of decency, similar to the examples of deleted scenes. The scene “In Front of the City Gate” does not feature the original passages that deal with the relationships between the two genders, removing the emphasis on the sensual aspect of the love story (803-845). Along the same lines, the mention of the oracular powers of an elderly woman called a witch are removed, as she appears to represent a symbol of sensuality in the original (872-883). The scene “In Front of the City Gate” starts with the song of the soldiers in the adaptation. This stratum of the society remains the only one to be verbally characterized and in this way distinguished among the social classes, otherwise referred to as “people” (*narod*) in this scene. In terms of plot coherence, the decision to feature this song also permits an early introduction of the Valentin character. Thematically, the song, as it appears in the adaptation, is used for the sole purpose of glorifying the military in their battles on the field as well as for impressing the hearts of women. The closing lines of the original song pointing to the tragic destiny of Margarete and revealing the nature of soldiers’ romantic involvement (901-902) do not appear in the adaptation. The example of the soldiers’ song seems to confirm the



avoidance of the morally questionable issues as well. It also suggests the use of the neutralizing strategy in the portrayal of the societal models reflecting cruelty and injustice in reaction to commonly accepted behaviour. For the same reason, passages of the scene “Gloomy Day” are deleted, eliminating the reference to societal judgement of Margarita’s behaviour: “Предана власти духовъ зла и безчеловечно осуждающаго человечества!” [Committed to the power of evil spirits and inhumane condemnation of the mankind] (234) and “И не одно такое созданіе погнбло въ бездне горя и несчастья!” [She is not the only one who has perished in the abyss of sorrow and misfortune] (235). Margarete’s commentary on her refusal to escape from the dungeon is eliminated on similar grounds, as the passage reports on the inevitable fate of the outlaws as well as the constant threat of being caught and brought back to ‘justice’ (4545-4549): “Жить в нищете такъ тягостно и больно! / А совесть? Как не вспомнить все невольно! / Ахъ, горько хлебъ насущный добывать / Среди чужихъ! Да могутъ и поймать!” [It is sorely and painful to live in poverty. / And how about conscience? Unintentionally, you recall everything. / It is not easy to get daily bread / among strangers! One could even get caught] (246).

To summarize, the above analysis has demonstrated the tendencies of the production to avoid views on the monarchy and church that could be interpreted as critical of the Russian Empire. With regard to the depiction of religion, a number of examples demonstrate a tendency to laudatory treatment of Orthodoxy, the official and dominant religious view of the state. The analysis has identified several cases which feature a neutralizing strategy as well with regard to the portrayal of poor living conditions in Russia and in describing the consequences of transgressing social norms. Examples of the deletions dealing with morally questionable issues confirm the intention to maintain a certain level of decency in the

production. In addition, the production attempts to emphasize a positive treatment of the military. The case of breaking the censorship regulation which restricts the use of religious attributes on stage is also noteworthy, as it suggests the grounds that justify such transgression. Thus, a certain degree of censorship relaxation was possible, which could be used to reflect upon officially adopted strategies or policies, or in other words, as a means of propaganda. Among other tendencies which challenge the censorship regulations are criticism of religions other than Orthodoxy and criticism of the German state. The conditionality of these tendencies on the social and political developments of the period will be explored in the last part of the analysis.

### **Localization**

Based on the available images, i.e. drawings and photographs related to the production (Appendix K), it is safe to say that the action takes place on the front stage, and that the inner stage is used to represent both exterior and interior spaces. The architectural elements forming the background of the sets are examples from the Gothic period characteristic of Western Europe and are not typical for Eastern European structures and townscapes, which were formed under the influence of Byzantine architecture until the seventeenth century (Shvidkovsky 34, Yarwood, *Architecture* 264). For instance, the decoration employed in the scene “In Front of the City Gate” (Fig. 1) includes prominent narrow towers in the background. These structures with their emphasis on vertical lines are expressions of Gothic architecture, the style dominating ecclesiastical structures in medieval Europe. In contrast to this pointed silhouette, the distinctive features of Eastern European cities were the full-bodied cupola of Orthodox churches.

It is remarkable that the production makes a distinction among architectural styles based on the function of the dwelling. Pointed arches in the Gothic style prevail in the interior of Faust's study (Fig. 2) and the dungeon (Fig. 3), while residential spaces show examples of half-timbered architecture (*Fachwerk*), which is not found in Eastern Europe.<sup>9</sup> Specifically, a dwelling appearing in the background of Fig. 4 is a timber-framed structure with vertical strokes located between the first and the second storeys, which create the illusion of a "jettied upper floor" (*Geschossvorkragung*) characteristic of *Fachwerk* structures (Großmann, *Fachwerk* 17). The interior of Margarita's room featured in Fig. 5 is another example of this architectural style, which uses wall panelling with decoration, deeply moulded ceilings, and glazed windows with panes of different shapes (Calloway 21, 25, 29). The same type of window appears on the side of Fig. 6, showcasing a variation of wall panelling. The use of a deeply moulded ceiling indicates that the interior of the room was based on examples from the sixteenth century, when the structure of the building evolved as part of the interior decoration, in contrast to the arched ceilings used in the earlier periods (Cramer 118). Thus, the choice of architectural styles, foreign to the Russian cityscapes, conveys a strong message of the play being set in Western Europe. In addition, the appearance of timber-framed housing with moulded ceilings provides evidence that in the temporal sense the action could not have taken place before the sixteenth century.

The types of costumes (Appendix K) suggest a tendency to set the play in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as seen in the extensive use of full-bodied silhouettes with puffed and slashed decoration which conforms to the architectural styles. The prevalence of the German patterns in the clothing of various social groups sets the action of the play in German territory. Although

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<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the half-timbering method, Russian residential dwellings were log housing structures.

the sense of German national character is preserved in most cases, there are some noticeable discrepancies, which reveal the influence of Russian culture on the production. For example, on the verbal level some of the character names are appropriated by means of russification: Margarete – Margarita [Маргарита], Marthe – Marta [Марта], Lieschen – Luisa [Луиза], Bärbelchen – Varia [Варя]. Other character names remain unchanged: Wagner, Brander, Frosch, Siebel, Altmayer. It is notable that the characters involved in the love story are given Russian names, implying that a generalization in this regard can be made, while the scenes featuring other characters are associated with the German states, excluding the Russian Empire. Another example of cultural appropriation can be found in the costume of Margarita doing housework (Fig. 5), which strongly resembles that of a Russian maid of the nineteenth century. It consists of a closed blouse with a standing collar, long puffed sleeves with narrow prolonged cuffs at the wrist, and a wide skirt with an apron featuring narrow stripes at the bottom (Ryndin 5, 184). Another influence of Russian culture is evident in the use of female head coverings (Fig. 1, 8), which bear a likeness to the Russian caps called chepets, commonly worn in the second half of the nineteenth century (Ryndin 1, 40). These errors, or perhaps intentional mixed portrayals, together with other contemporary elements identified earlier, provide examples of cultural appropriation in the production.

### **5.2.1. Characterization of Faust**

#### **The Scholar's Predicament**

The adaptation opens with the definition of the Faust character as a striving spirit, introduced in the “Prologue in Heaven”, and is carried over into the scene “Night”, which is structurally identical to the original. The scene opens with a soliloquy in which Faust expresses his

dissatisfaction with the knowledge he has acquired through formal training. This leads him to the refusal of the conventional sciences in favour of magic in an attempt to discover the Ultimate Truth (23). In line with the original, Faust believes that through nature one can acquire a different grasp of reality: “Тогда природой научень, / Узнаешь дальний ходъ светилъ” [And then, instructed by nature / You will recognize the course of planets] (24). Thus, he turns to viewing the macrocosmic sign, thereafter invoking the Earth Spirit. Yet despite the inclusion of the original stages of Faust’s development, the 1902 adaptation interprets those along the lines of “Faust the sinner”, establishing the image of a wrongdoer similar to that of previous productions. This can be observed through an alteration to the passage featuring Faust viewing the macrocosmic sign. It is limited to a description of his subjective excitement, immediately followed by disappointment. Thus, the source of his distress at this point differs from that in the original. In Goethe, Faust is able to see into universal Nature (447-453), and it is his desire to get closer to its source in order to understand the governing laws of the Universe that causes his distress. The adaptation does not provide an account of Faust’s experiencing the universe as a whole, as the lines containing this characterization are deleted (447-453), suggesting that it is the sign itself that he is unable to decipher. This change in the source of his distress suggests the abortive nature of Faust’s activity, a deviation from Goethe’s original. Along the same lines, Faust’s confrontation with the Spirit is used to exemplify a failure, which testifies to the negative consequences of his activity, for which he is punished: “И вотъ возмездіе за дерзкія стремленья: / Я словомъ громовымъ поверженъ былъ во прахъ!” [And now the punishment for daring ambitions / I have been ruined with the power of the word] (33). He reveals his disappointment in constant activity and shows the deficiency of his restless

striving: “Себе своими жъ мы делами / Преграды ставимъ на пути” [We through our action, / Create obstacles in our path] (33). Consequently, both attempts, which in the original celebrate Faust’s striving spirit, are transformed to deny the human mind’s free quest, injecting traces of traditional dogmatic ideology. By forcing a religious reading of the character, this deviation inevitably subverts the original possibility of justifying Faust’s erroneous activity.

Furthermore, the original purpose of the suicide attempt was to liberate Faust from the restraints of human life, thereby opening new horizons of cognition to him; in this version it takes a different form. In accordance with the negation of activity, the adaptation omits the original passage, which allows for the understanding of this episode in terms of the search for new possibilities to expand his knowledge (696-739). As a result, Faust’s decision to commit suicide is portrayed as a final act reflecting his disappointment. Thus, the Faust of the Russian adaptation is no longer searching, since through self-recognition he comes to realize that the road to higher knowledge is blocked by the human condition: “Да, отрезвился я - не равенъ я богам!” [Yes, now I can take a sober look / I am not equal to the gods] (34). His only option is to surrender to his despair and accept his impotence and misery: “Пора сказать “прости” безумнымъ темъ мечтамъ!” [It’s time to say “goodbye” to those mad thoughts] (34). Resignation would mean tranquility, contradicting Faust’s energy, which manifests itself in the suicide attempt. Thus, the notion of activity has been expanded from being erroneous to being self-destructive, reaching a deeper level of criticism and calling upon the audience to judge and condemn Faust’s striving spirit.

The depiction of the suicide attempt as a final act, and from the religious point of view as a grave sin, provides an opportunity to show the saving power of religion. The song

celebrating the Resurrection brings Faust to life, offering him a divine sign of the Lord's mercy and a chance for redemption if he chooses the path of resignation (36). Just as in the original, Faust in this adaptation does not show a reverence for Christian traditions and is unable to subscribe to this faith: "Въ душе моей нетъ веры безмятежной!" [There is no serene faith in my soul!] (38). Due to the interpretation of Faust's activity as being self-destructive, the rejection of divine intervention does not resemble the original liberation from the constraints of dogmatic science. It is reminiscent of Faust's rebellion and stubborn spirit, revealed in the tension between the constant need for activity and self-destruction. In addition, this passage seems to provide an explanation for Faust's striving as a manifestation of a confused spirit due to his lack of faith, which recalls the theme of obedience to traditional religious teachings. This reading is supported by the deletion of the following lines, which offer the possibility of questioning the grounds of the Christian faith: "Могь ли верить я?" [Can I believe?] (38).

The original dual essence of Faust's striving spirit is preserved with a new intention to emphasize his characterization as a wrongdoer. Thus, Faust's existence is situated within the rupture between his need to experience reality and the supernatural: "Ахъ, две души живутъ въ больной груди моей, / Другъ другу чуждыя - и жаждутъ разделенья! / Изъ нихъ одной мила земля - / И здесь ей любо, въ этомъ міре, / Другой - небесныя поля, / Где духи носятся в эфире" [There are two souls living in my morbid chest / Estranged to each other and thirsting to be separated / The one is pleased with the earth / The second strives for skyline fields / Where Spirits find their home] (52). Here, a clear interpretation of the supernatural is provided in stage directions in the margins of the last two lines, calling for the appearance of Mephistopheles (52). This suggests that the supernatural form of

existence is associated with the domain of evil exclusively, most likely due to Faust's rejection of forming a spiritual unity with God in the scene "Night".

Another episode which is distorted in meaning is Faust's attempt to translate the opening verse of the Gospel of St. John from the New Testament. Structured in line with the original, it conveys Faust's rejection of the traditional translation of the primacy of the Word,<sup>10</sup> which goes against the conventional theological explanation supported in the adaptation. Faust's interpretation of the Scriptures, which accords with his own idea of ceaseless activity, seems to function as a final malefaction, which leads to its transition into the realm of Mephistopheles. This gradual descent caused by restless activity has manifested itself in a number of grave sins, starting from the preoccupation with magic and mysticism, through thoughts of suicide and the rejection of God's mercy, and finally to heresy. With each step, Faust's vulnerability to evil increases and he falls deeper into the grasp of the diabolic element represented by Mephistopheles. The union with Mephistopheles becomes a solution for the tension between the earthly and the supernatural existence.

It is worth noting that the scenes preceding the appearance of Mephistopheles deal merely with knowledge and spiritual experience, without broaching the spheres of earthly life or sensual pleasures. For instance, the original passage containing Faust's regrets about the lack of pleasure and the absence of earthly rewards in his life of a scholar are deleted: "Я благъ земныхъ не испыталъ, / Я почестей людскихъ не зналъ" [I have not experienced earthly pleasures or human honours] (23). It was indicated before that the deletions applied to the folk passages of the scene "In Front of the City Gate" eliminated the presence of a sexual undercurrent. Faust's orientation toward sensual experience, revealed in his dialogue with

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<sup>10</sup> The Russian translation of these lines corresponds with the original German: "В начале было Слово, и Слово было у Бога, и Слово было Бог" (Russian Bible Holy Synod Version, John 1:1).



Wagner, is moderated in this adaptation to indicate his general bond with the earthly sphere: “Die eine hält, in derber Liebeslust, / Sich an die Welt, mit klammernden Organen” (1114-15) is substituted by “Изъ нихъ одной мила земля - / И здесь ей любо, въ этомъ міре” [The one is pleased with the earth, / and feels excellent in this world] (52). Thus, a thematic transition from spiritual to sensual concepts is initiated by the appearance of Mephistopheles, marking a change in Faust’s objectives.

### **The Contract**

The signing of the contract structurally follows the original. Faust launches a complaint about his sufferings, lack of satisfaction, and indifference generated by his earthly existence, revealing his negative attitude towards human life from the point of view of the scholar in search of higher knowledge. This progresses into a condemnation of all of life’s values and initiates a transition from Faust’s preoccupation with intellectual issues to sensual experience. At this point, the adaptation omits the passage in which the chorus of spirits underlines the decisiveness of his dismissal of normal life, withdrawing a solution for Faust’s despondency. The Russian text offers no chance for Faust to resolve the rupture between his natural earthly bond and the striving for the higher, spiritual form of existence. Instead, this tension is avoided and replaced by the solution offered through the pact with Mephistopheles, who intends to turn Faust’s thoughts to earthly life and its pleasures: “Ты окружонъ безпечною толпою, / Ты человекъ такой же, как они. [...] Все-таки если ты хочешь со мною / Въ светлую жизнь веселее вступить / Буду усердно тебе я служить,” [You are surrounded by a carefree crowd / You are a man equal to them [...] If you would like to join me / And enter into a new life of fun / I will serve you with all my heart] (75). Faust’s situation at this point is viewed as the product of his restless and rebellious activity,

which not only makes him vulnerable to the devil's temptation, but also places him under the complete influence of diabolic powers. In line with this, Faust accepts his humanity and descends into the pleasures of human experience, rejecting his thirst for knowledge: “Теперь конец - порвалась нить мышленья, / Къ науке я исполненъ отвращенья. / Пойдемъ, потушимъ жаръ страстей / Въ восторгахъ чувственныхъ, телесныхъ - / И пусть в чаду волшебствъ чудесныхъ / Я потону душой моею” [It's the end – the thread of thoughts is torn / I feel sheer disgust towards the sciences / Let's go and satisfy our passions / With sensual and bodily pleasures / And let my soul drown / Intoxicated with magical tricks] (80). Moreover, the adaptation seems to avoid the confrontation with the theme of creative activity in the scene “Study II”, as Faust's original re-emphasis on his restless spirit is removed from the Russian text: “Я человекъ - мне чуждъ покой” [I am a human – I am estranged from peace] (81). The avoidance of this theme, essential for Goethe's Faust figure and the outcome of the drama as a whole, corresponds with the overall judgement of creative activity being viewed as the cause of Faust's malefaction, which in turn leads to his descent into the domain of evil. This conflicting interpretation of activity, together with Faust's rejection of higher spirituality, removes the philosophical significance of Goethe's contract as a necessary stage in Faust's development. Moreover, Faust's journey after he agrees to enter the service of Mephistopheles can no longer be viewed as a route to the discovery of the positive meaning of human life. Rather, it becomes a descent into earthly pleasures for the sake of pure satisfaction: “Преградъ вамъ нетъ нигде, ни въ чемъ: / Васъ ждетъ рядъ бурныхъ наслаждений, / Успеховъ, страстныхъ упоений / И бездна радостей во всемъ -” [There are no barriers / Pleasures, success, and happiness in everything awaits you] (81). Thus, the involvement with Mephistopheles will only lead Faust to irredeemable sin,

transforming Goethe's original into a morality play that offers an ethical evaluation of Faust as a wrongdoer.

### **The Love Story**

The story of the seduction and abandonment of a young girl is preserved in the 1902 adaptation, with some deletions and re-arrangements that are employed with two goals in mind. First, they assist in creating a detached image of Faust by avoiding any possible projections on Faust the scholar. This tendency can be observed in the deletion of the following episodes. Mephistopheles's commentary on Faust's pedagogical and scholarly past, which involved teaching of unverified information (3040 – 3049) is not included. Faust's deliberation about Nature from the scene "Ravine in the Forest" (3217-3250) is also omitted, as are traces of his restless activity (176).

Other deletions to the love story are made to restrict the portrayal of Faust's feelings towards Margarita, which further contributes to the setting of his actions in an unacceptable light. For example, after the first encounter with her, Faust voices no expression of love. He seems not to view her as an individual, but only as an object of his desire. The absence of any laudatory motive in Faust's desires at this point is re-emphasized by the removal of the following lines, which could possibly suggest a hint of admiration: "Она, потупившись, прошла / И пламя въ сердце мне зажгла. / Ответъ - два слова лишь всего... / Восторгъ - и больше ничего (129) [She passed me with downcast eyes / And has set fire in my heart. / Her answer – only two words... / A pure delight]. Furthermore, Margarita's seduction progresses in the adaptation more quickly than in the original, as the scenes "Spaziergang" and "Strasse" are omitted. Both deletions assist in maintaining the image of Faust as a selfish seducer, for the signs of Faust's compassion for her are lost. Moreover, the omission of his

attempts to define his feelings towards Margarita (3059-3066) not only restricts the portrayal of his ability to reflect on his emotions, but entirely eliminates the possibility of Faust's longing or feeling emotions for Margarita at all. In its image of the seducer, the adaptation only preserves the motive of temptation. This culminates in Faust's decision to give in to his increasing desire despite his awareness of the tragic consequences of such a relationship for Margarita: "Пусть будет то, что суждено судьбой; / [...] / Пусть вместе, вместе в бездну праха / Она низвергнется со мной" [Let the destiny take its course / [...] Let her join me / In the descent into the abyss of dust] (176). With the removal of Faust's feelings towards Margarita, all that is left is his desire, which in combination with his awareness of the consequences, changes the degree of Faust's guilt in her destruction. In the original, the tension between true love and the awareness of consequences that characterizes Faust's romantic experience displays his dual nature and allows for a compassion for, if not a possible justification of his actions. As this tension is substituted with and limited to the experience of pleasures in combination with a clear understanding of Margarita's destruction, the adaptation implies that Faust's actions are intentional, which justifies the grounds for the harsh judgement of him in the end.

As anticipated, Faust fails to stand by the seduced Margarita once his desires are fulfilled, re-emphasizing his selfishness, and lack of responsibility and compassion. At this point the adaptation omits the original engagements of Faust in the scenes "Walpurgisnacht" and "Walpurgisnachtstraum", and he re-enters in "Gloomy Day" only to share his despair about what has happened to Margarita and to initiate an attempted rescue. Contrary to the original, the beginning of the scene "Dungeon" is modified to eliminate Faust's speech, which provides an account of his feelings (4405-4411). Additionally, the emotional barrier between

the two protagonists in the original scene is highlighted to a greater extent, as the Faust of the Russian text appears to be less active in his attempts to free Margarita. This is achieved by means of numerous cuts to his dialogue. In fact, even Faust's original declaration of his love to Margarita and his willingness to stand by her are removed: "Я твой всегда отъ сердца полноты!" [I am forever yours with all my heart] (244), and "Я остаюсь!" [I will stay] (246). Moreover, to highlight Faust's wrongdoings the original acknowledgement of his regret in causing the tragic destiny of Margarita is not included, as the following is deleted: "О, если бь не былъ я рождень!" [If only I was never born!] (248).

These deletions, which involve the portrayal of Faust's emotions, indicate that the involvement of the Faust character in the development of the Gretchen storyline is limited to include only those of his actions that are necessary to sustain the plot. The absence of any emotional tension between selfishness and genuine caring in Faust, and later the lack of responsibility for the consequences of his actions, together establish him as a one-dimensional seducer. This role of the Faust figure is not surprising in light of the judgement of Faust as a wrongdoer, reached before his encounter with Margarita. His inability to resist his sexual desires, followed by carelessness and lack of compassion, are a logical consequence of his contract with Mephistopheles. However, the dimensions of Faust's malefactions are now increased due to his awareness of the damage they will do, which leads the audience to conclude that the harm has been done intentionally.

### **5.2.2. Characterization of Margarita**

As noted above, the adaptation preserves the original image of Margarita and places it in contrast to that of Faust. Thus, the main characteristics of the female protagonist are retained

and she appears at the beginning of the play as an innocent young girl who fascinates Faust with her beauty and modesty. The importance of loyalty and faithfulness as the concepts inherent in her understanding of love are emphasized by the use of the song “The King in Thule”, and exemplified by means of her emotions and thoughts about Faust. The image of Margarita as an embodiment of virtue culminates in the portrayal of her religiousness when she demands the same level of devotion from Faust, whom she questions about his religious beliefs. Clearly, the establishment of the female protagonist as a positive character stands in sharp contrast to Faust’s sinful nature and adds to the tragedy that follows her seduction. Betrayed by her beloved and in fear of societal judgement, Margarita becomes an example of a fallen woman and commits infanticide. The last scene of the adaptation concentrates exclusively on her to show her moral superiority over Faust. Consistent with the original, she is invested with celestial glory when she rejects diabolic assistance to be rescued and accepts her death.

### **5.2.3. Characterization of Mephistopheles**

#### **The Concept and Purpose of the Devilish**

Mephistopheles is understood as a tempter who craves Faust’s soul. This characterization of the devil is given an interesting twist in the adaptation. Here, Mephistopheles is aware of his limited powers as he acknowledges the superiority of other spirits: “Охотно прихожу сюда / иногда / Хотя и держу языкъ приятно убедиться / Что даже важные такие господа / Умеють вежливо и съ чертомъ обходиться” [Sometimes I gladly come here / Despite keeping my mouth shut, it is pleasant to be reassured / that even important gentlemen / Know how to deal with the devil politely] (21); and “Слушай: хоть я не изъ важныхъ

господь,” [Listen, I do not belong to the important men] (75). The latter quotation possibly indicates his lower ranking within the hierarchy of evil spirits suggested in the Bible, indicating that he is not Satan himself. This suggestion seems to explain Mephistopheles’s disinterest in Faust in the afterlife: “Благодарю: не надо мертвыхъ мне! / Отъ труповъ я держуся въ стороне” [Thanks, I don’t need the dead / I try to stay away from corpses] (19). Mephistopheles, as the embodiment of vice and provider of temptation, operates among living people on earth, where he exercises his destructive powers. He does not deal with fallen souls after their death. His purpose is to deprive his victims of moral consciousness and he achieves this by means of deception. Clearly, this contradicts the original goal to divert the scholar from his striving to experience the ultimate truth and gain tranquility. The story of Margarita features another dimension of Mephistopheles’ interests; namely, the extent to which he is able to exert his pernicious influence in order to expand his destructive activities. This explains why Mephistopheles is not perplexed by Faust’s final condition of the wager and willingly agrees to it: “Идет!” [Deal!] (78). Mephistopheles has won already, because through Faust he will be able to tempt, manipulate and deceive others i.e. Margarita for as long as Faust lives under his evil guidance.

In suggesting an instrument to shield against devilish temptations, the adaptation conforms to the prevailing religious teachings in Russia, and the example of Margarita shows strong faith and righteousness as the route to salvation. Faust, on the other hand, is offered a sign from heaven, but chooses to reject God’s mercy, which places him within the devil’s grasp. Faust himself advocates the power of religiousness as the only possible protection from the devil’s temptations: “И знай, что съ силою святою / Ты, бесъ, не въ силахъ совладать” [You have to know, that you cannot get the better of the holy power]

(64). The effectiveness of a strong faith in fighting temptation reemphasizes the adaptation's positive treatment of the dominant religious views of the time.

#### **5.2.4. Reading of the Production**

The above analysis has shown the differences between the 1902 Russian adaptation and Goethe's original and has revealed a rupture in the characterization of Faust in the scenes dealing with the scholar's predicament and those dedicated to the love story. The majority of alterations were to the image of Faust as a scholar. Directed to suppress the freedom of the human mind, the alterations in the scenes before the love story establish a characterization of the Faust figure as an example of a wrongdoer based on the destructiveness of his activity, which initiates his moral degradation and leads to the union with the devil. Once Faust is placed under that diabolic influence, the adaptation withdraws from the characterization of his inner development and deals primarily with the illustration of Faust's guilt in the tragedy of Margarita. The love story is reduced to sensual temptation in the realm of the earthly. The removal of any higher, philosophical value of this experience for Faust diminishes the importance of the original image of the female character and the possibility of achieving a higher level of meaning. It also leads to the loss of the spiritual involvement of Faust, transforming the story of love into one of a sheer sensuality. By providing an opportunity to judge Faust's actions, the adaptation serves to support the traditional dogmatic views of the Russian autocracy and religion. The appropriation of the play's content to the Russian culture is interesting when placed in the context of the peculiarities of the cumulative image of the German states. This contradiction illuminates the nature of cultural appropriation of the play. The placement into German surroundings seems to suggest that the Faust material



was to be understood as belonging to a foreign culture. It was, however, assimilated into the Russian culture by imposing native socio-cultural values to interpret the foreign content for the domestic audiences.

### **5.3. Contextual Analysis**

#### **Socio-historic Reading**

This analysis of the 1902 adaptation has identified the muting of the play's original philosophical content in favour of the love story as the general tendency of the staging. It also emphasized the importance of the theological teachings throughout the play, treated as a traditional Christian cautionary tale. This tendency not only demonstrates the obligation of the Imperial Theatre to adhere to the teachings of the state's official religion, but also emphasizes the fundamental role of religion within the socio-political arena of the Russian Empire. In interpreting Goethe's *Faust I* through the prism of Orthodox teaching, with an emphasis on the moral superiority of Margarita in contrast to the moral degradation of Faust, the production continues the tradition of the previous staging in a general sense, implying a continuity of the socio-political factors influencing the deployment of this strategy. Therefore these will not be addressed further in this chapter, with the exception of the scene "Prologue in Heaven," which seems to be controversial within the established framework of Faust's sinful activity and therefore requires comment.

It is useful to interpret this scene through the teachings of Eastern Christianity to understand how the adaptation deals with the Pure Spirit's (God/der Herr in the original) belief in man's inherent goodness achieved in the "Prologue" and the damnation of Faust established throughout the narrative. Instrumental for this understanding is the Pure Spirit's

recognition of human potential: “Пока еще умою во мраке онъ блуждаетъ, / Но истины лучемъ онъ будетъ озаренъ. / Сажая деревцо, уже садовникъ знаетъ, / Какой цветокъ и плодъ съ него получить онъ” [While he still wanders in the dark / He will be touched by the ray of truth. / The gardener knows when he plants a tree / Which flower and fruit he will receive] (19). The belief revealed here is in effect the concept of predestination as it is understood by the Orthodox teachings formulated by the Bishop Theophan the Recluse (1815-1894). The concept combines God’s divine foreknowledge with the necessity of free will, and claims that Divine determination depends on how a person lives his or her life: “He [God] foreknows the things that depend upon us, but he does not predestine them – because neither does He will evil to be done nor does He force virtue”<sup>11</sup> (qtd. from Manley 369). Thus, the salvation of Faust is conditioned by the choices he makes during his life on earth. This understanding of predestination provides an opportunity for a judgement in cases where the standards of Christian morality are transgressed, justifying and supporting societal condemnation. In addition, the concept of predestination creates a link between the prologue and the damnation of Faust, providing another example of cultural appropriation.

The muting of criticism of the state and of the military are tendencies unique to the 1902 staging and should therefore be placed within the social and political developments of the period. The production coincided with the turbulent historical period that eventually resulted in the collapse of tsarism in 1917. Many historians have commented on the situation of crisis in turn-of-twentieth-century Russia, asserting that by 1902 even the most conservative officials understood that the threat of revolution was imminent (Badcock 20). A brief discussion of the social and political climate of the period, specifically the situation of the

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<sup>11</sup> “Бог же всяческих издалека все предвидит, как Бог; а не доводит до необходимости, одного преуспевать в добродетели, другого же делать зло” (Zatvornik 540).

urban working class and the agrarian question, will assist in understanding the reasoning behind the neutralizing strategy applied in the adaptation as an attempt to diminish any associations with contemporary issues.

After the economic reforms of the 1890s, the late imperial period was characterized by rapid industrialization and urbanization, resulting in the growth of an urban working class. The emergence of this class created new problems for the existing government, which could not effectively service the newly expanded urban population (Badcock 10). The severe survival conditions of the urban workers have been acknowledged by many scholars, who have listed the lack of adequate and affordable housing, dangerous working conditions, inadequate pay, prolonged working hours, and the absence of general legislation as among the most problematic issues (Buchner 173-74, Thatcher 102-105). Increasing worker discontent caused numerous strikes in the late 1870s and again in the late 1890s, when an industrial depression aggravated the situation (Seton-Watson 124-125). The government's failure to productively address this situation alienated workers from the state and influenced their disposition toward revolutionary ideas, as suggested by the rise in power of illegal political parties (Seton-Watson 129). Consequently, the first years of the twentieth century were characterized by political strikes in most cities of the Empire (Vucinich 158). A significant contributing factor in the sense of crisis was the agrarian question, which had been revolving around land shortage after the emancipation of serfs and gradually led to the economic decay of the peasantry (Laue 134), resulting in serious peasant revolts in March and April 1902. The dangers of the increasing social crisis were especially pronounced in St. Petersburg, the centre of Russian officialdom, where a series of assassinations of government officials took place (Seton-Watson 146). To contain this situation, the

government initiated repressive measures, evident in the mobilization of troops during the general strikes of 1902 and 1903 (Seton-Watson 130).

It is understandable that in this climate of social unrest in Russian cities and villages, the authorities were cautious about the portrayal of the government and the public on stage. The original characterization of the common people and their harsh living and working conditions (see pp. 116-17) could draw unwanted attention to the contemporary situation of the urban and rural population of the Empire. The original criticism of arbitrary laws and legislations was also avoided (see pp. 115-16) on the grounds of their relevance to the weak government policies. The authorities' censorship of any passages in *Faust I* with the potential to provoke comparison to sensitive contemporary issues testifies to their awareness of the crisis. This treatment clearly demonstrates the theatre's attempt to preserve the status quo by eliminating themes with subtle or overt political messages, a tendency which confirms the apolitical status of the Alexandrinsky Theatre, as it complied with the censorship regulations which protected the interests of the Russian autocracy.

It is also worth noting another example of conforming to the protective censorship practices, namely the avoidance of criticizing the military. It is not surprising that censorship laws prohibited the ridiculing or undermining of the army ("Zakon o tsenzure i pechatii" 3349), as the Russian court culture then was itself militaristic in nature. The state's favorable attitude toward the representatives of the military was well reflected in the privileged position of the latter, as well as in governmental policies. For instance, one of the factors influencing the initiation of policies supportive of industrialization and railway developments was the need to increase "the military might and prestige" of the state (Seton-Watson 122). At the beginning of the twentieth century, criticism of the army became a

sensitive issue due to the public's growing sense of alienation, a result of the state and military interventions in the revolts of 1902.

The analysis of the 1902 production has identified examples that transcend the regulations of the censorship authorities governing the Russian theatre, specifically those prohibiting the portrayal of any ethnic group, its beliefs, foreign countries, or its government in an unfavourable light ("Zakon o tsenzure i pechati" 3349). This transgression is of interest, especially in light of the strictness of the theatrical censorship in this period. It has been identified in the analysis that the production preserved religious and government criticism targeting specifically German ethnicities. An overview of the public opinion on German culture and the German state, as well as changes in Russian foreign policies toward this growing European power, will shed light on the situation that led to this reinterpretation.

Russia's exposure to German culture developed on the domestic level and among all levels of society due to the existence of German colonies since the eighteenth century. The Russian population both admired and was jealous of the German colonies, because of the latter's high level of economic and cultural development (Long 25). As a result of German victories in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), however, the Russian public opinion on everything German transformed from reservation to fear of an invasion (Kaiser 7-8). Within the international arena, a tension in Russo-Prussian relations was created by Russia's disputes with Austro-Hungary over power in the Balkans. Nevertheless, the diplomatic friendship between Russia and Prussia that characterized the nineteenth century continued throughout the emergence and strengthening of a united Germany. With the succession of Bismarck, however, the policy of co-operation between the two countries was abandoned (Sakharov 812). As a result, Russia, politically isolated and financially dependent on France,

was forced into a Franco-Russian alliance (1892) (Sakharov 812-14). This shift in Russian foreign policy, oriented towards France and not Germany, and later Russia's association with Britain and France as part of the Triple Entente (1907) led to an anti-German sentiment on an official level.

There is no doubt that references to the criticism of the German state (see pp. 117-18) present in the 1902 production mirrored the Russian public opinion toward German culture, which in the course of the nineteenth century is characterized by increasing prejudice. The fact that these derogatory allusions on stage coincided with the diplomatic rupture between the countries implies that it was not public opinion that eliminated the confrontations with the censors. Presumably, the political ideas that represented and promoted those supported by the government were considered permissible for the public stage, even if these ideas circumvented the censorship.

This historiographic analysis of the tendencies identified in the 1902 production of Goethe's *Faust I* has indicated the dependence of theatre on the general policies of the state. Overall, Goethe's play was appropriated through the teachings of Eastern Orthodox doctrine. The changes were directed towards maintaining the status quo by eliminating potential confrontation with contemporary issues and thus protecting the state's supremacy. The presence of the criticism of another state, which could be mistaken for an indicator of a certain degree of censorship liberalization, illustrates the theatre's conformity with official policies and suggests the flexible nature of the censorship office.



## CHAPTER SIX

### *Faust* [Фаястъ], 1912

#### 6.1. Description of the Production

In 1912 a staging of Goethe's *Faust I* was undertaken at the private theatre of Konstantin Nikolaevich Nezlobin (1857-1930) in Moscow. Konstantin Nezlobin, a successful theatrical entrepreneur well known to Russian audiences in the provinces, opened a private theatrical enterprise in Moscow in 1909, which produced a number of interesting and distinctive productions in the capital. From 1911 to 1917, Nezlobin's company performed its Moscow productions in St. Petersburg, which was also the case for the production of Goethe's *Faust I*. In choosing the repertoire, the theatre's objective was the production of new contemporary plays and the re-interpretation of classical works (Markov, *Istoriia* 96). This tendency in developing the repertoire parallels the theatre's strategy to raise public interest in their performances and reflects a widening of the theatre's purposes from providing entertainment to commenting on contemporary issues and educating audiences. Another characteristic of the productions at this private theatre was the emphasis on the set as the main means of communication with audiences, with the overall richness of the setting creating memorable visual impressions of performances (Wulf 35). Contemporary critics commented on the Nezlobin theatre's tendency to appeal to the tastes of its audiences: "Everything is beautiful, elegant, [...], but it coincides with the tastes of the audiences and critics, with whom the theatre is able to be on good terms"<sup>1</sup> (Stanislavsky, *Sobranie sochinenii* 7: 489). In line with the new Russian theatrical developments, Nezlobin strongly emphasized the presence of the artistic director (Kholodov 7: 379). Consequently, his theatre has been associated with

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<sup>1</sup> Author's translation of the original quote: "Все красивенько, будуарно изящно, [...], но все подлажено под вкус публики и критиков, с которыми умеют ладить."



several Russian progressive directors, among them Fedor Fedorovich Komissarzhevsky (1882-1954),<sup>2</sup> who was the director for this production.

Unlike the previously examined productions, Komissarzhevsky's revival of Goethe's *Faust I* in 1912 explores the metaphysical framework of the original. This exploration marks a dramatic change in the development of the play's staging. The production is distinguished from its predecessors not only by its attempt to offer a coherent philosophical reading of the play, but also because it represents an experiment that puts into practice Komissarzhevsky's theoretical approach to theatre. A new translation of the original play, one that combined prose and poetry, was prepared by Komissarzhevsky in collaboration with Mikhail Aleksandrovich Zenkevich (1886-1973).<sup>3</sup> However, the nature of their collaboration and the extent of their involvement in the translation are not addressed in the secondary literature. The production premièred on September 5, 1912 at the Narodny Theatre (Yureneva 139). The roles of Faust, Mephistopheles, and Margarita were assigned to Aleksandr Vasilevich Rudnitsky (1879-1919), Aleksandr Emilievich Shakhlov (1880-1935), and Vera Leonidovna Yureneva (1876-1962) respectively. Marta was played by Yuliia Vasilievna Vasilieva (1867-1932) and Siebel by Dmitrii Yakovlevich Gruzinsky (1865-1923). The exact dates and the number of performances are unknown.

A production of Goethe's *Faust* performed by Nezlobin's company was also registered in 1913 at the Panaev Theatre in St. Petersburg. The newspaper *Speech (Rech)* contains numerous announcements of it in the September and October issues of 1913. St. Petersburg audiences had witnessed this production in previous seasons, as the first announcement,

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<sup>2</sup> Known in English-speaking theatrical circles as Theodore Komisarjevsky.

<sup>3</sup> Mikhail Zenkevich – Russian poet and translator, known for translations of William Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and Walt Whitman.

published on September 9, 1913, advertises the fifty-fourth performance of the play (*“Faust”* 1). The seventy-fourth performance of the play on October 9, 1913, appears to be the last of that season, based on the announcement published the same day (*“Faust”* 1). The production performed in 1913 in St. Petersburg appears to have been produced under the direction of the theatre owner Konstantin Nezlobin, as his name (not Fedor Komissarzhevsky’s) is printed in the announcements. This suggests that the performances of the 1913 season should be considered as a separate adaptation of the play. Thus, before we can proceed with the analysis, we must comment on the question of authorship.

The secondary literature contains no mention of two separate productions of the play by the company of the Nezlobin Theatre. The memoirs of Vera Yureneva, who played the role of Margarita in Komissarzhevsky’s production, contain a note about the transfer of the production of *Faust* to St. Petersburg in August 1913 (142). While she comments on the structure and acoustics of the new theatre hall, the actress does not refer to any changes in the production of the play, which makes the possibility of a new staging highly unlikely (Yureneva 142-43). The only sources of information about the artistic director of the St. Petersburg performances are surviving reviews of the season, which credit Fedor Komissarzhevsky with the production (Gurevich, *“Faust”* 3, Mikhailov 3). The reviewer Mikhailov dedicates the first paragraph of his article to the question of authorship. He appears to be familiar with Komissarzhevsky’s production of the play in Moscow and compares it with the performance he witnessed on September 8, 1913 in St. Petersburg. The reviewer registers cast changes and the omission of the scene “At the Well” as the only two alterations found in Komissarzhevsky’s adaptation, stating that the interpretation of the drama, its realization on stage, the translation of the original, and finally, costumes and stage

design were all preserved (Mikhailov 3). Furthermore, the critic devotes the review to Komissarzhevsky's reading of the drama and the concept of his adaptation, and shares his astonishment about the false ascription of the adaptation to Nezlobin (Mikhailov 3). Due to the absence of any pictures of the St. Petersburg performances, the correspondence in the use of costumes and stage design cannot be addressed fully, but one can speculate that it is highly unlikely that the administration of a private theatre would drastically change the setting and costumes of a production within a year, rather than tour the same staging to recover costs. The prompt-book of the production does not provide evidence of any pivotal changes applied in the editing process that suggest the possibility of a new interpretation of the play. Furthermore, the names of the actors playing the leading roles of Faust, Mephistopheles, and Margarita in St. Petersburg appear to be the same as those involved in the performances in Moscow (Gurevich, "Teatr i muzyka" 3). Clearly, the performances of Goethe's *Faust* in Moscow (1912) and in St. Petersburg (1913) are based on the same production of the play under the initial direction of Fedor Komissarzhevsky and therefore can be analyzed as one. The existence of a sole production in 1912 and 1913 is also confirmed in Komissarzhevsky's article devoted to his production ("Khaos i garmoniia" 41). The authorship change in the announcements can be explained by Komissarzhevsky's departure from the Nezlobin Theatre in 1913, before the St. Petersburg's performances occurred.

### **Primary Materials**

The evidence that survives from this production includes a prompt-book, the director's commentaries, reviews, costume sketches, performance photographs, and pictures. Two articles by the director shed light on his reading of Goethe's play and its theatrical realization

as found in the 1912 production. Particular attention is devoted to the characterization of Faust and Mephistopheles, the set design of the key scenes, and the alterations of the German original. Numerous reviews of the production have survived, providing descriptions of a number of scenes, as well as information on the actors' realizations of the characters and the overall conception of the play. There are five photographs of the performance, two costume sketches and three illustrations of the main actors in their roles,<sup>4</sup> which are invaluable in the analysis of set design and costumes.

The prompt-book is a translation of the original compiled specifically for the production, thus indicating that it was prepared with a certain reading of the play in mind. It consists of typewritten pages joined together to form a book. The dialogues are on the right-hand sides of the pages, leaving the left-hand sides empty. This positioning can be explained by paper and ink quality that did not allow for the use of both sides of the page. In total, the translation consists of 178 pages excluding the cover page, which lists the characters of the production (Appendix N). Page numbers are indicated twice, in the process of typewriting and later during the revisions. Typed page numbers divide the book into three parts, starting the count at the beginning with the scene "Prologue", but the count starts again with the scene "Night" and again with the "Neighbour's House". Handwritten page numbers are listed in consecutive order in the right bottom margins and will be used for the purpose of citation in the following discussion (Appendix O). The translation omits the original scenes "Zueignung", "Vorspiel auf dem Theater", "Walpurgisnachtstraum", and "Nacht, Offen Feld" (Appendix P), indicating that they were not considered for the production. The handwritten layer applied to the typed text provides evidence of subsequent alterations that

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<sup>4</sup> Provided in Appendix M.

are not substantial, leaving most of the dialogues of the translation layer intact. Most of the changes deal with minor dialogue deletions, lexical substitutions, punctuation, the treatment of mechanical errors, and line rearrangements. The scene count is applied in the revision process. Unfortunately, specific information on actors' blocking and the use of scenery is not provided, except for the translation of the original didascalia.

The question of the number of hands involved in the revision process can be addressed by examining the handwriting samples (Appendix Q). The samples provided in Figures 1 and 2 exhibit differences in the brightness of handwritten emendations, suggesting the use of two different writing tools and subsequently two stages of the revision process. Samples from Figure 2 are interesting, as they reveal an initial layer applied either with a different writing tool or with light pressure and retraced to improve the text's readability. The nature of retracing closely follows the initial layer, suggesting that one individual applied them both. Another striking distinction between the samples is the nature and length of the amendments. In contrast to Figure 2, featuring a variety of lexical changes from single letters (1), words (2), phrases or sentences (3), samples in Figure 1 are limited to changes in punctuation (4), in word order (5) or in sentence sequence (6). This, in combination with the presence of retracing, suggests that amendments from Figure 1 were overlooked and thus appear in their initial form. This investigation of the letter formation suggests that the handwritten amendments were written by the same individual, most likely Fedor Komissarzhevsky, the artistic director of the production, who indicated his involvement on all levels of the process in his commentary (Komissarzhevsky, "Khaos i harmoniia" 58). It should be noted further that starting from the scene "Neighbour's House", which marks the beginning of the third part of the book as divided by the typed page numbers, the prompt-book does not feature any

lexical emendations, thus suggesting that the individual who was in charge of the final dialogues wrote the translation for this part. Both the presence of lexical emendations and the changes in dialogue placement can be taken as a sign of alternative authorship, a conclusion which fits the theory of the dual authorship of the translation and sheds light on the nature of co-operation between the co-authors.

### **Komissarzhevsky's Synthetic Theatre**

Any further examination of the 1912 production of *Faust* must begin with an inquiry into the theoretical postulates of the artistic director, featured in an article "On the Harmony of Arts on Stage" ("O garmonii iskusstv na stsene", 1910). Published in the prestigious *Imperial Theatres Annual* (*Ezhegodnik imperatorskikh teatrov*), this theory later developed into his theatrical program described in *Teatralnye preliudii* (1916). Fundamental to Komissarzhevsky's explorations is his understanding of the potential of combining all elements available to the medium of theatre in order to enhance a play's impact. He explained that these production elements have to be selected and combined to be mutually complementary if they are to make an harmonious impression on the audience. He distinguished between the "visual fusion" ("*vneshnee sliianie*") versus the "inner unity" ("*vnutrennee edinstvo*") or "spiritual harmony" ("*dukhovnoe edinstvo*") of a production and recognized that the latter is important for the successful representation of a play on stage (2, 3). The importance of unity as the underlying principle of Komissarzhevsky's theory is reflected in the title he gave to this approach (*Sinteticheskii teatr*), which he translated as Synthetic Theatre.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> As accurately noted by Victor Borovsky, Synthesised Theatre would be a more precise translation to refer to the binding function of the interpretation of the play as a distinctive feature of Komissarzhevsky's theory (Borovsky 234).

Komissarzhevsky developed these thoughts in the introductory article of his monograph, entitled “Under the Banner of Philosophy” (“Pod znakom filosofii”), which places the philosophical reading of a play at the beginning of the production process. Achieved through an understanding of the emotional content of the play (i.e., “the feelings of the characters” (“*perezhivaniia deistvuiushchikh lits*”), this interpretation ultimately serves as a unifying function and subordinates all the theatrical devices utilized in a production (*Teatralnye Preliudii* 8, “O garmonii” 3). The inception of the philosophical reading of the play provides an opportunity to choose the theatrical means, forms and techniques from those available to theatre in order to best convey the meaning of the play and to allow for an unlimited number of theatrical representations. In other words, it is the philosophical meaning that dictates the choice of elements utilized in the production, and not the elements that alter the reading of the play according to the accepted theatrical methods or forms. Therefore, Komissarzhevsky rejected the partition of art in general and theatre in particular into schools, and believed that any limitation of the artistic devices contradicts the diversity of the material and leads to a stereotyped representation (*Teatralnye preliudii* 13).

Komissarzhevsky repeatedly stressed the supremacy of one unifying interpretation of a play, which advocates the necessity for director’s theatre and puts great emphasis on the authority of that director – a new developing profession at the beginning of the twentieth century in Russia. The position of the director was heavily criticized, as it challenged the privileged position of the leading actors and therefore the theatrical tradition of the time. In Komissarzhevsky’s view, however, the director’s power does not undermine the agency of the stage actors, as he differentiated between the production process and the performance itself. He envisioned the relationship within the theatrical company to be based on a “mutual

sympathetic understanding”, with the director enjoying the status of a “primus inter pares” who works in cooperation with other theatre participants to reproduce an adaptation of the author’s work (*Myself and the Theatre* 160, *Teatralnye preliudii* 10). He insisted that the director’s task is to convey the general conception of the play to the actors and to assist them in finding the right techniques to portray their characters as they are understood in the given production (“Po povodu knigi Vs. Meyerkholda o teatre” 39). At the same time, Komissarzhevsky keenly stressed the significance of the actors’ art in a performance and reserved the first place on stage to the actor and his/her artistic abilities (“Pisatel i akter” 103). Therefore, he believed that all other elements of the production have to be chosen with the particular actor in mind to supplement the acting (*Myself and the Theatre* 166).

Despite the significant influence of the actors on a given performance, Komissarzhevsky understood the impact of the visual image on the spectator (“Po povodu” 18). He stressed the importance of the theatrical form overall and insisted that the choice of each element must be directed by the principle of inner harmony to achieve transmission of the same idea to the audiences: “The rhythm of the music must be in harmony with the rhythm of the words, with the rhythm of the movements of actors, of the colours and lines of the decor and costumes, and of the changing lights” (*Myself and the Theatre* 149). Therefore, he explored the history of costumes, published in his book *Costume (Kostium)* in 1910, and paid attention to the range of colours in costumes and settings as well as to the lighting effects. He knew that even slight changes tremendously influence the impressions conveyed to audiences (*Myself and the Theatre* 148). In practice, Komissarzhevsky believed in the inner philosophical concept of the production and its unifying function for a harmonious binding of all selected



elements: “When producing I interpret a play by every artistic means the stage [...] allows me, and try to form a harmonious synthesis” (*Myself and the Theatre* 171).

### **The Director’s Approach to Goethe’s *Faust I***

Komissarzhevsky’s desire to contemplate about the meaning of life on the stage led him to Goethe’s *Faust*. In line with his theoretical postulates, the director approached the play from a philosophical point of view and attempted to subordinate all elements involved to create a coherent production. To achieve this goal, he returned to the original text and worked on the Russian translation himself. Taking advantage of an opportunity for publicity, he published his elaborations on the play and his work on its production during the same theatrical season in which *Faust* premiered at the Nezlobin Theatre (“Faust na stsene”). This article, revised and supplemented with the director’s comments on the success of his production and his reactions to the reviews, appeared in Komissarzhevsky’s monograph *Teatralnye preliudii* (41-63).

The title of this second article, “Chaos and Harmony”, reflects Komissarzhevsky’s understanding of the play’s underlying principle as based on the eternal confrontation of these two forces. For him, the multiple thematic layers of the play, which resemble the turbulences of life, are exemplified through Faust’s search and are brought into order through the presence of God, who symbolically stands for harmony and is present throughout the play (*Teatralnye preliudii* 42). This reading reinforces the importance of the scene “Prolog im Himmel”<sup>6</sup> and further establishes the universal context of the play and that of the Faust figure as a symbol of human energy. Komissarzhevsky interprets Faust as a character who belongs to reality and simultaneously has the potential of transcending the

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<sup>6</sup> The German original scene titles are used to indicate Komissarzhevsky’s reading of the original play.

limitations of time and place, which grants him an abstract dimension (*Teatralnye preliudii* 43). Faust's disappointment in the first scenes is the logical result of his failed attempts to achieve a higher level of comprehension and bring himself closer to God, because he chooses means created by humanity and therefore not suitable for a spiritual task. An alternative method, and for Komissarzhevsky the proper way to achieve fulfillment in life, is to recognize God within oneself and to direct all efforts to the creation of a common good (*Teatralnye preliudii* 42). Indicated in the scene "Prolog im Himmel", this solution offers salvation for Faust's erroneous activity and allows him to engage the motif of nature, overlooked in the previous productions, as a powerful and essential force symbolizing the Divine. The experience of nature and therefore of God as understood in the "Prolog im Himmel" translates for the director as the ultimate goal for Faust's striving. The search for a new pure God offers an explanation for Faust's religious criticism of the clerical image of God's punishing humanity's penchant to question and explore (*Teatralnye preliudii* 43). The emphasis on spiritual rather than rational means to achieve fulfillment in life allows the director to approach the Gretchen tragedy not from the single perspective of a love story, but as a necessary milestone on Faust's road to salvation. The manifestation of God through nature is a suitable solution not only from the point of view of plot coherency. It also assists in achieving a familiar connection to domestic literary tradition and consequently to Russian culture. For instance, the admiration of nature as a link to the Divine had been a recurring feature of Russian poetry in the nineteenth century, perhaps exemplified in Mikhail Lermontov's (1814-1841) poem "When the yellowing fields sway" ("*Kogda volnuetsia zhelteiushchaia niva*") (90-91).

Similar to Faust's character, Mephistopheles's image is marked by the paradox of being abstract and real at the same time. As a servant of hell, Mephistopheles represents evil forces, and therefore stands for the eternal dimension of chaos. In establishing this character's philosophical framework, Komissarzhevsky proceeds from destructiveness as the main principle of Mephistopheles's essence, emphasized in his association with fire (*Teatralnye preliudii* 47). He understands Mephistopheles as a spirit of negation who equally despises good and evil because his main interest lies in the destruction of both. At the same time, Mephistopheles's appearance in the form of a human character allows him to personify the evil forces that are an inescapable component of earthly life. Komissarzhevsky observes that the concept of the devil being real is a widespread medieval perception, and therefore determines Mephistopheles's roots in this epoch (*Teatralnye preliudii* 49). The essential tension between Mephistopheles and Faust represents a conflict between experience and learning, which allows for the depiction of the devil as Faust's alter ego. For Komissarzhevsky, the existence of Mephistopheles as fleshly substance establishes him as a character who has experienced human life and therefore embodies emotion or sensuality – a component withdrawn from the life of Faust the scholar but ultimately necessary for him to understand nature (*Teatralnye preliudii* 49-50). Thus, if Faust is to reach his goal, his learning has to be supplemented by experience.

Disappointed by the futility and delusion of human life, Faust encounters Margarita, a girl whose image carries the mark of a primitive and simple medieval society (Yureneva 133). For Komissarzhevsky, the randomness of this situation, in combination with Faust's certainty that this is the girl for whom he has waited all his life, are clear signs of divine participation in the scene (*Teatralnye preliudii* 53). The text itself indicates that Margarita, a

symbol of purity and harmony, is not Mephistopheles's creation, and accordingly he declares his impotence to seduce her (2626). If the presence of the God from the scene "Prolog im Himmel" is accepted in this scene, it becomes evident that it is God himself who reveals the higher purpose of Faust's experience with Margarita, which is essential for his salvation. For Komissarzhevsky, this incident stresses the presence of divine powers in the earthly sphere (*Teatrlanye preliudii* 53). To highlight the involvement of divine powers in Faust's meeting with Gretchen, the director uses a statue of an angel as the most prominent feature of the set in the scene "Street" (Appendix M, Fig.4). In the Old Testament, an angel signifies a messenger who "conveys God's will to mankind" and therefore is traditionally seen as an intermediary between the two realms (Earls 15). This is one of numerous examples in which the director conveys and emphasizes specific concepts through the setting.

Komissarzhevsky's reading of the play attempts to emphasize its inherent multiple layers for the purpose of creating a coherent adaptation that proves the practical application of his theoretical framework. He interprets the play through the prism of the "Prolog im Himmel", assuming a constant presence of divine power in the earthly sphere, which can be experienced through nature. The reading emphasizes the potential of love in the recognition of the spirit of nature, which allows for a meaningful depiction of the Gretchen tragedy. Most importantly, God is understood in accordance with the "Prolog im Himmel" as granting salvation to those who strive for activity, which includes the possibility of error. This allows one to avoid the traditional view of the protagonist as a wrongdoer, hence offering a fresh look at the Faust legend and finally coming closer to Goethe's original text in comparison to the previous theatrical productions.

## Reception

The reception record of the 1912-1913 *Faust* performances is comparatively large; it contains nine reviews, a commentary on the production and reception process in the memoirs of the actress Vera Yureneva, a description of the characteristic scenery found in the biography of the set designer Anatoly Arapov, and an overview of the articles dealing with Komissarzhevsky's work. These combined sources provide valuable information on the conception of the production, the actors' realizations of their roles, scenery details, and the opinions of critics. We will now compare these sources with the intentions of the artistic director to assess the degree to which he succeeded in conveying his understanding of the *Faust* play to audiences.

The performances in Moscow and St. Petersburg both received mixed reviews. Most critics acknowledged the difficulties faced by the theatre in undertaking the task of staging such a complex play. They praised the artistic director and the actors for approaching *Faust I* from an intellectual perspective and with an emotionally elevated spirit (Beskin 720, Mikhailov 3, Volkov 914). Some commented on the philosophical depth of the original as the main obstacle preventing the theatre from creating a coherent production (Yartsev 3). When describing the actors' involvement in the performances, some reviewers expressed a sense of regret concerning the absence of suitable acting techniques and, therefore, the actors' unpreparedness to perform the assigned roles (Yartsev 3, Beskin 719). Gurevich even went so far as to proclaim a general crisis of the Russian theatrical art, due to the absence of actors who could realistically depict the emotional development of the characters ("*Faust*" 3). In contrast, however, the technical side of the production was generally praised: the critics highlighted the exquisite taste of the artistic director as seen in the successful

combination of set design, decoration, costumes, music, and lighting effects, all of which combined to create visually stimulating images.

When describing the audience reaction to the set design, most of the critics noted the clever use of Gothic architectural elements, which established a historical subtext of the Middle Ages and which they found appropriate for this play. With this in mind, they then found the use of the Renaissance staircase leading to the church (Appendix M, Fig. 4) disturbing, as it challenged the otherwise genuine appearance of the German medieval city (Sakhnovsky 34). Critics also acknowledged the role of the set design in defining the characters. The set erected for the “Study”<sup>7</sup> scenes was praised for creating a spatial impression of narrowness, which assisted in conveying the sense of the period (Sakhnovsky 35, Beskin 719). One critic noted that the use of stage space signalled an enclosed area to the audience, thus symbolising the limitations of human cognition imposed by the epoch (Beskin 720). The masses shown in the scene “In Front of the Gate” contained many details conveying an image of the period. Faust and Wagner were present from the beginning of the scene, but were not made known as such and instead “disappeared into the crowd”, which added a great deal of generalization to their characters (Sakhnovsky 35, Gurevich, “*Faust*” 4, Mikhailov 3). A critic who examined the portrayal of the minor characters found that they were not depicted within the spectrum of complicated emotions, but rather were shown from a singular perspective, creating a simplistic and primitive image (Sakhnovsky 35). This strategy was found beneficial, as it added to the historical accuracy of the production and created a contrasting background for the multifaceted image of the Faust figure. These remarks are of great importance, as they reveal that Komissarzhevsky not only recreated a

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<sup>7</sup> The author’s translations of the scene titles used in the adaptation. Russian scene titles can be found in Appendix P.

realistic image of the middle ages, but more importantly succeeded in achieving his goal of portraying the characters within and through their surroundings. The characterization of the Faust figure against an historically specific background serves to position the character both within and in contrast to a specific society. This emphasized the belonging of the character to a specific epoch and highlighted the thought that Faust is as human as others; it also established another vital dimension inherent in this character, his individuality and sense of being a particular self. This duality added significantly to the realistic portrayal of Faust.

The same device seems to apply to the characterization of Margarita, and it is especially emphasized in the scene “Donjon”. Because Margarita appeared among other parishioners, she was not visible to audiences, who could only distinguish her voice within the general murmuring of the crowd. Several critics praised this scene, noting that it achieved simultaneously two goals. On the one hand it provided an accurate image of religious practices, thus enhancing a believable image of the historical epoch; and on the other it served to enhance the tragedy of Margarita (Sakhnovsky 35, Beskin 720). In other words, the scene was successful in highlighting not only the historicity of the character, but also Margarita’s individuality. Notably, the appearance of this character within the crowd highlighted the importance of the chant “Dies Irae” for the religious mass and Christian beliefs overall, which therefore made it generally applicable to each participant and believer. This made an intimate impression on audiences, as they were aware of Margarita’s previous involvement in the love relationship. The general meaning of the lyrics became specific to the individual tragedy and drew the audience’s compassion to this character.

The realistic historical portrayal of the characters was combined with the use of a frame from the scene “Prologue” (Appendix M, Fig. 1-4), which, in keeping with the intentions of

the director, was meant to emphasize the universal meaning of the play and its characters. Critics acknowledged the purpose of this device as an interesting and successful attempt to create a coherent reading of the production. However, the same critics disapproved of his aesthetic point of view, which they regarded as disturbing (Beskin 719, Sakhnovsky 34).

Critics' opinions were divided and contradictory, especially when reflecting on the actors' realization of their characters. Some reviewers praised the work of Aleksandr Rudnitsky, who successfully created the image of the scholar in the role of Faust. The Faust of the first scenes was described as "lucid" and "reasonable", but also as a "fatigued voyager in search of new discoveries", one who in general was able to outline the degree of intellectual and emotional depth of the original character that was necessary to establish the philosophical significance of the adaptation (Beskin 720, Sakhnovsky 39). The technique of declamation employed in Faust's dialogues produced a serious tone throughout the play (Efros 5). Efros found that the Faust role was delivered with a strong sense of will and striving that was appropriate for his image of the scholar, but he nonetheless regretted the lack of doubt this Faust showed when contemplating the purpose of life (5). Others lamented the extensive use of gesticulation, which was supposed to support the philosophical dilemma of the character, but at times had the opposite effect, as when Faust appeared as "a puppet rather than a philosopher" (Gurevich "*Faust*" 4). Additionally, some critics commented negatively on the physical appearance of the Faust character because he did not sport a traditional beard (Gurevich, "*Faust*" 4, Mikhailov 3). Undoubtedly, the available description does not provide a complete understanding of the character's realization; however, it does imply that the actor was able to recreate general traits of Faust the scholar. Most importantly, Rudnitsky established the dimension of striving within the character in order to allow for the



understanding of Faust as the embodiment of universal human energy. The ability of the critics to note these characteristics demonstrates that the actor was able to break from the narrow tradition of portraying the protagonist merely as a lover. The actor's portrayal of a romantically-driven Faust was criticised for not containing enough emotional intensity to make his love for Margarita believable. Gurevich disliked the costume featuring a *Trunkhose*, seen in the appearance before the church, when Faust encounters Margarita; she thought it made Faust look inappropriately pompous ("*Faust*" 4). She continued by complaining that this Faust lacked the astonishment needed to introduce the Margarita character appropriately ("*Faust*" 4). As has been shown, the reviews discussed above imply that in Komissarzhevsky's production of the play Faust was delivered from the point of view of the scholar, thus providing a stronger focus on the philosophical interpretation of the text and pushing romantic endeavours to the background – a substantial shift when compared to previous productions of the play.

The reviews discussing Mephistopheles's realization are as contradictory as those discussing the Faust figure. Two critics found Aleksandr Shakhlov to have created a typical image of the devil known to the audiences from Gounod's opera (Efros 5, Mikhailov 4). Gurevich observed that the devil's frequent loud laugh was inappropriate and disturbing ("*Faust*" 4). On the other hand, Sakhnovsky commented that the characterization of Mephistopheles conveyed a duality of this character (39). He continued, claiming that from one perspective Mephistopheles represented an entity as human as Faust and therefore equal to him in its complexity. From another perspective, he appeared to be Faust's servant, whose existence is subjected to and dependent on Faust's constant search. Shakhlov's performance in this role was seen as captivating because it combined these two contradictory perspectives

into one coherent character (Sakhnovsky 39). Beskin found that by combining cynicism and sarcasm with a lucid mind, the actor was able to create an interesting image of the devil, one that represented the material, sensual side of Faust (Beskin 720). Komissarzhevsky's attempt to portray Mephistopheles as the alter ego of Faust was also interpreted with insight immediately after his first appearance in the scene "Study": "When Mephistopheles first appeared to Faust, their foreheads touched and for an instant their two profiles looked like both sides of a coin, with Mephistopheles as a part of Faust himself, an emanation from his thoughts" (Borovsky 260).

In describing the character of Margarita created by Vera Yureneva, both the proponents and the adversaries of the production agreed upon the general simplicity of the acting style employed. Many saw this to be the result of the actress's previous work on characters defined mainly through rationality, as opposed to feelings (Efros 5, Yablonsky 5). One reviewer felt that the depiction of Margarita was very poor and inconsistent throughout the play, blaming Yureneva for not being able to show the wide range of emotions inherent in her (Gurevich, "*Faust*" 4). The critic continued by castigating the general, simplistic approach to this role, which eliminated the depiction of strong character traits necessary for a coherent transition of Margarita from innocence to love and then guilt (Gurevich, "*Faust*" 4). Others found that the actress succeeded in portraying all the general feelings and characteristics needed for a character sketch (Sakhnovsky 39). At the beginning of the play she appeared as a pure soul, then to be astonished and confused when exposed to Faust (Gurevich, "*Faust*" 4, Sakhnovsky 39). Many critics found the final scene to be most memorable for its touching depiction of her tragedy (Beskin 721). The simplicity of her

emotions conveyed an image of a simple young girl exposed to a complicated situation and created a realistic and believable character (Efros 5).

The majority of the critics were interested in the realization of the scene “Walpurgis Night”. This is not surprising, as the scene had been omitted in all previous productions. The reviews acknowledged the attempt to stage this complicated scene and highlighted the brilliance of the technical aspects, especially the lighting effects (Yablonsky 5, Beskin 720). The scene was criticised overall, however, for disturbing the production’s coherence and adding little to the plausibility of the actions. This, critics said, was due to its temporal and spatial remoteness from the issues at stake in the play (Chudovsky 66, Beskin 720). Critics wrote that the scene’s deletions reduced its content to the corresponding scene of Gounod’s opera (Efros 5). Overall, the scene was labelled as a “disgusting” and “ugly” spectacle (Sakhnovsky 35) due to its inclusion of half-naked bodies that moved suggestively (Sakhnovsky 35, Efros 5, Chudovsky 66). The negative reaction of the critics indicates their disturbance with the sexually suggestive content of the scene, reflecting their common desire to maintain a certain degree of decency on stage. In contrast, the scenes “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig” and “Witch’s Kitchen” were received with admiration for adding a certain degree of entertainment and relaxing the seriousness of the performance (Chudovsky 66). Sakhnovsky found that the scene “Witch’s Kitchen” assisted in establishing a vivid image of Mephistopheles, but lamented the use of a young Witch (39). Komissarzhevsky’s transformation of the Witch was criticised by most of the critics, mainly because this change created a highly seductive image through the sexually explicit movements and the half-naked appearance of the actress on stage. This criticism again shows that the public reacted negatively to images of indecency and was in favour of suppressing them.

From surveying the critical examinations of the reviews dealing with the 1912/1913 *Faust*, it becomes clear that the artistic director was successful in finding and applying proper theatrical devices to show his interpretation of the play; after all, the critics correctly interpreted his concept. The critics recognized his attempt to show the play within universally human and historically truthful surroundings, especially as they saw Faust, Mephistopheles, and Margarita as products of their time, albeit ones who occupied a medieval German city. Although they did not agree on the explicit presence of the divine indicated through the frame of the “Prologue”, they recognized the director’s attempt to include the universal, eternal meaning of the play in the production. The appearance of Faust as primarily a scholar rather than a lover made him into a socially specific but generalized figure at the same time. Critics also recognized the duality of the Mephistopheles character, which evolved through a simultaneous portrayal of a real presence of the devil in combination with him as an alter ego of Faust. The correspondence with the intentions of the director is also illustrated through the simplicity of Margarita as portrayed by Yureneva, which through her sparse performance sharpens the contrast between herself and the multifaceted protagonist. Overall, critics acknowledged the coherent philosophical meaning of the production as well, therefore prompting one historian of Russian theatre, Nikolai Volkov, to pass the following broad judgement: “Komissarzhevsky was the first to break the dreadful tradition of operatic productions which afflicted Faust on the Russian dramatic stage; he set Goethe’s creation on the broad path of philosophical reading, having given it a well-balanced, coherent stage reading”<sup>8</sup> (qtd. from Borovsky 261).

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<sup>8</sup> Borovsky’s translation of the original quote: “Но Комиссаржевский первый сломал ужасную традицию оперных постановок драматического *Фауста*, вывел трагедию на широкий путь

## 6.2. Structural Analysis

### Mise-en-scène and Costumes

The set for the 1912 production was designed by Anatoly Afanasievich Arapov (1876-1949), who worked in close cooperation with Komissarzhevsky to explore the director's visions and sketches in the design of the setting and costumes. Unfortunately, these visual elements are not described in the prompt-book of the production; however, the information can be derived from a number of photographs, as well as the director's description and the critics' commentaries. Examining these photographs shows how the scenery and costumes complemented the main concept of the production. The coherence between the external visual aspects and the reading of the play together showcases the practical application of the director's theoretical approach to theatre, which stresses the combination of all theatrical elements available.

The construction of the set features interesting technical adaptations. The stage was framed on both sides with two adjustable pillars, thus creating a portal that, in addition to the curtain, concealed the stage. This portal remained present throughout the entire performance and facilitated the actors' entries and exits through doors on the inner sides of the pillars (Appendix M, Fig. 1-4). Moreover, the portal was utilized to create illusions in the size and proportions of the stage space. Constructed to move parallel to the footlights, the portal limited the width of the stage space depending on the location of the scene. For example, in order to create the effect of narrowness and enclosure in "Study", the distance between the pillars was shortened (Fig. 3). In addition to the portal, the stage was divided into the front and inner part by the placement of three large steps along the stage, thus making it easier for

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философского истолкования и попытался дать ей стройное сценическое воплощение" (Volkov 914).

the audience to see the action taking place upstage. The placement of particular scenes exclusively downstage provided an opportunity to place a curtain in the middle and make changes to the inner stage during the performance (“Study” - Fig. 3, “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig” – Fig. 2, “Garden” – Fig. 5). This technique eliminated some lengthy pauses otherwise necessary for set changes and was acknowledged favourably by both critics and audiences. The success of the technique inspired Komissarzhevsky’s later comment on the construction of the set, when he suggested that the most beneficial type of stage space was “a high plain screen or wall at the back and sides of the stage and a floor, the levels of which can be changed” (*Myself and the Theatre* 150).

The performance opened with the “Prologue” and featured a completely dark space after the raise of the curtain. This space most likely was intended to suggest the abstract location of the scene in a space between the earthly realm and heaven, for reference to the specific location is removed from the original scene title. The darkness and the subsequent use of light are the only elements of the setting that symbolically refer to these two spiritual forces. Thus, the complete darkness is disturbed by a faint light in the background, which reveals the silhouettes of three angels on an invisible podium and creates an impression of their floating in darkness (*Teatralnye preliudii* 60-61). The presence of the Lord is indicated symbolically by the use of an intense ray of light coming from above and cutting through the darkness of the scene. This dramatic effect was combined with a male voice reading the dialogue of this character heard from above. The absence of a physical representation of God is not surprising in light of the censorship regulations prohibiting His appearance in this and previous productions. This seems to have played a role in the naming of the original character as well, which in the prompt-book appears as the Pure Spirit – a solution also used

in the production of 1902. The depiction of God in the form of an intense ray of light and a voice from the off is thus purely symbolic, and was correctly interpreted so by the critics, indicating the success of the technique.

This strategy of creating a presence through indirect means is important to Komissarzhevsky's overall interpretation of the play, as it suggests that the divine manifests itself in a variety of forms. In terms of the physical set, for instance, the director utilized the portal of the "Prologue" throughout the entire performance as a reminder of the supernatural assembly of the opening scene, which provided an overarching thematic frame for the plot. In metaphorical terms, the use of the portal can be understood as the manifestation of divine powers in the earthly world, creating an impression of the Lord's continuous presence. The use of the portal clearly highlighted Komissarzhevsky's emphasis on Goethe's theme of nature as the manifestation of the divine. This demonstrates Komissarzhevsky's concern with choosing the appropriate stage devices to illustrate thematic patterns represented in the original setting.

The attempt to convey the meaning of the play through the setting reflects Komissarzhevsky's belief in the power of visual aids to influence audiences. These visual elements can also be observed in the settings of the remaining scenes, which authentically approximate an image of medieval Europe. To achieve a cumulative image of the period, the production uses architectural elements featuring facades of large stone buildings and sections of massive stone walls with small windows (Fig.1, 2, 4). This type of architecture shows the need for fortification common in medieval dwellings (Yarwood, *Architecture* 200). Other architectural elements contain Gothic features; e.g., the pointed forms of the bookcase in Faust's study or the glazed elements of the portal (Fig. 3). The protective function of the

massive stone walls and the inclusion of Gothic elements reminiscent of Christian cathedrals hint at two out of the three essential medieval orders: the knights and the clergy. The third order of peasants is well depicted in the mass scenes by the actors' wardrobe (Fig. 1). The disproportionate images of the small silhouettes of the actors against the massive stone walls allude to the power of medieval rulers who held little regard for human individuality. These features, combined with the spatial narrowness and general darkness of the setting, achieved a stereotypical picture of medieval times as a dark age in human history, one that was defined by ignorance and superstition.

The generic visual context of medieval times is supplemented by elements of Renaissance architecture to signify the gradual emergence of a new movement. Thus, the production employs a large staircase in the scene "Street", which evokes images of Italian church entries (Fig. 4). A massive statue of an angel crowning the doorway becomes the dominant feature of the set. Despite the poor quality of the surviving picture, it is possible to distinguish the enormous wings of the statue – an element typical of angelic art of the early Renaissance period (Guiley 181). The strategy of combining architectural elements from different epochs adds to the realistic portrayal of the townscape which was in fact, in many cases erected gradually and paralleled the passing of medieval times and the gradual intellectual awakening of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. In addition to reemphasizing the historical subtext of the play, this historically specific setting supports the realistic portrayal of the characters through their surroundings. Just as images of medieval Europe provide an appropriate surrounding for the characterization of the masses, the injection of the Renaissance architectural elements alludes to the characterization of Faust as a man of reason. While the German original uses verbal tools for the characterization of Faust in



contrast to his fellow man, Komissarzhevsky applies this strategy to the visual depiction to maximize the dramatic effect.

The strategy of conveying the meaning of the play or of characterizing the characters by means of their surroundings can be observed throughout the production. For instance, Margarita's room is brightly illuminated in order to emphasize her purity and innocence (Rakitina 14). This stands in sharp contrast to the darkness of the rest of the scenes. The background of darkness utilized in the scene "Study" (Fig. 3) alludes to the medieval period as the dark ages from which is born the desire for knowledge. It is remarkable that the study does not feature a vast number of props, but used only the most absolutely necessary large items to frame the action. To accommodate this change from the original, the prompt-book omits the description of the study as a cluttered space: "Beschränkt von dieser Bücherhaut, / Den Würme nagen, Staub bedeckt, / Den, bis an's hohe Gewölb' hinauf, / Ein angeraucht Papier umsteckt; / Mit Gläsern, Büchsen rings umstellt, / Mit Instrumenten vollgepfropft, / Urväter Hausrat drein gestopft" (402-408). If viewed in connection with the Faust character, the strategy of minimizing the number of items in his possession emphasizes his disinterest in the materialistic dimension of the world. Overall, the simplicity and boldness of the set is a distinctive feature of the production, achieved through the use of architectural surroundings and by the removal of unnecessary items from the stage. This serves a double purpose, as it also allows quick scene changes and focuses the audience's attention on the development of the characters, supporting Komissarzhevsky's conviction of the supremacy of the actor on stage.

In this section we have seen how the setting of the production established a dominant image of the Medieval Age and inserted some Renaissance elements in order to indicate the

transitional period alluded to in the play. This strategy was followed as well in the choice of costumes that were utilized in the production. Although not all of the costumes can be described in detail and categorized due to the poor quality of the photographs, some observations on them can be made. Most of the costumes combine characteristics of sixteenth-century dress with trends from earlier periods. This mixed style should not be regarded as an error in light of Komissarzhevsky's excellent knowledge of the history of costume, as is evident in his book of the same title. An analysis of the wardrobe examples worn in the production reveals similarities with those featured in Komissarzhevsky's study, and shows that the mixed use of costumes was intentional. Overall, sixteenth-century fashion was characterized by newly emerging trends, which stood in contrast to those of the previous periods. Komissarzhevsky understood this change in wardrobe as terms of the cultural changes to the Renaissance, which is marked in history as "the age of the intellectual awakening" (*Kostium* 216). Thus, the combination of elements from late medieval clothing with those of this emerging new movement indicates the same strategy applied to the architectural details of the production. They both emphasize transition.

Among the new trends of the sixteenth century, Komissarzhevsky's study accentuates the changes in the male wardrobe, which adapts certain features that contrast with those of the female wardrobe in order to masculinise the appearance (*Kostium* 223). For instance, instead of showing long hair, most of the male characters have straight collar-length hairstyles that were characteristic of the period. This hairstyle was combined with a headdress in a beret-style, and was slightly pushed to the side, as seen in the examples of Faust and Mephistopheles in the scene "Garden" (Fig. 5). In addition, all male costumes are closed up to the neck, contrasting with the plunging neckline of earlier periods (similar to those of

female dresses) and reflecting a trend which gained popularity from the end of the fifteenth century onwards (Komissarzhevsky, *Kostium* 220). Male costumes featured in the scene “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig” show a mixture of features belonging to different periods (Fig. 2). For example, the long full doublet covering the hips and creating the egg-like shape of the second person on the left is characteristic of the fifteenth century. Other loafers featured in this scene wear short hip-length doublets, usually paired with outer leggings covering the knee, which were popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The sketch of Mephistopheles’s costume (Fig. 6) with its wide puffy sleeves and slashing reflects major fashion trends emerging at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Komissarzhevsky, *Kostium* 217). Multiple patterns of the slashing applied to the front of the doublet and its sleeves make a picturesque and rich impression. Combined with the long sword worn at the waist and the headdress covering the ears and featuring a feather, it resembles the German Landsknecht costume referred to as “German Renaissance costume” (Komissarzhevsky, *Kostium* 217). An imitation of the slashing and puffiness of the sleeves also occurs in the costumes of the loafers in the Auerbach’s cellar (Fig. 2). Vertical cuts on both sides of Faust’s long cloak (Fig. 5) draw attention to the wide sleeves of the inner garment. The use of the long gown featured on the sketch of Faust’s costume (Fig. 7) emphasizes his belonging to a certain social group, for long gowns (as opposed to those of knee or hip-length) were typically worn by doctors or scholars (Komissarzhevsky, *Kostium* 222). The wide collar indicates a possible use of fur, and the puffiness of the sleeves and the beret with wide, raised sides also fit the characteristics of sixteenth-century garments (Komissarzhevsky, *Kostium* 222). In addition, the difference between the colour array in Faust’s costume as the scholar (Fig. 3, 7) and the one he wears during his rendezvous with

Margarita (Fig. 5) reflects the historical tendency of younger people to wear garments of lighter colours, as opposed to the older generation preferring darker shades (Komissarzhevsky, *Kostium* 224). All of this is indicative of the careful selection of visual aids in the production and supports Faust's transformation in the scene "Witch's Kitchen".

It appears that the strategy of combining some features of fifteenth-century costume with those that characterize the beginnings of the sixteenth century supports the mixed use of architectural elements in the production. Both are directed to establish an atmosphere of transition from medieval to modern times. The placement of the characters in this setting contributes to their realistic portrayal. Combined with the boldness and simplicity of the setting, the cumulative use of various visual elements creates a spirit of the period free of temporal or spatial boundaries. This dual purpose of the visual elements corresponds with the duality of the main character, combining individuality and generality, and connecting the content and style of the production.

### **Structure**

The structure of the 1912 production closely follows that of the original, with most of the scene divisions preserved. There is only one case in which two scenes are combined. The original scene "Ein Gartenhäuschen" becomes a continuation of the scene "Garten" (Appendix P).<sup>9</sup> The prompt-book of the production consists of the scene "Prologue," followed by 22 scenes of the first part of Goethe's tragedy, which does not match the number 21 reported in the reviews (Rakitina 13). This discrepancy can be explained by the deletion of the scene "At the Well" in the subsequent performances, as reported by critics (Mikhailov 3).

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<sup>9</sup> Appendix P features an overview of the scenes included in the prompt-book against those of Goethe's original.

Information on the number of intermissions is not available, but can be obtained by considering the placement of the actions on stage and the necessity of scene changes. Thus, according to the photographs the following scenes were played exclusively downstage: “Night”, “In Front of the Gate”, “Study”, “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig”, and “Garden” (Appendix M). In addition, “Evening. A Small Neat Room” and “A Gloomy Day. Field” have been identified as using the downstage (Komissarzhevsky, *Khaos i garmoniia* 61). Furthermore, the similarities in the setting of “Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel” and “Marta’s Garden” suggest that they were also placed downstage. All remaining scenes were performed upstage. This placement allowed quick scene changes. The upstage was used for preparation during the actual performance time, and the absence of any scenery in the front allowed actors to transition quickly to the downstage scenes. Thus, there were only seven instances in the initial version of the production in which the whole stage space had to be changed, each creating a prolonged intermission. These intermissions occurred after the following scenes: “Witch’s Kitchen,” “Stroll,” “Neighbour’s House,” “At the Well,” “Donjon,” “Night. In Front of Gretchen’s House,” “Mass. Organ and Singing.” The remaining 15 scenes changes could have been accommodated by a short curtain fall, as they required only a change or a removal of props and the backdrop in the centre of the stage.

### **Tendencies of Modification**

The prompt-book reveals that the initial production included 71% of the original text.<sup>10</sup> The examination of deletions and modifications shows that they fit into two categories, those to satisfy censorship regulations and those which ensure a coherent delivery of the play. Similarly to the previous productions, the prompt-book of 1912 omits a number of passages

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<sup>10</sup> The list of the deletions is located in Appendix R.

with religious content, as well as those containing unfavourable portrayals of the state and ridiculing certain social strata. Among the omitted religious references are those containing inappropriate descriptions of the clergy (527-529), as well as criticisms of theology as a science (1982-2000). The condemnatory nature of Mephistopheles's description of the church as an institution with financial interests and a drive for global domination explains the deletion of the passage 2836-2840. The deletion of Mephistopheles's sarcastic reference to the creation of the universe is evidence of another case in which religious content was avoided (2441-2443).

Three of the most interesting instances of the exclusion of references to religion are those that define man in relation to God. The first deleted line contains a suggestion of Faust's equality to God: "Bin ich ein Gott?" (439). The second refers to the protagonist's impudence in his attempt to achieve such equality: "Ich, Ebenbild der Gottheit, das sich schon / Ganz nah gedünkt dem Spiegel ew'ger Wahrheit, / Sich selbst genoß in Himmelsglanz und Klarheit, / Und abgestreift den Erdensohn" (614-617). Third, the part of the song in which the Ghosts refer to Faust as a Half-God is deleted: "Mit mächtiger Faust; / Sie stürzt, sie zerfällt! / Ein Halbgott hat sie zerschlagen!" (1610-1612). The continuous omission of comparisons between man and God is significant and can be best understood in the context of Eastern Orthodox teachings. The relationship between God and man is defined in the Bible and asserts that man was created in the image of God (Genesis 1:27). Such a similarity indeed seems to be confirmed in the original (614), but regardless of its consistency with the source, that reference too is eliminated from the prompt-book. It is not the likeness to God which causes the omission, but rather Faust's claim to man's equality with God. By suggesting a polytheistic world view, these passages are inconsistent with the monotheism of

the Bible, which asserts that there is only one unique God.<sup>11</sup> The deletion of this theme points to the fact that the production confirms and conveys the teachings of Russian Orthodoxy. This conformity fits the general tendency of the adaptation and can be viewed as a sign of strict censorship. However, when considering the coherence of the adaptation, the omissions dealing with the nature of man's likeness to God demonstrate the adaptation's cultural appropriation of prevailing religious belief. Accordingly, the elimination of attitudes contradictory to dominating religious teachings supports Faust's salvation, which the adaptation attempts to establish. In this way, Komissarzhevsky's interpretation of the play actually closely resembles the original.

In addition, the prompt-book of 1912 was careful to avoid any dubious material that concerned domestic issues and politics. For example, the book omits passages offensive to the military (891-902), state officials (846-851) and the juridical system (1969-1981). Likewise, the references to the great hardship of the common people and Margarita's involvement in housework are eliminated (923-928, 3081-3084, 3144-3148). The description of social cruelty as an accepted behavioural norm (4546-4549) and its criticism (4448-4450) are left out. This avoidance of issues that relate to the domestic situation is not surprising in light of the political instability before the Russian Revolution and the threat of revolutionary conflicts. Deletions of this kind demonstrate the continuous strictness of the governor of theatrical activity and suggest that the play was stripped of the elements of political power to provide a politically neutral interpretation in order to assist in preserving a peaceful society.

Another distinguishable category of modification can be revealed through Komissarzhevsky's interpretation of the essence of the relationship between theatre and its

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<sup>11</sup> This is indicated in the Scriptures and in both Testaments: Genesis 1:1, John 1:3, Deuteronomy 4:35-39, Isaiah 43:10, 44:6-8, 1 Timothy 2:5, James 2:19.

audiences. Komissarzhevsky claims that the participation of audiences in the performance is theatre's indispensable principle and, in fact, the main reason for the curtain to go up ("Povodu" 18). To enable the effective and coherent transmission of the chosen conception of the play, modifications were made in the translation, revision and production process based on the concept of relatedness combined with the strategy of highlighting elements of importance.

For instance, thematic relatedness was achieved by the elimination of events unrelated to the main storyline and the modification of the remaining dialogues to support the coherence of the altered plot. An attempt to focus audiences' attention on particular topics by removing those irrelevant to the issues of importance can be exemplified by the overview of the deleted scenes as the original "Zueignung," "Vorspiel auf dem Theater," "Walpurgisnachtstraum," and "Nacht. Offen Feld" are omitted entirely. The importance of thematic coherence led to a number of smaller deletions, e.g. the dialogues between Mephistopheles and Marta (3085-3095, 3149-3162, 3194-3204), which in the original alternate with the romantic conversations between Faust and Margarita in "Garten". In order to achieve coherence in the remaining plot, the removal of the Marta character from the described scene is completed in the scene "Dungeon" with the deletion of the lines referring to the original involvement of this character in the rendezvous: "Wo ich und Marthe deiner warten" (4478). The first half of the scene "Ein Gartenhäuschen" (3205-3209) is left out, based on the same principle, which reduces the scene to the farewell of the amorous couple: "Фаустъ. Я долженъ уйти. Прощайте. / Маргарита. До скорого свиданія" [*Faust. I*



have to go. Adieu. / *Margarita*. Goodbye<sup>12]</sup> (128). In addition to cutting the number of scenes and substantially condensing the performance time, the deletion of Mephistopheles's and Marta's involvement directs the full attention of the audiences to the rendezvous and the development of the relationship between Faust and Margarita.

The strategy of placing stronger focus on the elements of importance also caused modification on the level of casting. To highlight the seductiveness of the character, the traditional old witch of the "Witch's Kitchen" was replaced by a younger person. Komissarzhevsky justified the youthful appearance of the witch by going back to Goethe's text and implying that the traditional image of this character emerged by mistake. He observes that the German original does not provide any direct reference to the character of the witch as an older woman (Komissarzhevsky, *Teatralnye preliudii* 53). While Faust does characterize the witch as an old woman before and after his actual encounter with her (2340, 2553), Komissarzhevsky's interpretation of the witch can still be supported by the witch's admission of consuming a potion that preserves youth and arouses lust (2522-23) – a clear indication of her youthful and possibly seductive appearance despite her actual age. The reasons for this substantial modification can be obtained from Komissarzhevsky's understanding of "Witch's Kitchen" within the context of the play. The fact that he was the first Russian director to stage this complicated part of the play indicates that he saw the value of the scene from the point of view of plot coherence. Indeed, he understood this scene in terms of Faust's transition from the realm of the rational to sensual energy (*Teatralnye preliudii* 52). Composed as a fantasy, the scene presents Faust as surrounded by the delusions prevailing in human lives, filled with feelings and sensuality but lacking in

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<sup>12</sup> All quotations in this chapter are from the prompt-book *Faust*. Trans. Fedor Komissarzhevsky and Zenkevich.

spiritual essence. To underline this thought the director supplemented this scene with images of sexuality, a common theme explored in the Silver Age literature emerging in this period. The use of a young seductive character in the scene emphasizes the importance of emotions versus the rationality of Faust's pursuit, as seduction sharpens his sensuality and prepares the ground for his later indulgence in moral and sexual liberties. Thus, the treatment of the witch character strengthens the seductive effect she has on the audiences and illuminates the director's intention to highlight the transition from Faust the scholar to Faust the lover. To accommodate the modification in her physical appearance in the text, the reference to the age of the character is eliminated from the dialogue. The line "Warum denn just das alte Weib!" (2366) does not appear in the prompt-book.

The modifications of the original "Walpurgisnacht" are interesting for two reasons. First, the removal of the episodes related to or featuring the characters of Servibilis, a General, a Minister, a Parvenu, an Author (4072-4095) and a Proctophantasmist (4144-4175) provides evidence that practical motives, such as the need to limit the number of actors involved in the dialogues, remained an important factor for private theatres. More importantly, these character deletions can also be justified from the thematic point of view and support the general principle of relatedness. Faust's original interaction with the Proctophantasmist, who caricatures Friedrich Nicolai (1773-1811), offers a personal satire on the intellectual climate of Goethe's era and is irrelevant for the main storyline. The conversation among a group of professional men sitting before the campfire offers a nostalgic view of better times, referring to those before the French Revolution, and therefore laments the consequences of the latter and reveals reactionary discontent as witnessed by Goethe, which was also irrelevant for the central action.

The general allusion of the scene “Walpurgisnacht” to this social eruption is not recognized by the artistic director, who understands it solely in terms of its sensuality and in relationship to Faust. Thus, he explains that despite the deletions, the scene “Walpurgis Night” is equivalent to the original in its four-segment structure, where each segment represents a stage of the protagonist’s involvement in the Witch’s Sabbath. The first section presents Faust and Mephistopheles in the valley as they start climbing on a narrow road; the second depicts them at the central peak observing the surroundings; the third part examining witches and wizards; and finally, the last section describes Faust taking part in the festivities (Komissarzhevsky, *Teatralnye preliudii* 59). Although the political allusions of the original scene are not specifically mentioned in the director’s memoirs, it would be interesting to place them in the historiographic context of late Imperial Russia and to view the passage containing the discontent with the consequences of the French Revolution from the point of view of Russian foreign policies. This will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

### **6.2.1. Characterization of Faust**

One of the most prominent features of Komissarzhevsky’s use of the original text is his careful treatment of it in order to preserve the multiple layers of the play. This motive can again be verified through the example of the Faust character, which, as in the original text, is also presented as an unsatisfied scholar who experiences a constant desire to understand the universe. The character’s vital dimension as a symbol of human striving is established in the production through the preservation of Faust’s initial monologues, his attempts to achieve an understanding of the universe through his engagement in magic and his consideration of suicide as a way to transcend the limitations of the human cognition.

The dialogue of Faust in this 1912 production underwent three categories of minor deletions. The first category consists of the passages of descriptive nature that were deleted once the central points had been established; such passages could be removed without detracting from the characterization of the role. Eliminations of this sort condense the delivery of the story and often give more significance to the remaining themes. The second category deals with the omission of passages contradicting Orthodox doctrine and hence unacceptable to the censors. The third includes instances that have the potential to question the possibility of Faust's salvation. Once omitted, the amended text accentuates positive traits of the character and creates an opportunity to mitigate his depravity. A detailed discussion of these deletions will exemplify the director's strategies and will help to show the ways in which the production possibly re-configures the original definition of the Faust figure.

The passages of a descriptive nature were removed to condense the story. Undoubtedly, this procedure, key to Komissarzhevsky's intentions, was implemented with great care to retain all of the factors influencing the development of the protagonist, from his disappointment to the signing of the wager. Faust's speech was simplified and subordinated to its purpose in sustaining the plot. This strategy appears to preserve the complexity of the Faust figure and expose the decisive factors influencing his actions. This compressed and sequenced delivery is undoubtedly beneficial from the point of view of concentrating the audience's attention on the progression of his reasoning. However, it modifies the manner in which Faust's thoughts are delivered and lessens the emotional intensity inherent in the original figure. Thus, the exceptional ability of the main character's intellect to

simultaneously grasp and reflect on a full range of topics is sacrificed in favour of a linear portrayal of his motivation.

One of the most interesting deletions occurs in the scene “Study I” and seems to contradict Komissarzhevsky’s intention to preserve and showcase the philosophical significance of the original. Although the episode of the Bible translation (1224-1237) appears in the prompt-book, it belongs to the rare examples of cuts applied in the subsequent revision process. The initial inclusion of this episode in the Russian translation indicates that the episode was indeed considered worthy to be performed. Therefore, the value of the episode in defining the protagonist’s actions as a symbol of eternal energy was acknowledged at the time of establishing the reading of the play and the general conception of the production. Clearly, it is the thematic line of this passage, i.e. the presence of the Bible together with the interpretation of the scriptures that caused the deletion to avoid a confrontation with the censorship. The discrepancy between this episode and Orthodox teachings has been discussed within the context of the strict censorship of church and religion in earlier *Faust I* productions. In addition, it might be the power of the suggested supremacy of the Deed (*Tat / Delo*) as opposed to the Word (*Wort / Slovo*), which necessitated the deletion of this passage. Faust’s interpretation of scriptures contains an implicit call for activity, which in the context of a positive interpretation of the Faust figure carries a strongly provocative message in the politically unstable climate of late Imperial Russia. The elimination of this episode in the 1912 production illuminates not only the obedience of the theatre to authorities, but also the continued supremacy of censorship.

Another set of deletions in the scene “Walpurgis Night” points to modifications influencing the characterization of Faust in this production as well. Despite their minor

nature in terms of length, these omissions warrant special attention, as they generate associations with Faust's previous romantic involvement. The mentioning of fertility and maternity are deleted with the removal of the following: "Wir waschen und blank sind wir ganz und gar; / Aber auch ewig unfruchtbar" (3988-3989) and "Das Kind erstickt, die Mutter platzt" (3977). Despite their allusions to Margarita's pregnancy and the murder of the child, these lines do not deter the protagonist from his involvement in the Witches' Sabbath. The degree of explicitness escalates in the original in the confrontation with the Huckster-Witch (Trödelhexe), who among her offerings lists a dagger, a sword, a cup of poison and jewellery; i.e., all elements that have played a key role in the preceding tragic occurrences. Mephistopheles recognizes the power of these words for bringing back memories of Margarita; thus, in the original, the demon is keen on interrupting the Witch and introducing Lilith to complete Faust's sexual seduction. This production, however, omits the Witch's revealing speech (4104-4109) together with indirect references to Margarita (3977, 3989). Unlike the original, where Mephistopheles is once again successful in distracting Faust's attention after the vision of Gretchen (4209-4214) and involving him in the following scene "Walpurgisnachtstraum", the production immediately proceeds from the vision to Faust's reflections on Margarita's destiny in the scene "A Gloomy Day. Field" and then to the attempted rescue in "Dungeon." The only reference to the tragic destiny of the girl preserved in this adaptation is in Faust's vision of her, which causes him to wake from the magical experience of the Walpurgis Night and, more importantly, initiates his urge to save her. Thus, Faust's original ignorance of these allusions is substituted by an instant awareness and deep appreciation on his part of the tragic circumstances, which he then follows with actions. By depicting Faust's compassion for Margarita without any interventions, the production

invests the image of the protagonist with a sense of empathy. It can be argued that by consistently removing the indirect allusions to Margarita, the production attempts to generate a positive portrayal of the protagonist from the moral perspective by initiating a turning point from his depravity and providing grounds for his justification. Komissarzhevsky's manipulations of this sort seem to fit his preoccupation with preserving a coherent reading of the play, especially within the framework of a production which is limited to the first part of the original.

### **6.2.2. Characterization of Margarita**

The memoirs of the actress Vera Yureneva provide a starting point for the discussion of the Margarita character, as they outline Komissarzhevsky's general conception of the role. In a conversation with the actress, who was puzzled as to how she should approach the depiction, the director explained, "Margarita is an ordinary girl, who goes to church and on Sundays takes part in round dances at the city gate"<sup>13</sup> (Yureneva 133). This description of ordinariness revolves around the qualities of religiosity and innocence, which are celebrated in the original and produce the positive characterization of the figure and enhance the subsequent tragic effect of her destruction. While the original includes some instances that show Gretchen's imperfections, which results in a realistic portrayal of a young woman of the time, the adaptation deliberately disregards some of her faults in favour of an accentuated simplicity and later, a sense of righteousness. The same reductionist strategy is applied to the passages that provide additional attributes in the original but are of secondary importance for the development of the storyline or can be considered undesirable. In addition, these

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<sup>13</sup> Author's translation of the original "Маргарита - самая обыкновенная девушка. Она ходит в церковь и по воскресеньям пляшет в хороводе у городских ворот."

modifications give a stronger focus to those attributes considered to be most important in achieving a consistent development of a character with the capability of repentance.

To amplify, the original lines indicating Margarita's father's death (3116-3118) contribute specific details of her lifestyle but are irrelevant to her inner characterization and therefore are left out. This omission can also be justified as an attempt to avoid a focus on the materialistic aspect of her character, as it lessens the impact of Margarita's corruption as introduced through her gift acceptance. Furthermore, Gretchen's observation of her own narrow-mindedness is removed on the same grounds, which assists in avoiding a somewhat offensive characterization of the ordinary people (3215). The original's repeated references to her mother's controlling eye upon Margarita's involvement in the house work are also omitted. Such references show Margarita's view of the causes of her hardship, suggesting her disposition to blame her mother for her sufferings (3083-3084, 3113-3114). The same is true for the episode in which Margarita contrasts her exposure to maternity with her mother's illness (3125-3135). The exclusion of these lines simplifies her characterization because the emendations eliminate the possibility of investing her with negative traits and instead focus fully on positive qualities such as her innocence and diligence.

One of the most prominent modifications is the condensed delivery of the final dialogue between the main characters. The last scene, "Dungeon", is compressed by almost half (Appendix R), through which Komissarzhevsky achieved his goal of maintaining the central points presented in the original play by focusing on the character of Margarita. The finale of the adaptation progresses rapidly from the representation of Margarita's fear to the scenes of her madness and hallucinations, interwoven with her truthful recollection of past events. Among the deletions to the original of this scene are Margarita's comments on the severity



of her situation and the motif of social condemnation: “Они поют про меня злые песни. Как это зло со стороны людей. Я знаю, есть такая старая песня, но зачемъ же говорить, что это про меня.” [They sing mean songs about me. It is evil of the people. I know there is an old song, but why would you say it is about me] (172) and “Они ведь стерегутъ меня. Такъ ужасно жить подаяніемъ, да еще с нечистой совестью. Такъ горько бежать на чужбину, где они все равно меня схватятъ.” [They watch for me. It is terrible to live on charity and even more so with a guilty conscience] (175). These deletions are consistent with the adaptation’s general tendency to avoid criticism of its societal milieu. By removing representations of condemned social behaviour, Margarita shows no fear of such wickedness, and hence this does not contribute to her final decision to submit herself to God. The removal of Mephistopheles’s direct presence from this scene seems to serve a similar purpose. In the original, Mephistopheles is the decisive force for Gretchen, who in contrast to Faust is certain of the need to avoid the bond with the evil and seek God. The adaptation is careful to avoid this contrasting representation of Faust and Margarita, perhaps because such a contrast would undermine Faust’s compassion for his beloved in the closing scene.

By neglecting her fear of social consequences and evil assistance as factors contributing to Margarita’s decision, the adaptation is limited to two possible influences. Margarita may be motivated by the potential absence of Faust’s love, but even that possibility is downplayed as the episode dealing with this theme is limited to the following: “Как ты не можешь больше целовать меня. Твои губы холодны, твои губы онемели... Куда девалась твоя любовь.” [You cannot kiss me anymore. Your lips are cold, your lips are numb... Where has your love vanished] (173-174). In contrast, the theme of guilt becomes more apparent, as it is fully preserved in the character’s awareness of her short-lived

happiness and its costs, as well as in the recurring motif of maternal longing. The theme of the child appears to prevail in the last scene, as it stands out against the background of the thematic shortcuts discussed above, and therefore becomes the focus of the entire scene. Margarita's guilt and consequently her awareness of sin are highlighted as the main motivators of her inevitable death. Although the presence of Mephistopheles is removed from this scene, Margarita senses evil in a more general form. It is reduced to the phrase "Что это поднимается изъ подъ земли." [What rises out of the earth] (177). This line immediately follows the description of her execution and suggests her fear of damnation or hell, thus confirming that it is not her fear of falling into the hands of Mephistopheles, but instead her awareness of her sins, that necessitates her acceptance of death. Ultimately her piety, which combines faith in God's grace with a fear of eternal damnation, leads to the closing line of the adaptation: "Судь Божій, Тебе отдала я себя." [Judgement of God. I give myself to you] (177). By excluding the original perspective of the afterlife of the saved soul, the adaptation also stresses strong religious faith as the only possible resort in her tragic circumstances.

### **6.2.3. Characterization of Mephistopheles**

Komissarzhevsky's understanding of the Mephistopheles figure is influenced by the multidimensionality of the original character. The director interprets him as an embodiment of diabolic characteristics that symbolize the devil and at the same time as the dark side of human nature. He observes that the complex nature of the character is partly signified by Mephistopheles's initial appearance to Faust in the form of a poodle (*Teatralnye preliudii* 50). Undoubtedly, this form stresses the character's animalistic essence and hints at the

duality of his nature. Traditionally viewed as man's best friend and wise companion, the dog is employed to indicate Mephistopheles's function as an intelligent servant. Combined with his ability to transform and therefore indicating his deceitfulness, these qualities contribute to the concept of evil he embodies. The later episode in which Faust finds himself among the people, observing their interactions, awakens his desire to experience both the sensual and spiritual spheres, and these thoughts lead to the appearance of Mephistopheles, or in the director's words: "Faust creates Mephistopheles within himself"<sup>14</sup> (*Teatralnye preliudii* 51). This provides the grounds to define Mephistopheles as a part of Faust's soul.

Both of these aspects, the spiritual and sensual, inherent in the original, are carried over into the 1912 production's depiction of Mephistopheles through dialogue and costume design. Mephistopheles's animalistic origins suggest his diabolic characteristics and begin to develop a cumulative image of evil. To form this link through the character's appearance, Komissarzhevsky compares Mephistopheles with a harpy eagle, an American hunting carnivore, named after the mythological harpy creatures, winged spirits in Greek mythology (Cotterell 61). Externally, this suggested a pronounced bent nose that resembled the harpy eagle's distinctive beak (Appendix M, Fig. 8, 10). Mephistopheles's similarity to harpies is also generally based on the evil connotations carried by this bird. The birds' traditional wisdom, however, and ability to hunt its prey resembles the sophistication, flexibility, and aggressiveness of Faust's antagonist (Tingay 167). Mephistopheles's ability to transform and adapt to the situation is stressed by the variety of his wardrobe, which is changed at least four times throughout the span of the production, as can be concluded from the performance pictures and sketches (Fig. 2, 3, 5, 6). In some scenes, for example, the shape of his hood is

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<sup>14</sup> "Фаустъ какъ бы самъ рождаетъ его в себѣ."

tailored to resemble the form of a harpy eagle, stressing his diabolic qualities (Fig. 8). His belonging to the earthly sphere and his deceitful qualities are accentuated by the disappearance of animalistic elements when he moves among people (Fig. 3, 5). To depict Mephistopheles as representing part of inherent human nature, the production explores his relationship with the Faust figure. The interdependence of these roles results for the director in similarities in their physical appearance. In Komissarzhevsky's words: "His face and his figure should be reminiscent of Faust, some of the latter's features should be stressed in him, others should take a noticeable shape, and the last third must disappear. [...] The spectator should sense a close bond between Faust and Mephistopheles..."<sup>15</sup> ("Faust na Stsene" 20). Judging from two surviving sketches featuring Aleksandr Rudnitsky and Aleksandr Shakhlov in the roles of Faust and Mephistopheles, the director achieved his goal in creating a resemblance between these characters (Appendix M, Fig. 9, 10). A similarity in the silhouettes was emphasized by adding a hood to Mephistopheles's long cloak and having Faust wear his long hair down. However, a pronounced distinction between the characters, the one symbolizing evil, the other greatness, was created by adding sharp edges to Mephistopheles's silhouette in contrast to soft lines in the depiction of Faust. The merging of the characters was further effected in the *mise-en-scène* by the actor's movements. For instance, during the first encounter of the characters in the scene "Study I", their foreheads touch, which created the illusion of representing two sides of one coin, "with Mephistopheles as a part of Faust himself, an emanation from his thoughts" (Borovsky 260). Consequently, close attention to the interpretation of these corresponding characters through

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<sup>15</sup> "Мне бы хотелось, что-бы его лицо и фигура напоминали Фауста; некоторыя черты последняго должны быть в нем усилены, другия должны едва намечаться, третьи должны совершенно пропадать. [...] Зритель долженъ чувствовать между Фаустом и Мефистофелемъ необычно тесную связь..."

visual depiction reveals Komissarzhevsky's intention to portray Mephistopheles not only as an abstract embodiment of evil, but also as a human entity.

Although the major traits of this character are preserved in Komissarzhevsky's production, a substantial change occurs towards the end of the performance. The change downplays Mephistopheles's involvement in favour of a stronger characterization of Faust. Mephistopheles's attempt to distract Faust from his thoughts about Margarita after the vision is reduced to his explanation of the illusory (magical) nature of the image, implying its secondary importance. This lack of resourcefulness is surprising in the context of the previous active engagement of the character in the temptation of Faust. Moreover, Mephistopheles's absence in the closing scene suggests that he has lost his influence on Faust. Although this interpretation is problematic from the point of view of the exceptional emphasis of the production on establishing a multidimensional essence of the devil, it creates an opportunity to hint at the salvation of Faust originally occurring in Part II, which is beyond the scope of the production.

#### **6.2.4. Reading of the Production**

This adaptation stands in contrast to the other previously analyzed productions, as it approaches the play from a philosophical point of view by interpreting the first part of Goethe's play through the metaphysical framework of the scene "Prolog im Himmel". The characteristics of Faust the scholar, rather than that of the lover, stand in the foreground of this reading, which subordinates other elements of the storyline to his ultimate search for a higher truth and achieves a coherent interpretation of the original play. The adaptation uses a reductionist approach in portraying the characters, with the goal of producing a clear-cut

view of their development by emphasizing certain traits. In approaching Faust the scholar, the adaptation lessens the emotional intensity of the original character in favour of depicting a coherent and comprehensive progression of his motivations. To provide grounds for Faust's justification in the last scene of the adaptation, the adaptation attempts to close the gap between Margarita and Faust by mitigating the latter's depravity and evoking the audience's compassion. This alteration is a clever projection of Faust's development in the second part of the original play, thus bringing the adaptation closer to Goethe's original. In portraying Margarita, the production focuses primarily on accentuating her simplicity and her sense of righteousness. By removing social condemnation as one of the factors influencing her submission to God, and instead emphasizing the role of faith as a main factor in her decision, the principal female character is strengthened. Despite the fact that both characters are somewhat simplified, the adaptation successfully incorporates the main traits and topics inherent in the original. By proving that successful adaptations of plays with complicated storylines are possible, the 1912 production begins the tradition of philosophically loaded theatrical interpretations of Goethe's *Faust I* in Russia.

### **6.3. Contextual Analysis**

#### **Socio-historic Reading**

The analysis of the 1912 production has identified a number of tendencies that characterize the treatment of the original play. Those applied to achieve a philosophically biased interpretation and to create a coherent representation have been discussed in connection with the figure of the artistic director of the play and his theoretical approach to staging. The analysis has also indicated how the production illuminates the historical environment in

which it was produced. This correlation is of interest now, as we explore how the contemporary setting imposed particular characteristics on the 1912 production. Despite visually placing Goethe's play in Western Europe, the production reflects on local environments. This is achieved by two strategies: first, the production reflects the official policies of the state by eliminating potentially dangerous content, and secondly, it appropriates the content of the play to contemporary cultural values.

The examination of various deletions found in the adaptation text shows how the social and political climate of the period influenced theatre in Russia. In particular, the tendencies of the censors and the creative directors to avoid state criticism and to neutralize the derogatory portrayal of its citizens and the hardship found amongst certain social strata (see pp. 172-73) recur as aspects that demonstrate the state's awareness of the contemporary domestic situation. These issues were avoided in the 1902 production as a means of conforming to the official strategies of reducing and containing the growing social instability. It is not surprising that the same strategy of elimination was applied to the 1912 production, considering its relatively close proximity to the collapse of the tsarist regime in 1917. Although historians have detected a certain degree of stabilization and the arrest of revolutionary activity in Russia on the eve of the First World War (Bromley 124), it is undeniable that the period is characterized overall by social and economic strains. Thus, despite governmental attempts to satisfy worker discontent by implementing employment legislation (Ascher 236), the Lena Goldfields Massacre in April 1912 launched a period of industrial turmoil (Borrerro 212). In this event, the government resorted to military force to suppress a strike, resulting in a large number of casualties and stimulating negative public attitudes towards the military. The incident emphasizes the resultant need to eliminate any

offensive portrayals of the army in the 1912 production (see p. 172). Also omitted were references to feelings of discontent towards the consequences of the French Revolution (see pp. 175-76) reflecting the new close ties between Russia and France. Established in 1894, the alliance between the two countries lasted until the collapse of the tsarist state in 1917-1918 (Simpson 342) and shaped the direction of foreign policies on both sides. It was hence a delicate matter to portray Russia's political ally in a negative light, which could damage the diplomatic friendship between the two countries.

The analysis has also shown how the production deploys strategies of appropriation, adapting the content of the play to reflect contemporary Russian culture. This was observed in the examples that appropriate the German play to the beliefs of Orthodoxy (see pp. 171-72). Exclusive to the 1912 adaptation, however, is its rise above the religious superstition of the previous adaptations, which allows for a positive interpretation of Faust's erroneous activity. Framed within the context of the search for a new God, this peculiarity seems to be problematic, as it undermines the authority of the official religion by suggesting a re-evaluation of its basic principles. An inquiry into the contemporary developments within the church and its popularity in Russia will clarify the reasons for this interpretation.

As the official religion of the Russian Empire, Eastern Orthodoxy enjoyed a privileged status and had been part of the political apparatus of the empire since the rule of Peter the Great. This position shaped the peculiarities of the mutually beneficial relationship between the church and the state. As the church was supported and protected by state policies, it repaid the tsar and its government with absolute loyalty. However, these close ties blurred the boundaries between the church and the state, and the church was often seen as serving the needs of the government and held responsible for state policies (Szeftel 137). The close



relationship to the state caused great disadvantage to the Church at the beginning of the twentieth century. The general populace's dissatisfaction with their living conditions and therefore with the state caused the emergence of an anti-Church sentiment among believers, whose number declined during the period of modernization of Russian society. Urban migration and the broadening of educational opportunities challenged the religious observances of the Russian people by separating them from the agrarian lifecycle and challenging them to question their beliefs (Shevzov 261). In addition, the position of the church as an institution within the state was undermined by developments after the attempted revolution of 1905. As a result of reforms in 1905-1906, the government granted basic civil rights, but the position of the Church remained the same. It was still subordinated to and controlled by the state (Pospelovsky 191), and so to strengthen its social and political position, the Church launched a series of debates regarding its nature and character, directed towards renewing the organization and re-evaluating its views in a new age of modernization (Shevzov 258). The Church's acknowledgement of the need for transformation constituted the institution's reaction to the historical and social processes taking place in late Imperial Russia; that spirit of change is in turn reflected in the adaptation. Although, like previous productions, the 1912 adaptation is informed by Orthodox beliefs, the level of commitment is changed. However, the possibility to suggest a search for a new God present in the 1912 adaptation goes far beyond traditional religious values. It reflects an attempt to restructure and re-evaluate fundamental doctrines of Orthodoxy itself.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Conclusion

This dissertation has presented the stage history of Goethe's *Faust I* in Imperial Russia by examining five distinct productions of the play. It first compiled an overview of the theatrical and historical peculiarities of the period and identified major trends that could potentially shape interpretation, production and reception. Productions singled out in this study were analyzed in the hopes of identifying the treatment of the original play and exploring the influence of the theatrical, cultural, and socio-historical environment. When possible, the analysis has included production, performance and reception stages and pinpointed the nature of their reciprocal relationship. Particular attention was paid to the phenomenon of how theatrical events reflect and reinforce cultural, historical, and social values.

A strategy common among the adaptations was the deletion of a dialogical basis, as none of the productions examined include the first part of Goethe's text as a whole. However, a consistent growth in the quantity of the included material as well as the expansion of the covered themes was observed. Thus, as a starting point the production of 1877 limited its content to merely reproducing enough events to sustain the plot of the Gretchen tragedy. Later, in 1878, the tragedy is expanded to include some dialogues of the scholar's predicament. Despite the fact that the love story remains the central theme of the following production, it nonetheless attempts to address the character of Faust as a scholar. This attempt becomes a prominent characteristic of the 1902 production, which includes a substantial amount of the original dialogue dealing with the scholar's predicament as placed in the larger context of a divine plan. Despite the superficial agreement of this adaptation's

storyline with that of the original, it is still similar to its predecessors in its treatment of the Faust figure as a wrongdoer and its focus on the moral superiority of the Margarita character. The content of the 1912 production not only includes previously ignored scenes, but also marks a change in the stage history of the play by introducing the tradition of philosophical interpretations of the play on the Russian stage.

The expansion of the content from a love story to one elaborating the higher purpose of life mirrors in general terms the translation tradition of the play in Russia, which was initiated by addressing romantically-biased scenes and gradually expanded to incorporate the philosophical narrative of the original. The dominance of the love story in the early theatrical reception of the play was caused to a great extent by the popularity of Charles Gounod's opera *Faust* among late imperial audiences. Undoubtedly, it was the last examined production that was successful in breaking with the operatic tradition of dramatic performances by subordinating the love story to Faust's journey towards higher cognition.

The gradual arrival at the philosophical reading achieved in the 1912 production is not accidental, as it reflects the transformation of the audience's interests, the strengthening of the theatre's didactic tendencies, and the growing social significance of Russian theatrical culture. Most importantly, it allows one to observe the gradual birth of the 'directorial theatre' and credits the new position of artistic director for influencing the play's successful staging. The shortcomings of the first three productions were essentially caused by organizational and financial policies that affected Imperial Theatres and were in turn inherited by the emerging private enterprises. These shortcomings were reflected in inadequate scenery and costume choices, certain scene deletions, insufficient rehearsal practices and disadvantageous casting strategies that characterized the productions of 1877,

1878, and 1897. Above all, these productions exemplify how the practice of benefit performances not only supported but essentially fuelled the dominance of the leading actors by accentuating individual character portrayals to the disadvantage of a unified conception. The first signs of stepping away from this tendency towards a more complex realization can be observed in the 1902 production. Although the authority of the leading actors in shaping this adaptation remained pronounced, the evidence of the artistic director's effectiveness is indisputable. In particular, the success of his involvement in the production process was observed in the negotiations with the censorship authorities. This resulted in lifting the suspension of a key scene and consequently arriving at a broader interpretation - the first to survive multiple theatrical seasons. The influence of the artistic director is even more pronounced in the 1912 adaptation, which remained closer to Goethe's original and succeeded in forming a coherent reading by the careful selection of and coordination between elements. The success of this production proved that the theatrical adaptation of plays with complicated storylines was possible under the supervision of an artistic director who provides an over-arching artistic control.

Although each production examined shows a unique and distinctive reading of the original text, there exists one similar thematic tendency among all of the applied modifications: the alteration of the original religious content to constitute a salutary view of Orthodoxy. Found across all of the productions, this similarity across four decades suggests the effectiveness of censorship practices, which remained essentially consistent in their representations of Russia's official religion. In addition, this conformity to the teachings of Orthodoxy exemplifies how theatre incorporated particulars of the domestic culture into its performances. It emphasizes the ongoing commitment of society to the official religion that

shaped its beliefs, values, and behaviours. The presence of the religious dimension in the productions examined is not a solitary phenomenon; it is a distinctive characteristic of nineteenth-century Russian literature, as exemplified in works by Aleksandr Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852), Ivan Turgenev, Fedor Dostoevsky, and Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) as well. The presence of the religious dimension within the arts reinforces the role of religion for late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russian society as being rooted in and informed by the principles of Eastern Christianity.

Within this strong religious undercurrent, the observed reinterpretation of the Faust figure in the 1912 production is particularly fascinating. The rejection of earlier condemnatory judgements of Faust along the lines of a traditional Christian cautionary tale mirrors the transformation of Russian society and its movement towards modernization. The suggested justification of human activity achieved in the last production reflects the need for the reinterpretation and alteration of traditional assumptions, and expresses social uncertainty and a search for a new identity characteristic of the pre-Revolutionary period.

Another example of the theatre's ability to reflect and comment on the transforming Russian society can be observed in its treatment of sexually suggestive themes. In fact, while the production of 1878 avoids instances of flirtation or the portrayal of Margarita's bedroom, the last adaptation demonstrates the emergence of sexuality as a legitimate theatrical topic. This is achieved intentionally by including the scene "Walpurgisnacht" and creating a new, seductive Witch character. This progression brings to light a considerable relaxation of the censorship rules, allowing highly suggestive visual pictures in 1912. At the same time, the reception documents pertaining to this production register critical resentment of the way this topic was delivered and suggest that its treatment was considered offensive. The discrepancy

that exists between what was permissible by the authorities and what the audiences viewed as acceptable is noteworthy. Besides suggesting the progressive nature of the censorship, it also defines the public as the guardian of a certain level of decency that was deemed comfortable and did not challenge societal values. Coupled with the instability of the period and its close proximity to the Revolution, the provocative treatment of sexuality can be understood as a successful strategy of the authorities to distract the audience's attention from issues of domestic importance. Furthermore, this shows that the state acknowledged the power of the theatre in forming and influencing the opinions of the audiences.

Another interesting observation about the relationship between theatre and the state can be made by elaborating on the thematic nature of the modifications observed in the last two productions. Here we found a careful handling of topics related to the portrayal of the state, its representatives, and its policies, especially in the socially unstable environment. While they altogether avoided criticising the authorities, the clergy, and the military, the productions also articulated immediate responsiveness to the changes in state policies, particularly in their recording of the shift in international relations. Surprisingly, this suggests some flexibility among the censorship practices, supported by the instances of surpassing certain regulations in order to support the official policies and beliefs of the autocracy. Correspondingly, these modifications articulate the theatre's ability to react to the changes in the political climate and reflect the compliance of theatrical practices with the government policies.

The avoidance of contentious issues, observed in all analyzed productions, indicates that effective censorship practices were in charge of eliminating potentially powerful context and sustaining the status quo. No negotiations with the authorities in regard to these issues

surfaced during the research process for this dissertation, but it is possible that any documentation of such negotiations has been lost. However, the omission of critical material was evident in some cases on the translation level, providing evidence that conformity to the desired beliefs was considered in the initial selection process by the theatre. This observation is crucial for measuring the role of censorship in shaping the theatre's subservience to the state. It suggests the existence of an understanding between theatre practitioners and governing authorities of what was permissible. In other words, theatre practitioners were aware of censorship practices and revised the scripts, taking into consideration specific social and political concerns of the period in order to bypass restraining censorship regulations. This, in turn, suggests that the theatre took an apolitical stance and ultimately became a mediator of state policies.

The theatrical reception of Goethe's *Faust I* in Imperial Russia represents a range of unique interpretations of the original play resulting from various theatrical, cultural, and socio-political determinants. By addressing this topic, this study observed practical implications of the developments taking place within theatrical art. It articulated the ways in which contemporary settings shaped theatrical practices, and it explored the relationships between theatre, state and culture. Furthermore, this study has deepened our understanding and appreciation of the reception of Goethe's play in Russia and paved the way for future studies of the theatrical reception of *Faust* in Soviet Russia and in the Russian Federation.

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**Appendix A**  
***Faust [Фаустъ], 1877: Scene Titles***

Zograf:

1. “Маргарита Радуется Найденною ею Шкатулке с Драгоценностями”
2. “Мефистофель Сговаривается о Свидании”
3. “Сад Марты”
4. “Смерть Валентина”
5. “Тюрьма” (*Maly Teatr* 387)

Volkov:

1. “Комната Маргариты”
2. “Сад”
3. “Сад Марты”
4. “Перед Домом”
5. “Тюрьма” (911)

## Appendix B

### Comparison of text excerpts

**Translation by M. Vronchenko (1844)**  
**(Used as a base in the 1877 production)**  
 Goethe: 742-48

ФАУСТЪ

Но что за звуки, что за мощный зовъ  
 Отъ усть мнѣ чашу отторгаетъ?  
 Ахъ, это звонъ колоколовъ  
 Святую Пасху возвѣщаетъ!  
 Да, это хоръ ту пѣснь провозглашаетъ,  
 Въ которой вѣкогда спасенія зватьъ  
 Отъ Ангеловъ слышали свѣтъ!

Page 38

**Manuscript of the 1878 production**

*О, райскіе, божественныя звуки!  
 Въс, ех неба къ намъ, заветныя друзья!  
 Я слушаю... и замираютъ муки.  
 И плещу... и стирася въ.*

Page 3b

Goethe: 1331-44

ФАУСТЪ

Что жъ? имя въдъ у всѣхъ васъ, господа,  
 Про сущность говорить всегда  
 И никого въ обманъ не вводить,  
 Какъ, напримѣръ: лукавый, злой;  
 Но ладно, кто ты?  

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ

Я частица силы той,  
 Что вѣчно хочетъ зла, а благо производить.  

ФАУСТЪ

Загадка! что за смыслъ она скрываетъ?  

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ

Я Духъ, которой вѣчно отрицаетъ,  
 И въ томъ я правъ: все, что родится въ свѣтъ,  
 На то чтобъ гибнуть, только и годится;  
 Такъ ничему бы, лучше, не родиться!  
 За тѣмъ-то грѣхъ, погибель, вредъ —  
 Ну все, что зломъ у васъ зовутъ —  
 Моя есть область, мой приютъ.

Page 62

Фаустъ

*Нормъ, вашу братство, господа,  
 По имени чужъ славно отъявлять.  
 Свободно, вѣрь! мои мнѣ! — вѣдь  
 Прямую вашу сущность означать.  
 Кто-же? ты такой?  
 Мефистофель  
 Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто? Кто?  
 Фаустъ  
 А прити смыслъ?  
 Мефистофель  
 И правъ въ томъ, что вѣдь отрицанья и  
 Въс, вѣднго здѣсь кончатся и исчерпаются.  
 Не правда-ли, все вѣдь стремится  
 Лишь къ одному... къ ничтожеству своему?  
 Фаустъ  
 Когда лучше-бы и не родится,  
 Чистоту-то, что ты зовешь грѣхомъ,  
 Чистоту-то, что ты зовешь зломъ...  
 Въс прелести такой —  
 Мал-то совѣтливо и свѣтъ естество!*

Page 4b

Goethe: 2605-08

ФАУСТЪ

Угодно ль милой барышнѣ домой  
 Пройтись подъ руку со мной? 84

МАРГАРИТА

Я барышней и милой не зовусь,  
 Домой же и одна дойти не побоюсь.

Page 122

*Красавица ослѣплов-ли я руку предложитъ..  
 Вашъ, государыня, домъ къ дому проводить!..  
 Маргарита  
 Не государыня, мѣщаночка простая.  
 Да и красавица... какая!!  
 (Кланется и уходитъ.)  
 Никтъ, я долгой пойду одна.*

Page 13a

Page 13b

Goethe: 3109-24

МАРГАРИТА

Ахъ, да . Хозяйство наше небольшое,  
 Но все жъ и въ немъ заботливость нужна.  
 Служанки нѣтъ; вотъ я одно, другое,  
 Должна и сдѣлать и прибрать,  
 И поздно лечь и рано встать.  
 А чуть не такъ что — матушка сердится.  
 У ней ужъ нравъ такой;  
 А то бъ не стали мы тѣниться,  
 Могли бъ поважничать скорѣй, чѣмъ кто другой:  
 Имѣемъ по отцѣ достаточекъ не скудный,  
 Здѣсь домъ, а за городомъ садъ.  
 Теперь однако мнѣ не очень трудно —  
 Сперва пошелъ въ солдаты братъ,  
 А тамъ сестрица умерла.  
 И съ нею много нужды пришла,  
 Но съ радостью бъ взялась опять за тожъ —  
 Такъ милъ ребенокъ мнѣ казался и хорошъ.

Page 149

*Маргарита*

Да, хоть у насъ хозяйства почти большаго,  
 А кто же станеть за порядкомъ наблюдать?  
 Магистриной не держимъ. Вымытъ и прибрать,  
 И плуцы, и чулокъ, и крѣня, и стиральнъ,  
 На подгушникахъ битъ .. туда-сюда ..  
 Все это-я.

А маминька моя во всемъ всегда  
 Такъ аккуратнѣй! И не то чинъ сродства —

Page 21a

Скажу вамъ — мамъ были; нетъ, отцежъ  
 Намъ все таки оставлено наследство.  
 Хотъ маминькинъ, а есть свой домъ.  
 И сгорѣла еще богатствъ  
 Мой братъ — вы знаете — которнй, вотъ, солдатнй!  
 Сестра — малютка цыганка.  
 Ахъ, какъ она была мила!  
 И какъ меня она любила!

Page 21b

Goethe: 3374-81

ГРЕТХЕНЪ одна, за самоирялкой

Исчезъ мой покой;  
 Грусть сердце гнететь —  
 Ахъ, вѣкъ ужъ покоя  
 Оно не найдеть!

Гдѣ нѣтъ со мною  
 Дружка моего,  
 Тамъ свѣтъ не ясенъ,  
 Тамъ все мертво.

Page 164

*Маргарита*

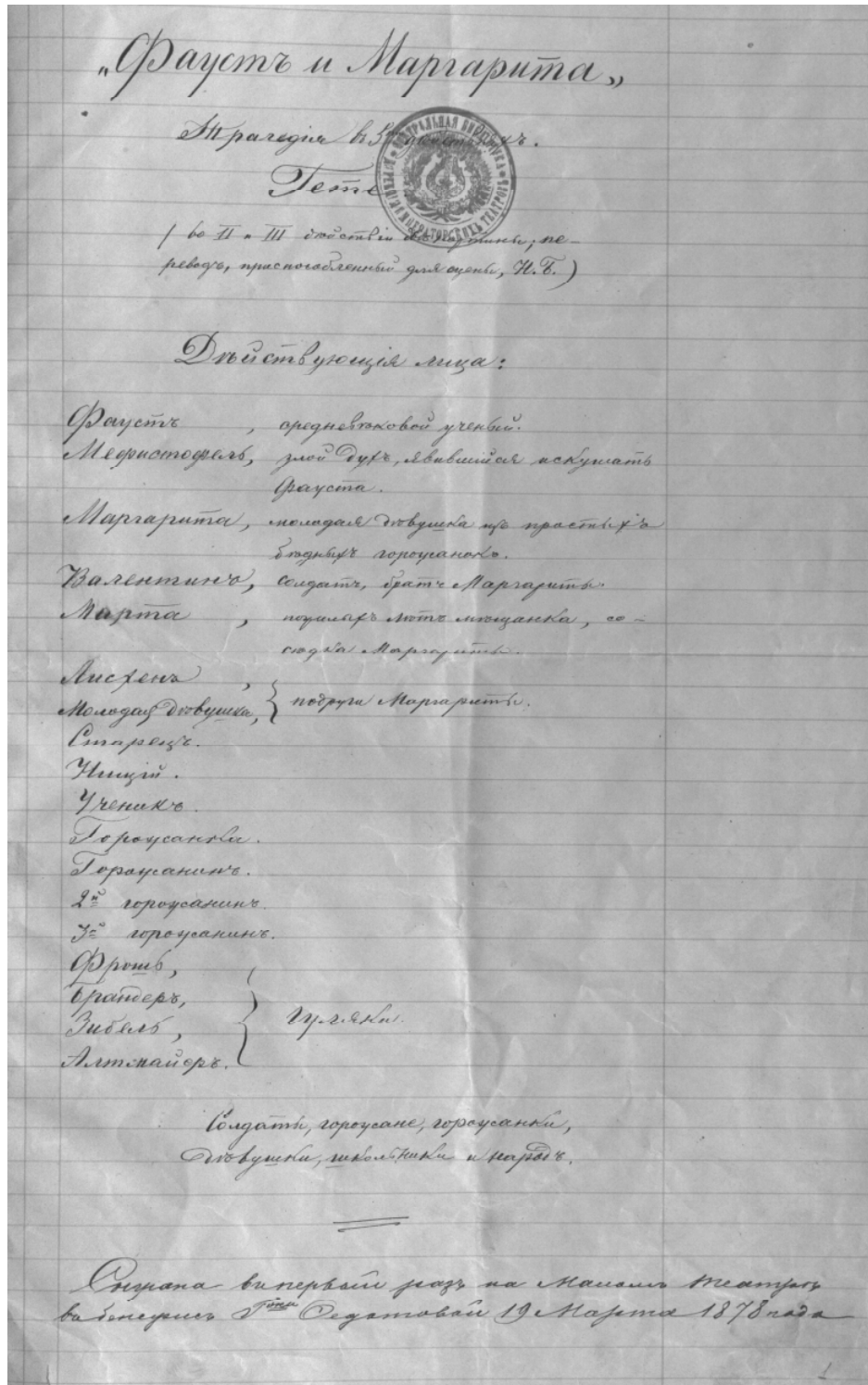
Члтильн мой покой  
 Навсегда — навсегда.  
 Мне его чужъ не знатъ  
 Никогда — никогда!  
 Скъ его нѣтъ со мною,  
 Тамъ мнѣ гробъ глухой.  
 Скъ него чужали мнѣ  
 Для меня постыль!

Page 24a



Appendix C

Faust and Margarita [Фаустъ и Маргарита], 1878: First page of the manuscript



Translation of the cover page:

**“Faust and Margarita”**

Tragedy in 5 acts, Goethe

(In 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> act 2 pictures; translation adapted for the stage, N.B.)

**Characters**

**Faust**, medieval scholar

**Mephistopheles**, evil spirit, who appears to tempt Faust

**Margarita**, a young girl, from ordinary, poor townspeople

**Valentin**, soldier, Margarita’s brother

**Marta**, older petty bourgeois, Margarita’s neighbor

**Lischen** } Margarita’s friends

**Young woman** }

**An Elder**

**A Beggar**

**A Student**

**Female Citizen**

**Male Citizen**

**Second male Citizen**

**Third male Citizen**

**Frosch** }  
**Brander** } revellers

**Siebel** }  
**Altmayer** }

**Soldiers, male and female citizens, young women, apprentices, people**

Staged for the first time at the Maly Theatre in Moscow for the benefit of Glikeriia Fedotova on March 19, 1878.

## Appendix D

### Faust and Margarita [Фаустъ и Маргарита], 1878: Handwriting Analysis of Manuscript excerpts

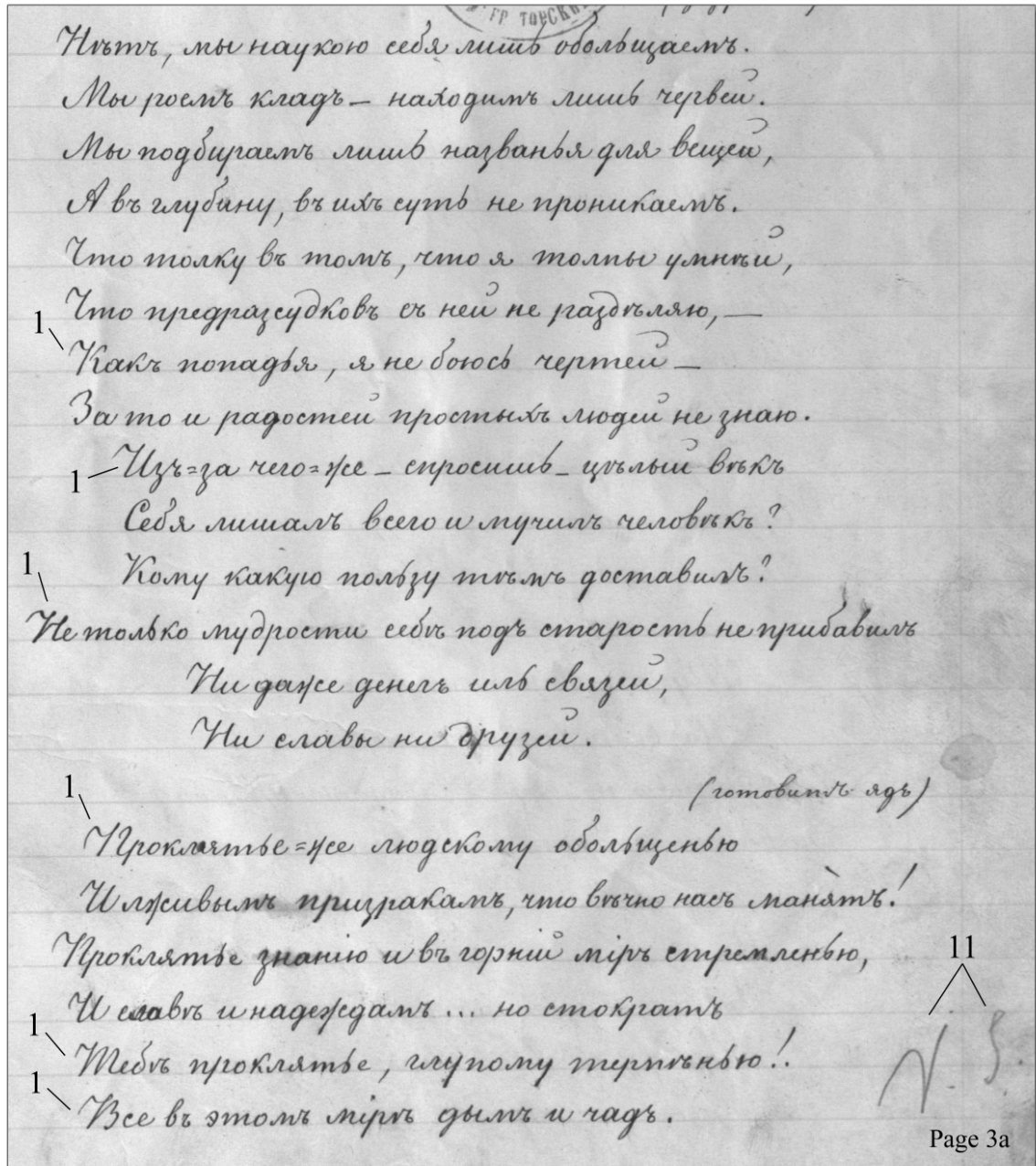


Figure 1.

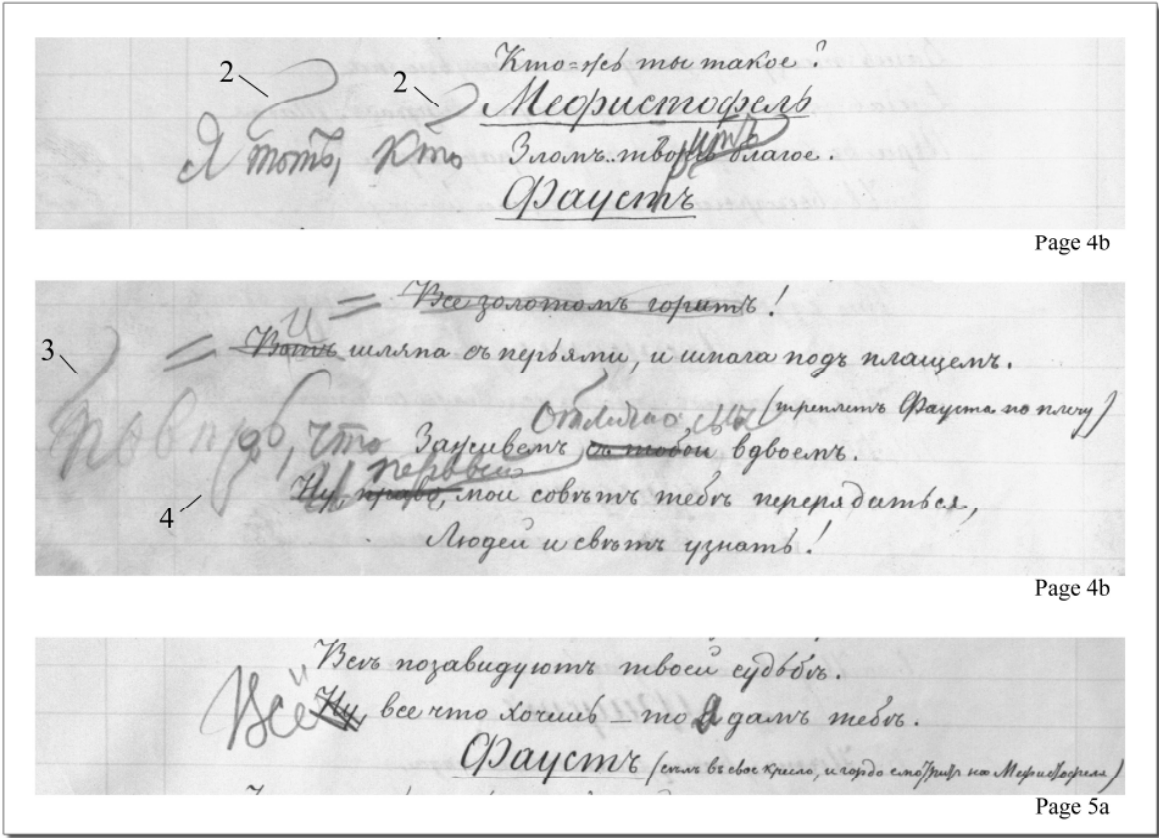


Figure 2.

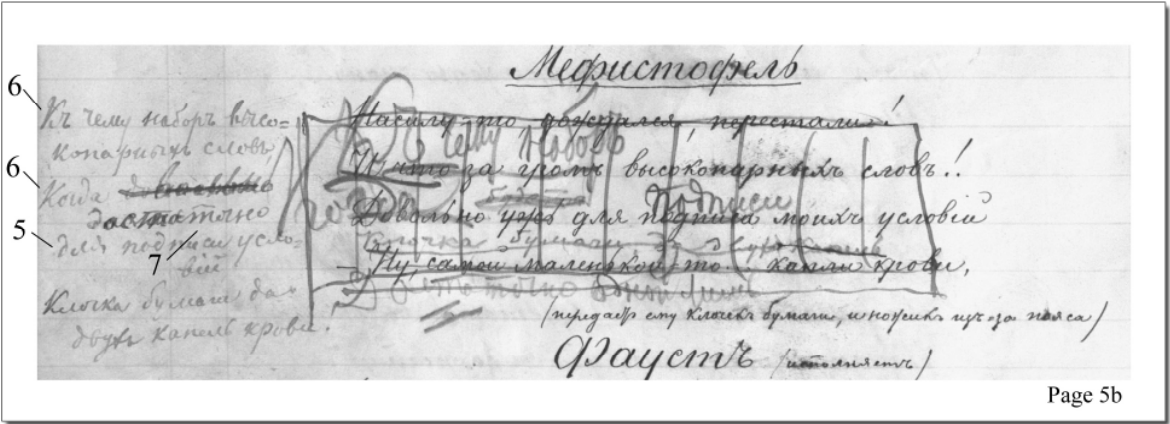


Figure 3.

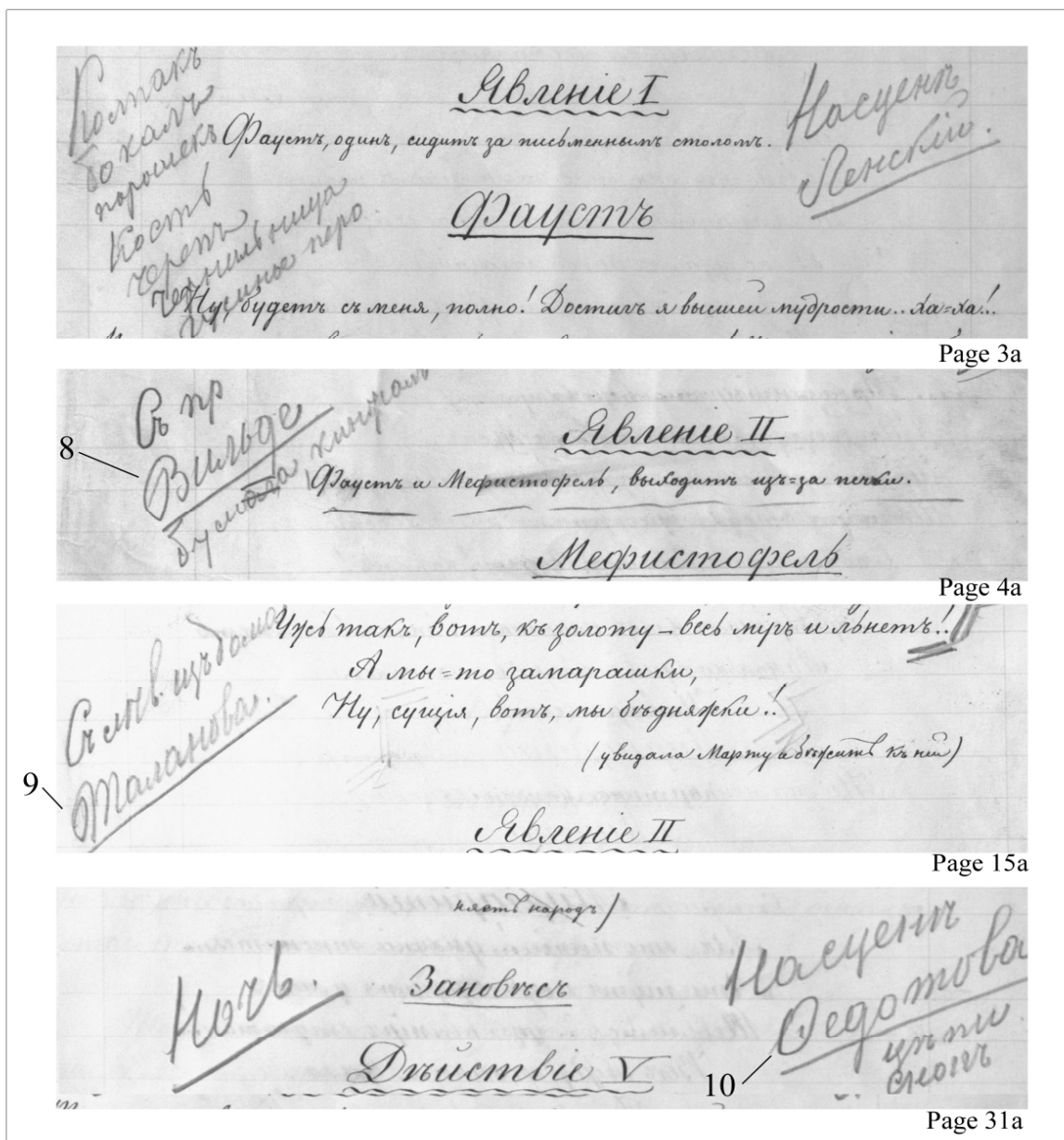


Figure 4.

Letter formation analysis: A distinctive feature of the handwriting in Fig.1 lies in the forming of a horizontal wavy line at the top of the upper-case letters H, K, П, Т, В, И (1). A combination of curled or straight ornamentation of the lower-case т (2), curled decoration of the upper-case П (3), and a wide loop of the lower-case p (4) are typical only for the handwriting featured in Fig. 2. The third example exhibits consistency in writing the lower-case д with an upper stroke instead of a lower (5). Another characteristic feature of the third handwriting is the approach stroke of the upper-case K. It starts in the middle, goes upward before partially retracing by a down-ward motion (6). The ornamentation on the lower-case т

is a straight horizontal line (7). The handwriting in Fig. 4 exhibits a unique way of forming a wide loop on the upper-case B (8) and T (9). A simplified approach is applied to the upper-case Ф by reducing it to an O with a short vertical stroke in the middle (10).

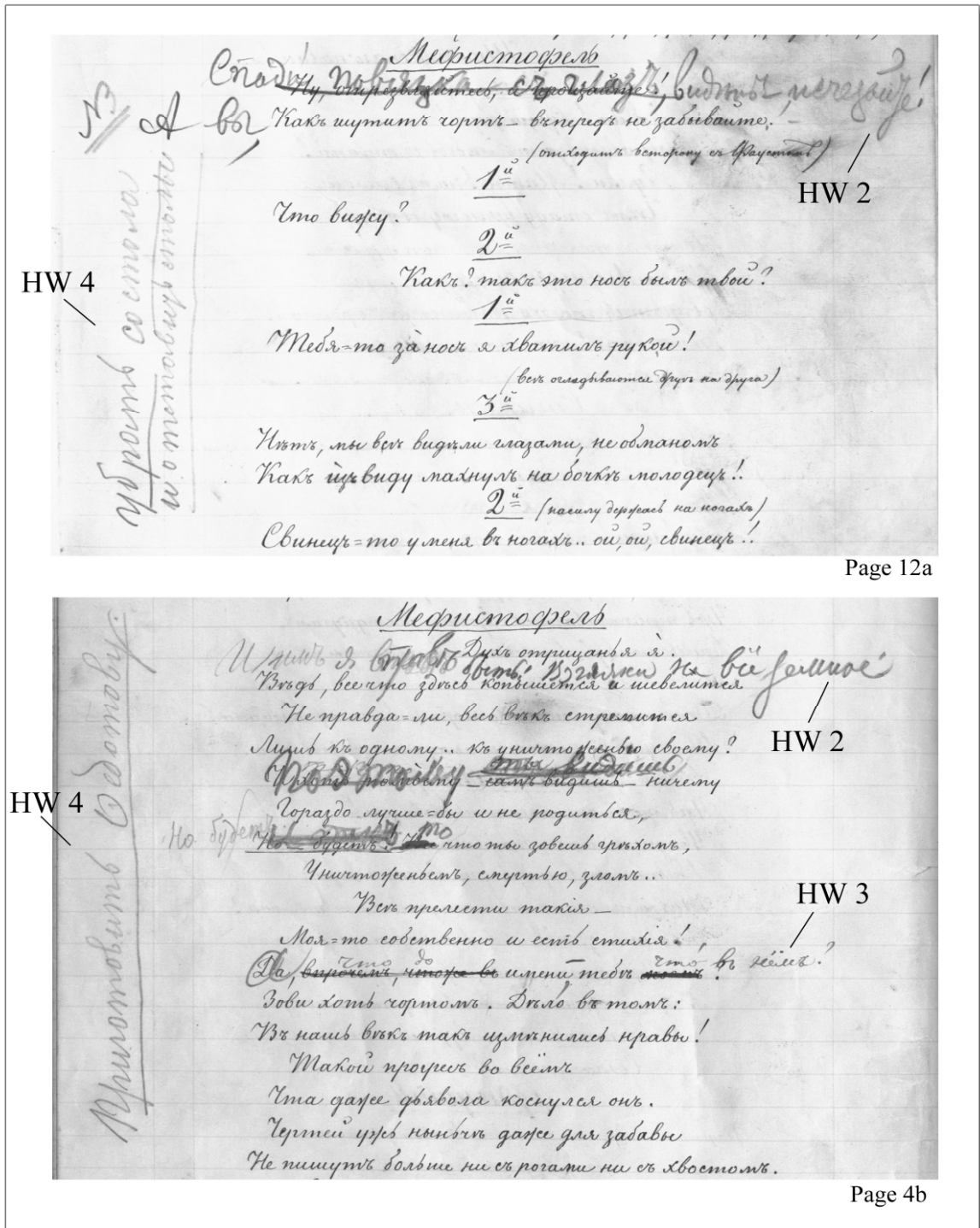


Figure 5.

## Appendix E

### *Faust and Margarita* [Фаястъ и Маргарита], 1878: Overview of the Location of Original Lines

The second column of the table shows the percentage of Goethe's text used. These calculations are approximate and are based on the number of lines that correspond with the original. Regardless of their placement in the manuscript, lines are tabulated in the percentage of the original scene. Dashes indicate a complete deletion of the scene.

The third column provides precise line numbers from the original found in the manuscript.

The fourth column features the exact placement of the original lines in the structure of the manuscript, revealing misplacements that have occurred.

Scene title in Goethe	%	Line number found in the manuscript <i>Faust and Margarita</i> staged in 1878	Appearance in the manuscript
Zueignung	-		
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	-		
Prolog im Himmel	-		
Nacht	8	354-370, 374-375 Suicide Attempt 398-418	act I, scene 1
Vor dem Tor	6.5	830-31, 846-51, 860-71	act II, picture 1, scene 1
		852-59	act II, picture 1, scene 3
Studierzimmer I	4.8	1327-44	act I, scene 2
Studierzimmer II	33	1593-94, 1604-05, 1544-57, 1599	act I, scene 1
		1535-44, 1675-87, 1671-74, 1656-70, 1696, 1699-1700, 1705-06, 1714-17, 1721, 1730-45, 1750-58, 1830-31, 1768-1771, 1834, 1843-50	act I, scene 2

		1870-71, 1881-93, 1910-1935, 1842, 1946-51, 1969, 1978-79, 1988-89, 2010, 2003, 2019-39, 2045-46, 2048	act I, scene 3
		1834-35	act I, scene 4
Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	25	2073-74, 2077-80, 2084	act II, picture 1, scene 1
		2161-67, 2205-06, 2210-18, 2223-38, 2243, 2260, 2264, 2276, 2268, 2293-94, 2299, 2311, 2313-23, 2325, 2330-32, 2335-36	act II, picture 1, scene 2
		2296	act II, picture 1, scene 3
Hexenküche	2	2496-98 2435, 2603-04	act I, scene 2
Strasse	74	2605-08	act II, picture 1, scene 4
		2609-19, 2621-22, 2626-54, 2657, 2665, 2666-68, 2673	act II, picture 1, scene 5
		2675-77	act II, picture 1, scene 6
Abend	38	2678-81, 2786, 2789, 2790-93, 2797, 2802-04	act II, picture 2, scene 1
		2687-2716	act II, picture 2, scene 6
		2753, 2756, 2758, 2730, 2720	act II, picture 2, scene 8
Spaziergang	3	2863-64	act II, picture 1, scene 6
Der Nachbarin Haus	70	2882-92, 2894-95, 2870, 2868, 2871-72, 2895-96	act II, picture 2, scene 2



		2897-2906, 2909-67, 2973-88, 3015-16, 3018-22	act II, picture 2, scene 3
		2992-93, 2996-97, 3002	act III, scene 3
Strasse	26	3033-35, 3037-38, 3041-42, 3045-49	act II, picture 2, scene 5
Garten	86	3163-68, 3177-78	act III, scene 2
		3073-3103, 3106-3156, 3179-3204	act III, scene 3
Ein Gartenhäuschen	98	3211-16	act III, scene 1
		3205	act III, scene 4
		3207-10	act III, scene 5
Wald und Höhle	19	3346, 3348-51, 3356-65, similar to 3366- 71	act II, picture 2, scene 8
		3323, 3339-41, 3226-29	act III, scene 6
Gretchens Stube	63	3374-81, 3390-3401, 3406-09	act III, scene 8
Marthens Garten	66	3414-40, 3459-68, 3471-72, 3477-78, 3480-94, 3496-3500, 3502-08, 3511-20	act III, scene 10
		3521-27, 3537-39, 3542	act III, scene 11
Am Brunnen	81	3549, 3544, 3552, 3563-64, 3570, 3572, 3574-76	act IV, scene 1
		3577-80, 3584-86	act IV scene 2
Zwinger	29	3588, 3598-3601, 3604, 3608-11	act IV, scene 2
Nacht	47	3620-33	act IV, scene 3
		3646, 3650-54, 3682-3715	act IV, scene 4
		3716-20, 3730, 3736-39, 3764-67, 3740- 41, 3761-62	act IV, scene 5
		3774-75	act IV, scene 7
Dom	36	3795, 3786, 3798-99, 3776-81, 3786, 3825-27, 3816, 3790-91, 3821-23, 3828	act IV, scene 6
Walpurgisnacht	-		
Walpurgisnachts-	-		

traum			
Trüber Tag. Feld	1.1	13	act V, scene 1
Nacht.Offen Feld	-		
Kerker	91	4412-20, 4423, 4425	act V, scene 2
		4427-96, 4501-02, 4405, 4505-96	act V, scene 3
		4597-4611	act V, scene 4

Appendix F

*Faust* [Фаустъ], 1897: Mephistopheles



Г. Ге въ роли Мефистофеля.  
(Рисунокъ С. С. Соломко).

## Appendix G

### Faust I [Фаустъ I], 1902: Handwriting Analysis of Prompt-book Excerpts

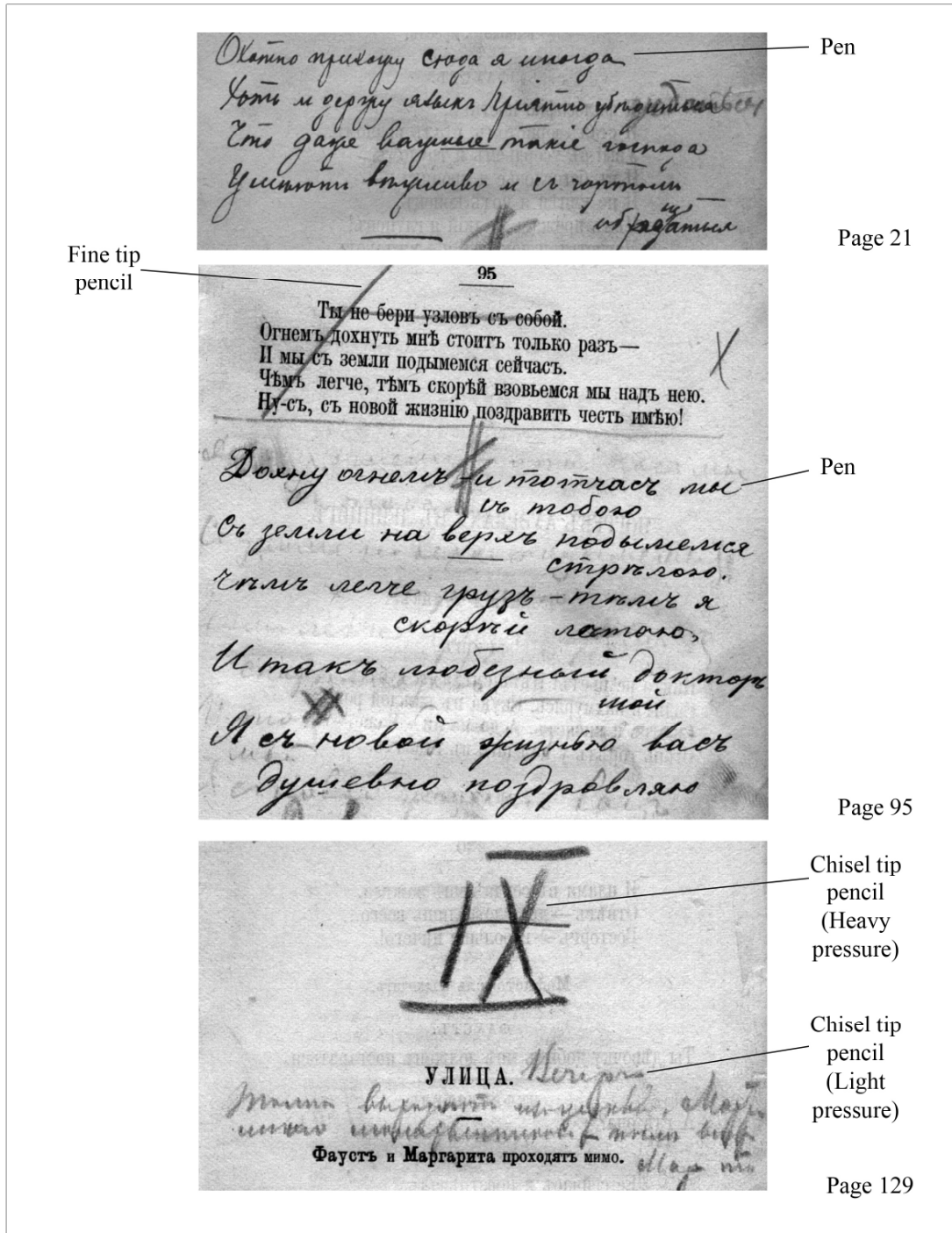


Figure 1.

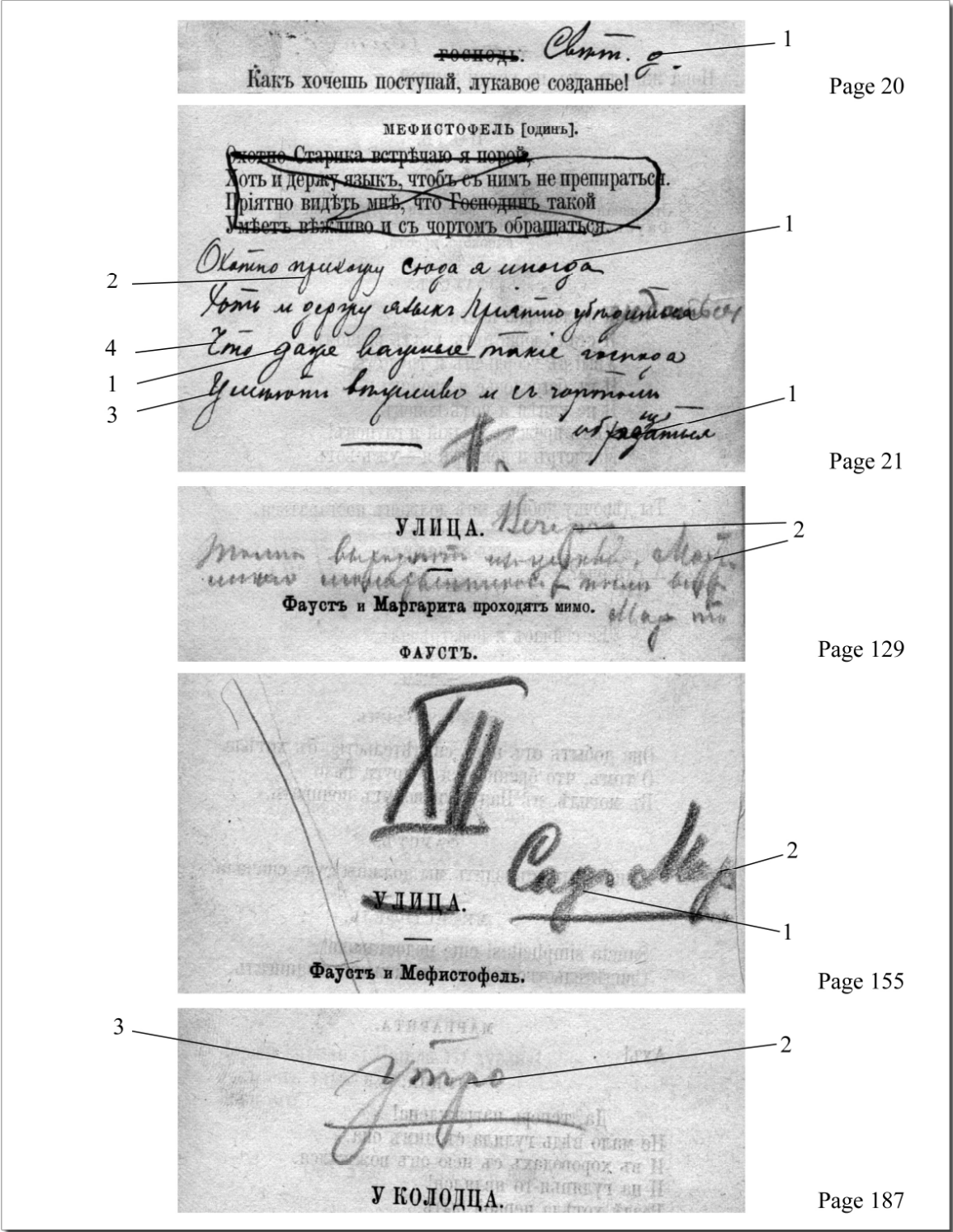


Figure 2.

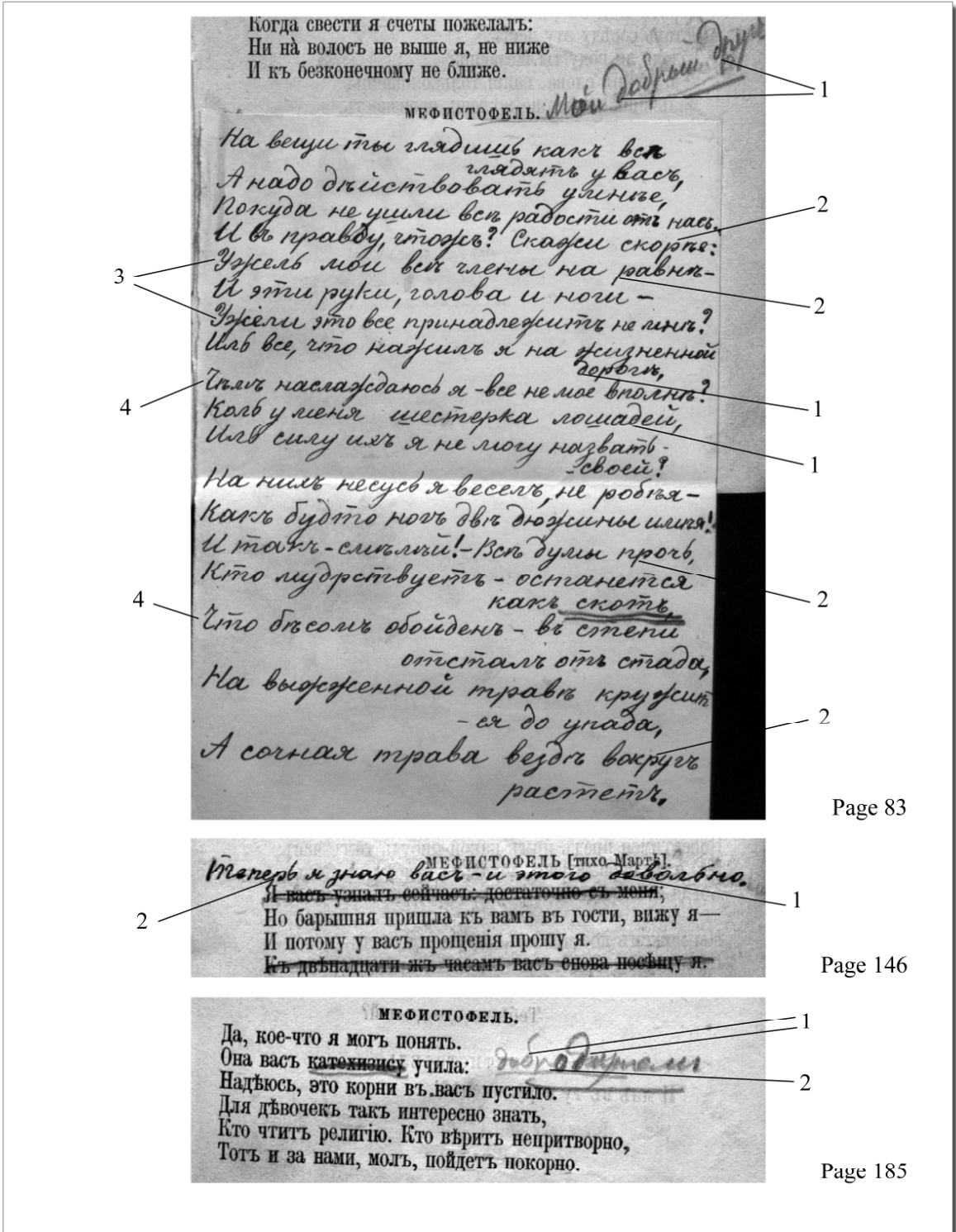


Figure 3.

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ.  
 Затѣмъ, другихъ наукъ нужнѣй  
 Вамъ метафизика: займитесь ей сильнѣй.

*Въ мысляхъ должны стараться  
 охватить  
 Все, все, что даже въ головѣ не  
 поместится.  
 И что-бъ на все и къ дѣлу  
 и не къ дѣлу  
 У васъ всегда готовый  
 былъ отвѣтъ.  
 И такъ, какой-же вы  
 избрали факультетъ?*

Excerpt 1  
 Page 89

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ  
 Частичка Филы я...  
 Желавшей вѣчно имъ творившей лишь благо,  
 на фрегатѣ и вѣчно...  
 ФАУСТЪ.  
 Кудряво сказано: а проще — что такое?

Excerpt 2  
 Page 62

ФАУСТЪ.  
 Такъ къ ней?

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ.  
 Нѣтъ, надо подождать.

ФАУСТЪ.  
 Такъ не забудь подарокъ ей достать!  
 [Уходить].

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ.  
 Какъ, ужъ дарить? Недурно для начала!  
 Кладъ не одинъ я открывалъ  
 И много мѣсть хорошихъ зналъ;  
 Теперь пора провѣдать ихъ настала.

*Натуру бабьего порока для видно  
 знаетъ.*

Excerpt 3  
 Page 133

Figure 4.

## Appendix H

### *Faust I [Фаустъ I], 1902: Russian scene titles*

An overview of the Russian scene titles indicated in available sources against the original. Author's English translation is offered in Appendix I.

Goethe's Scene Titles	Scene Titles in the Translation	Scene Titles in Scenery Installation Instructions	Scene Titles in the Report of the Imperial Theatres
Zueignung	1. Посвящение		Handwritten on the back wall of the stage accompanied by music
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	Пролог в театре (10 мин.)	1. Пролог в театре	1. Кабинет директора
Prolog Im Himmel	2. Пролог на небесах (9 мин.)	2. Пролог в небесах	2. Небо
Nacht	3. Ночь (26 мин.)	3. Кабинет Фауста	3. Кабинет Фауста
(Time: 45 min.) АНТРАКТ			
Vor dem Thor	4. За городскими воротами (10 мин.)	4. За городскими воротами	4. За городскими воротами
Studierzimmer I	5. Кабинет Фауста (17 мин.)	5. Кабинет Фауста	5. Кабинет Фауста



(Time 27 min.) ЗАНАВЕС			
Studierzimmer II	6. Кабинет Фауста (28 мин.)	6. Кабинет Фауста	6. Кабинет Фауста
Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	7. Погреб Ауербаха в Лейпциге (14 мин.)	7. Погреб Ауербаха в Лейпциге	7. Погреб Ауербаха в Лейпциге
Hexenküche	Вичеркнуто		
Strasse	8. Улица (3 мин.)	8. Улица - площадь	8. Улица
Abend	Вечер (11 мин.)	9. Комната Маргариты	9. Комната Маргариты
Spaziergang	Вичеркнуто		
Der Nachbarin Haus	9. Дом соседки (11 мин.)	10. Сад Марты	10. Сад Марты
Strasse	Вичеркнуто		
Garten	10. Сад Марты	11. Сад Марты	11. Сад Марты
Ein Gartenhäuschen	Combined with the previous (11 мин.)		
Wald und Höhle	Половина вычеркнута	12. Овраг в лесу	

		(Time: 78 min.) ЗАНАВЕС	
Gretchens Stube	После 11. Сад Марты, перед 12. Утро		
Marthens Garten	11.Сад Марты (15 мин.)		12. Сад Марты
Am Brunnen	12. Утро	13. Улица-площадь	13. Улица
Zwinger	Combined with the previous (4 мин.)		
(Time: 19 min.) ЗАНАВЕС			
Nacht (Strasse vor Gretchens Türe)	13. Ночь. – Улица перед домом Маргариты (18 мин.)	14. Улица-площадь	14. Улица
(Time: 18 min.) ЗАНАВЕС			
Dom	Вычеркнуто		
Walpurgisnacht	Вычеркнуто		
Walpurgisnachts- traum	Вычеркнуто		
Trüber Tag. Feld	Пасмурный День. Поле		
Nacht, Offen Feld	Вычеркнуто		

Kerker	Тюръма (13 мин.)	15. Тюръма	15. Тюръма
	(Time: 13 min.) App. total time: 200 min.		

**Appendix I**  
***Faust I [Φαυστς Ι], 1902: Author’s Translation of Scene Titles***

Goethe’s Scene Titles	Scene Titles in the Translation	Scene Titles in Scenery Installation Instructions	Scene Titles in the Report of the Imperial Theatres
Zueignung	1. Dedication		Handwritten on the back wall of the stage accompanied by music
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	Prologue in the Theatre (10 min.)	1. Prologue in the Theatre	1. Director’s Office
Prolog Im Himmel	2. Prologue in Heaven (9 min.)	2. Prologue in Heaven	2. Heaven
Nacht	3. Night (26 min.)	3. Faust’s Study	3. Faust’s Study
(Time: 45 min.) INTERMISSION			
Vor dem Tor	4. In Front of the City Gate (10 min.)	4. In Front of the City Gate	4. In Front of the City Gate
Studierzimmer I	5. Faust’s Study (17 min.)	5. Faust’s Study	5. Faust’s Study
(Time 27 min.) CURTAIN FALL			
Studierzimmer II	6. Faust’s Study (28 min.)	6. Faust’s Study	6. Faust’s Study

Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	7. Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig (14 min.)	7. Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig	7. Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig
Hexenküche	CROSSED OUT		
Strasse	8. Street (3 min.)	8. Street - Square	8. Street
Abend	Evening (11 min.)	9. Margarita's Room	9. Margarita's Room
Spaziergang	CROSSED OUT		
Der Nachbarin	9. The Neighbour's House (11 min.)	10. Marta's Garden	10. Marta's Garden
Haus			
Strasse	CROSSED OUT		
Garten	10. Marta's Garden	11. Marta's Garden	11. Marta's Garden
Ein	combined with the previous one		
Gartenhäuschen	(11 min.)		
Wald und Höhle	Combined with the previous	12. Ravine in the Forest	
(Time: 78 min.) CURTAIN FALL			
Gretchens Stube	MISPLACED after 11. Marta's Garden		

	before 12. Morning		
Marthens Garten	11. Marta's Garden (15 min.)		12. Marta's Garden
Am Brunnen	12. Morning	13. Street-Square	13. Street
Zwinger	Combined with the previous (4 min.)		
(Time: 19 min.) CURTAIN FALL			
Nacht (Strasse vor Gretchens Türe)	13. Night. – Street Before Margarita's House (18 min.)	14. Street-Square	14. Street
(Time: 18 min.) CURTAIN FALL			
Dom	CROSSED OUT		
Walpurgisnacht	CROSSED OUT		
Walpurgisnachts- traum	CROSSED OUT		
Trüber Tag Feld	14. Gloomy Day		
Nacht, Offen Feld	CROSSED OUT		
Kerker	15. Dungeon (13 min.)	15. Dungeon	15. Dungeon

	(Time: 13 min.)	
	App*. total time: 200 min.	

\*The scenes Gretchens Stube and Wald und Höhle are not timed.

With regard to scene division, all three sources agree with this order: “Prologue in the Theatre” (or “Director’s Office”), “Prologue in Heaven” (or “Heaven”), “Night” (or “Faust’s Study”), “In Front of the City Gate”, “Faust’s Study I”, “Faust’s Study II”, “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig”, “Street”. The poem of the original scene “Zueignung” appears to have been written on the back wall before the performance. The scene “Evening” is combined with the previous scene “Street” in the text of the production and it appears as a separate scene, “Margarita’s Room”, both in the review and in the instructions identifying a complete change of the scenery. The following original scene, “Der Nachbarin Haus”, is identified either as “Marta’s Garden” or “The Neighbour’s House”. The description of scenery used in the production places the action of this scene in the garden. The original scene “Garten” is combined with “Ein Gartenhäuschen”, appearing in the second scene called “Marta’s Garden”. The text and the review identify another scene, “Marta’s Garden”, that corresponds with the original “Marthens Garten”. Scenery instructions provide another scene with separate scenery called “Ravine in the Forest” that, based on the text of the production, is a partial rendition of the original scene “Wald und Höhle”. The information provided in the scenery instructions indicates that a specific set was to be borrowed from the Mikhailovsky Theatre; however, the use of this set in the performance is questionable, as a question mark appears beside the information provided. In addition, the length of this scene has been reduced to 46 lines, which makes the use of a new set very unlikely. Based on the instructions provided on page 186 of the prompt-book, the original scene “Gretchens Stube” is misplaced and appears to follow the original “Marthens Garten”. The original scenes “Am Brunnen” and “Zwinger” are combined in all sources and are called “Street” or “Morning” followed by the original scene “Nacht” (“Night”). The textual base of the production features a separate scene “Gloomy Day” that is not identified in any other sources, which most likely indicates that this scene did not require an additional scene setting and was performed together with the last scene of the production, “Dungeon”. The number of scenes employed in the production is fifteen given that the scene “Ravine in the Forest” was staged without the use of new scenery and was combined with the second scene “Marta’s Garden”.

## Appendix J

### *Faust I* [*Фаустъ I*], 1902: Summary of Scene Titles

The following table combines the analysis based on information provided in Appendix G and H. It features scene titles used in the production with their alternatives given in parentheses against the background of the original, which will be referred to in the analysis. Dashes indicate the omission of the corresponding scene.

Goethe's Scene Titles	Scene Titles Used in 1902 Production
Zueignung	Dedication
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	1. Prologue in the Theatre (Director's Office)
Prolog Im Himmel	2. Prologue in Heaven (Heaven)
Nacht	3. Faust's Study (Night)
INTERMISSION	
Vor dem Tor	4. In Front of the City Gate
Studierzimmer I	5. Faust's Study
CURTAIN FALL	
Studierzimmer II	6. Faust's Study
Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	7. Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig
Hexenküche	---
Strasse	8. Street
Abend	9. Margarita's Room (Evening)
Spaziergang	---
Der Nachbarin Haus	10. Marta's Garden (The Neighbor's House)
Strasse	---
Garten	11. Marta's Garden



Ein Gartenhäuschen	
Wald und Höhle	
CURTAIN FALL	
Gretchens Stube	12.2. Marta's Garten (MISPLACED, after the next scene)
Marthens Garten	12.1. Marta's Garten
Am Brunnen	13. Morning (Street)
Zwinger	
CURTAIN FALL	
Nacht (Strasse vor Gretchens Türe)	14. Night (Street)
CURTAIN FALL	
Dom	---
Walpurgisnacht	---
Walpurgisnachtstraum	---
Trüber Tag Feld	15.1. Dungeon
Nacht, Offen Feld	---
Kerker	15.2. Dungeon

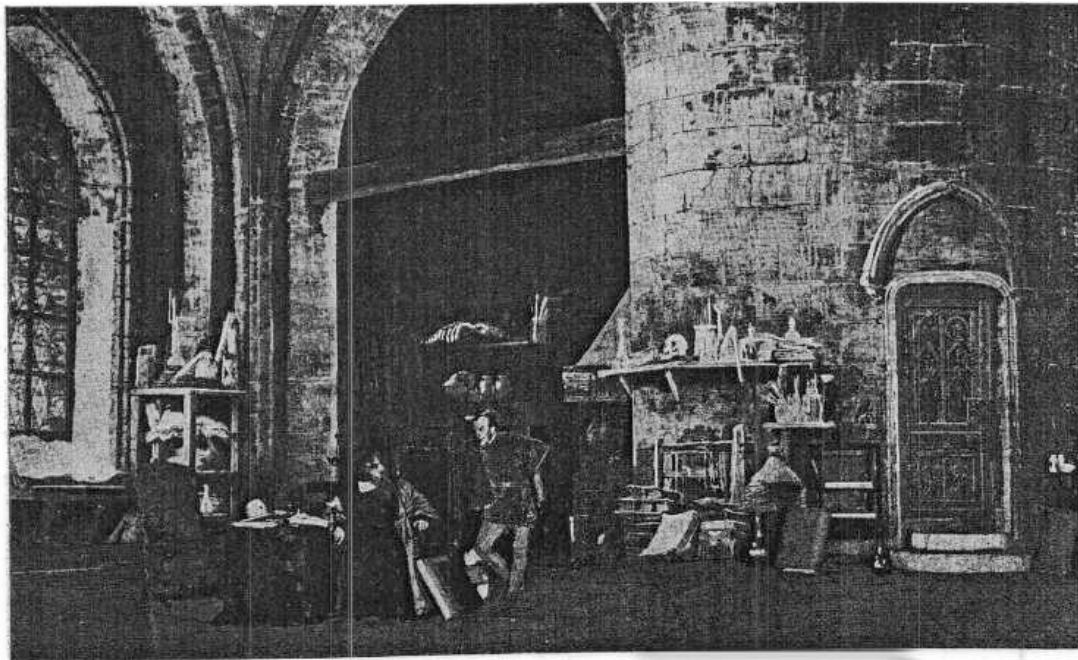
## Appendix K

### *Faust I* [Фаустъ I], 1902: Performance Photographs



*«Фаустъ», драмат. поэма Гёте, перев. Холодковскаго.  
Картина 2-я. За городскими воротами. Декорація худ. Шмикова.*

**Figure 1.**



*«Фаустъ», драм. поэма Гете, перев. Холодковскаго.  
Картина 6-я. Кабинет Фауста. Декорація худ. Ламбина.*

**Figure 2.**



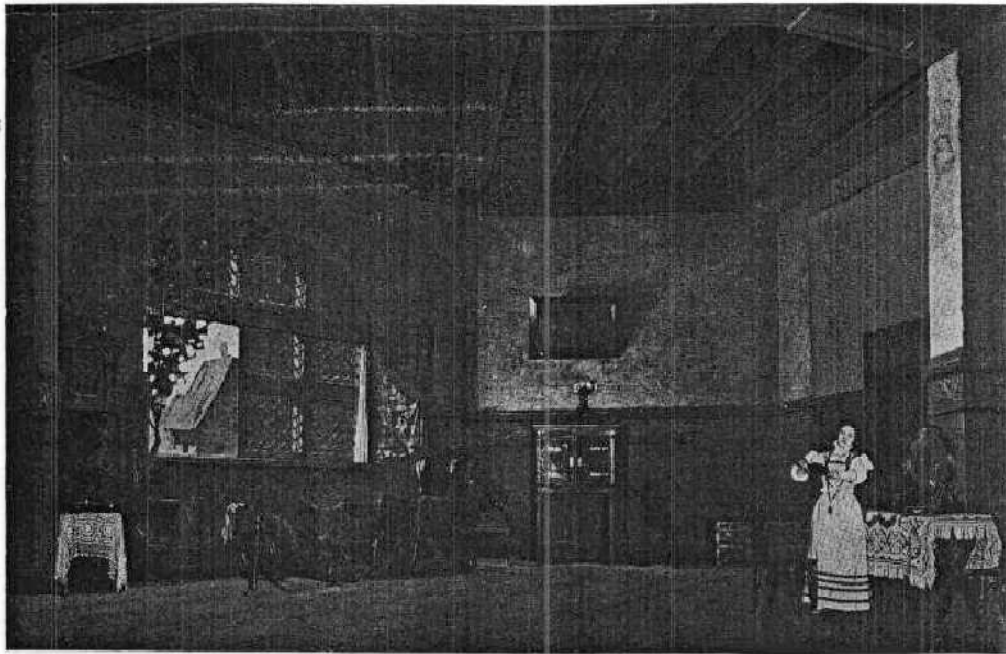
*«Фауст», драм. поема Гёте, пер. Холодковського.  
Картина 15-я. Тюрьма. Декорация худ. К. Иванова.*

**Figure 3.**



*«Фауст», драм. поема Гете.  
Г. Ге—из роли Дебришфеля.*

**Figure 4.**



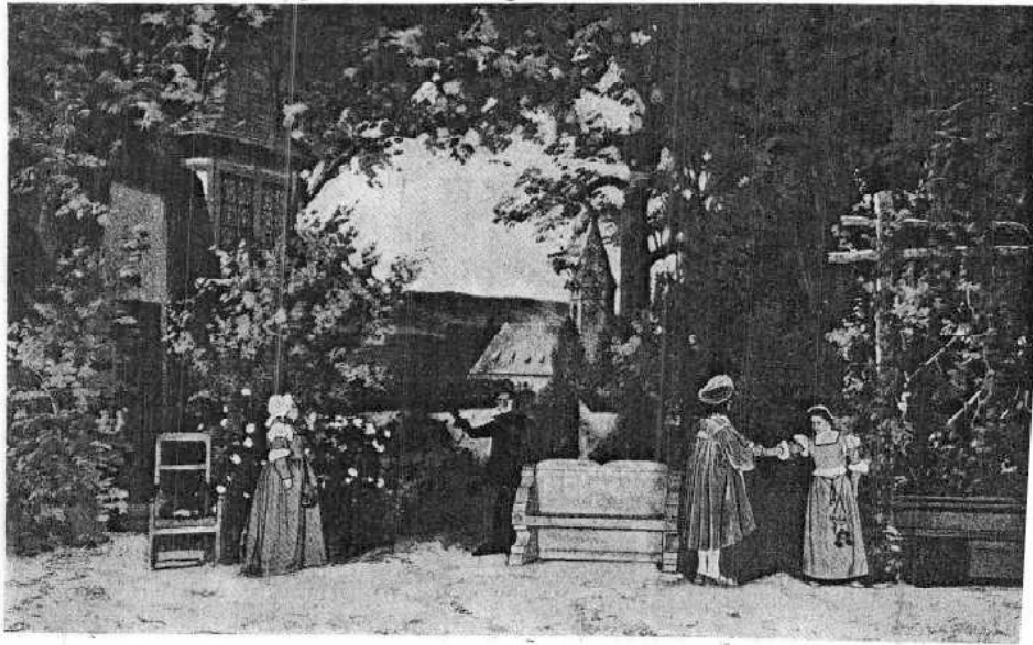
*«Фауст», драм. поема Гете, пер. Холодовського.  
Картина 5-я. Комната Варвары. Декорація худ. Алєксим.*

**Figure 5.**



*«Фауст», драм. поема Гете.  
Г. Пейзаж... от пали Ахтмабана...*

**Figure 6.**



*«Фауст», драм. поэма Гете, пер. Холодовская.  
Картина 2-я. Сад Марты.*

**Figure 7.**



*«Фауст», драм. поэма Гете, пер. Холодовская.  
Глядя Лопухина — из роли Марты.*

**Figure 8.**



*«Фауст», драм. поэма Гёте.  
Л. Анисимов — роль Фауста.*

**Figure 9.**



*«Фауст», драм. поэма Гёте, перев. Холодковская.  
Г. Ге — роль Мефистофеля и 1-жа Лежневая — роль Марти.*

**Figure 10.**

## Appendix L

### *Faust I* [Фавстъ I], 1902: Overview of Deletions

This overview of the deletions is based on the prompt-book.

The second column of the table shows the number of deleted lines from each scene. The third column features the percentage of the included original text in the adaptation. These calculations are approximate and are based on the number of lines that correspond with the original.

The fourth column provides line numbers from the original omitted in the text of the adaptation.

The fifth column features the exact placement of the original scenes in the structure of the 1902 prompt-book, revealing one misplacement.

Scene title in Goethe	# of del. lines	% of text incl.	Line numbers deleted from the text of the adaptation ( <i>Faust</i> 1902)	Appearance in text
Zueignung	0	100%		
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	8	96%	151-155, 192-193, 238	Scene 1.
Prolog im Himmel	0	100%		Scene 2.
Nacht	95	79%	374-75, 415, 426-29, 435-41, 447-53, 459, 519-21, 580-85, 589, 592, 606-11, 626-29, 644-47, 672-85, 696-719, 723-32	Scene 3.
Vor dem Tor	141	62%	808-84, 911-13, 923-30, 933-36, 1042-49, 1080-89, 1126-41, 1160-77	Scene 4.
Studierzimmer I	126	64%	1186-93, 1202-09, 1214, 1220-23, 1228, 1238-46, 1254-55, 1259-97, 1303-13, 1316-21, 1345-58, 1363-66, 1399, 1406-08, 1412, 1416-19, 1424, 1426-	Scene 5.

			27, 1430, 1442-43, 1526-29	
Studierzimmer II	146	73%	1532-35, 1607-34, 1639-40, 1667-70, 1681, 1684-85, 1688-89, 1720-29, 1732-33, 1744-47, 1754-59, 1764, 1773, 1785-1802, 1836, 1838-41, 1848-49, 1873, 1936-41, 1954-67, 1969-81, 1896, 1994, 2010, 2012-14, 2016-18, 2037, 2052, 2057-61, 2066-68.	Scene 6.
Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	9	97%	2209-10, 2219-22, 2250, 2281, 2314	Scene 7.
Hexenküche	267	0		
Strasse	16	78%	2615-18, 2630, 2646, 2648, 2658, 2663-64, 2672-77	Scene 8.
Abend	22	83%	2695-08, 2709, 2718-20, 2742-43, 2746-47	Scene 9.
Spaziergang	59	0		
Der Nachbarin Haus	1	99%	2904	Scene 10.
Strasse	47	0		
Garten	7	95%	3125, 3145-48, 3181-83	Scene 11
Ein Gartenhäuschen	0	100%		
Wald und Höhle	112	28%	3217-92, 3294, 3297-99, 3307-14, 3338-61	
Gretchens Stube	0	100%		Scene 12.2 (Misplaced)
Marthens Garten	0	100%		Scene 12.1
Am Brunnen	10	76%	3577-86	Scene 13



Zwinger	0	100%		
Nacht	10	94%	3660-69	Scene 14
Dom	57	0		
Walpurgisnacht	387	0		
Walpurgisnachts- traum	175	0		
Trüber Tag. Feld	13	79%	3,4, 17-18, 23-25,	Scene 15.1.
Nacht.Offen Feld	6	0		
Kerker	51	75%	4405-22, 4424, 4426, 4481-83, 4487-90, 4499-4500, 4506, 4532-35, 4438-43, 4545-49, 4555-46, 4564, 4585-86, 4612	Scene 15.2.
Total deleted lines	1765	62%		

The deletion of 1765 lines equals 38% of the text of *Faust I*, indicating that 62% of Goethe's original was used in the 1902 adaptation.

Appendix M

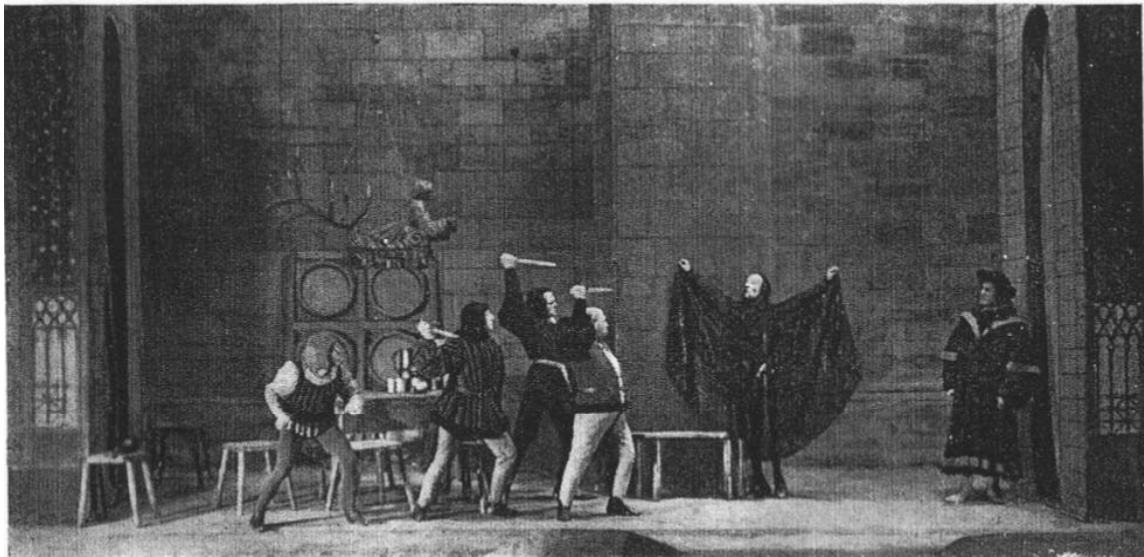
*Faust* [Фаустъ], 1912: Photographs, Sketches and Illustrations



*Фаустъ.*

*Сцена смерти Валентина.*

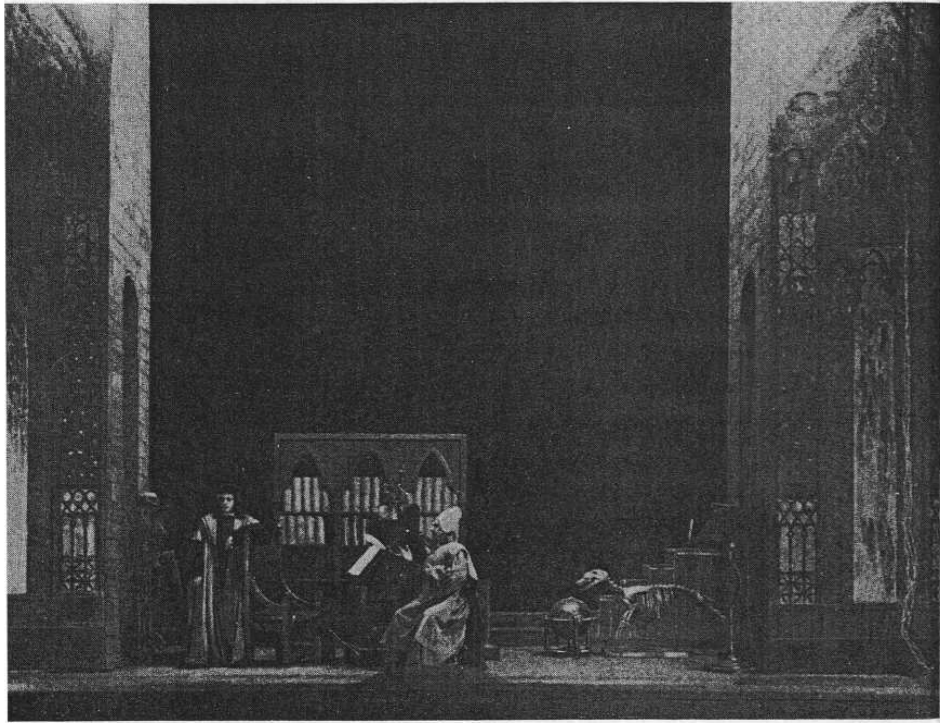
**Figure 1.** “Night. Street in Front of Gretchen’s House”



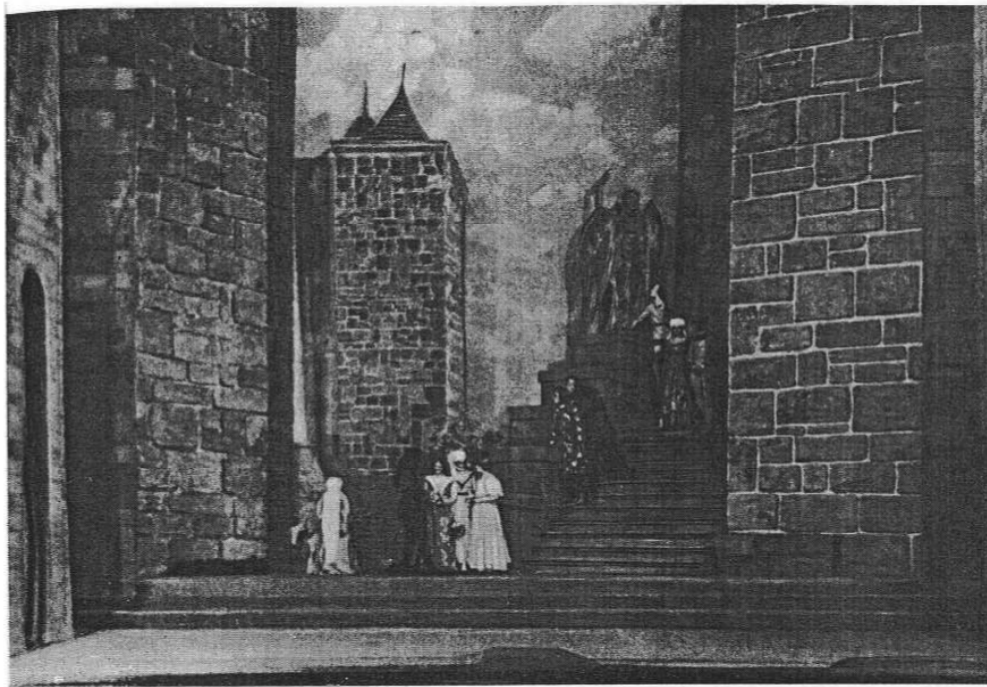
*Фаустъ.*

*Сцена въ погребъ Ауербаха.*

**Figure 2.** “Auerbach’s Cellar in Leipzig”



**Figure 3.** "Study"



**Figure 4.** "Street"



**Figure 5.** "Garden"



**Figure 6.** Sketch  
Costume of Mephistopheles



**Figure 7.** Sketch  
Costume of Faust



**Figure 8.** Sketch

Mr. Shakhhalov in the role of Mephistopheles



**Figure 9.** Sketch

Mr. Rudnitsky as Faust



**Figure 10.** Sketch

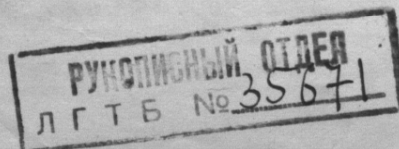
Mr. Shakhhalov as Mephistopheles

Appendix N

*Faust* [Фаустъ], 1912: List of Characters

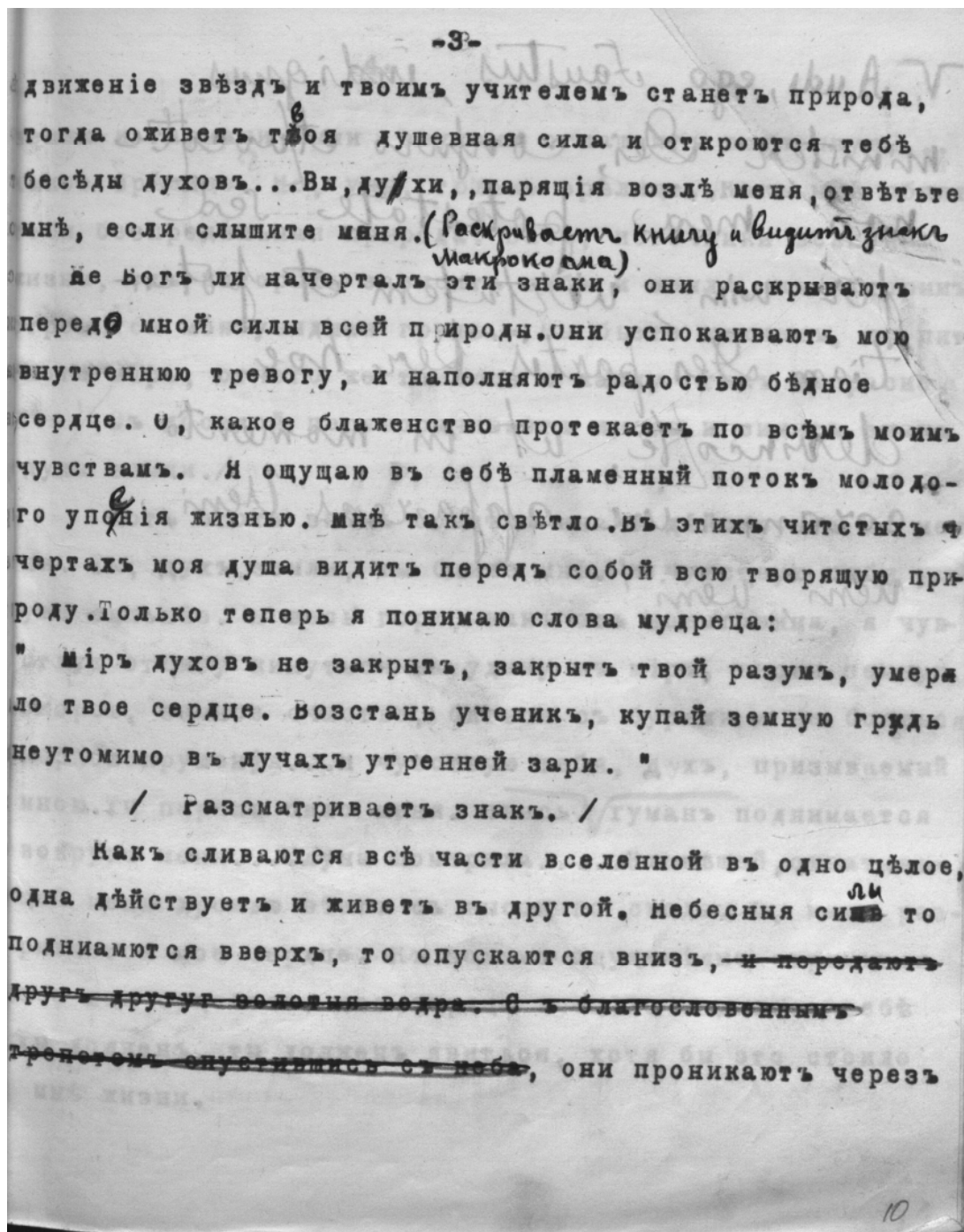
ДѢЙСТВУЮЩІЯ ЛИЦА.

ФАУСТЪ. 1-Я ДѢВУШКА.  
ВАГНЕРЪ. НИЩІЙ.  
МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ. 2-Я ДѢВУШКА.  
ДУХЪ ЗЕМЛИ. 1-Й ГОРОЖАНИНЪ.  
УЧЕНИКЪ. 2-Й ГОРОЖАНИНЪ.  
ФРОШЪ. СТАРУХА.  
БРАНДЕРЪ. СТАРЫЙ КРЕСТЬЯНИНЪ.  
ЗИБЕЛЬ. КРЕСТЬЯНЕ ПОДЪ ЛИПОЙ.  
АЛТМАЙЕРЪ. СОЛДАТЫ.  
1-РЕМЕСЛЕННИКЪ. ХОРЪ ДУХОВЪ.  
2-РЕМЕСЛЕННИКЪ. ХОРЪ ЖЕНЩИНЪ.  
3-РЕМЕСЛЕННИКЪ. ХОРЪ УЧЕНИКОВЪ.  
4-РЕМЕСЛЕННИКЪ.  
5-РЕМЕСЛЕННИКЪ.  
1-Я СЛУЖАНКА.  
2-Я СЛУЖАНКА.  
1-Й СТУДЕНТЬ.  
2-Й СТУДЕНТЬ.



Appendix O

Faust [Фаустъ], 1912: Sample Page with Pagination



## Appendix P

### *Faust* [Фаустъ], 1912: Russian Scene Titles

Listed Russian scene titles are based on the prompt-book and are provided against the original and author's English translation.

Goethe's Scene Titles	Scene Titles in the Prompt-Book	English Translation of the Scene Titles	Placement on stage
Zueignung	Пропущено	Omitted	
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	Пропущено	Omitted	
Prolog im Himmel	Прологъ	Prologue	upstage
Nacht	1. Ночь	Night	downstage
Vor dem Tor	2. Передъ воротами	In Front of the Gate	downstage
Studierzimmer I	3. Рабочая Комната	Study	downstage
Studierzimmer II	4. Рабочая Комната	Study	downstage
Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	5. Погребъ Ауербаха въ Лейбциге	Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig	downstage
Hexenküche	6. Кухня Вѣдьмы	Witch's Kitchen	upstage
Strasse	7. Улица	Street	upstage
Abend	8. Вечеръ. Маленькая Опрятная Комната	Evening. A Small Neat Room.	downstage
Spaziergang	9. На Прогулке	Stroll	upstage
Der Nachbarin Haus	10. Дом Сосѣдки	Neighbour's House	upstage



Strasse	11. Улица	Street	upstage
Garten	12. Садъ	Garden	downstage
Ein Gartenhäuschen			
Wald und Höhle	13. Лесъ и Пещера	Forest and Cavern	upstage
Gretchens Stube	14. Гретхенъ за Прялкой	Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel	downstage
Marthens Garten	15. Сад Марты	Marta's Garden	downstage
Am Brunnen	16. У Колодца	At the Well	upstage
Zwinger	17. Цвингеръ	Donjon	upstage
Nacht (Strasse vor Gretchens Türe)	18. Ночь. Улица перед домом Гретхенъ	Night. Street in Front of Gretchen's House	upstage
Dom	19. Служба. Органъ и Пение	Mass. Organ and Singing	upstage
Walpurgisnacht	20. Вальпургтева Ночь	Walpurgis Night	upstage
Walpurgisnachtstraum	Пропущено	Omitted	
Trüber Tag. Feld	21. Сумрачный День. Поле	A Gloomy Day. Field	downstage
Nacht, Offen Feld	Пропущено	Omitted	
Kerker	22. Тюрьма	Dungeon	upstage

Appendix Q

Faust [Фаустъ], 1912: Handwriting Analysis

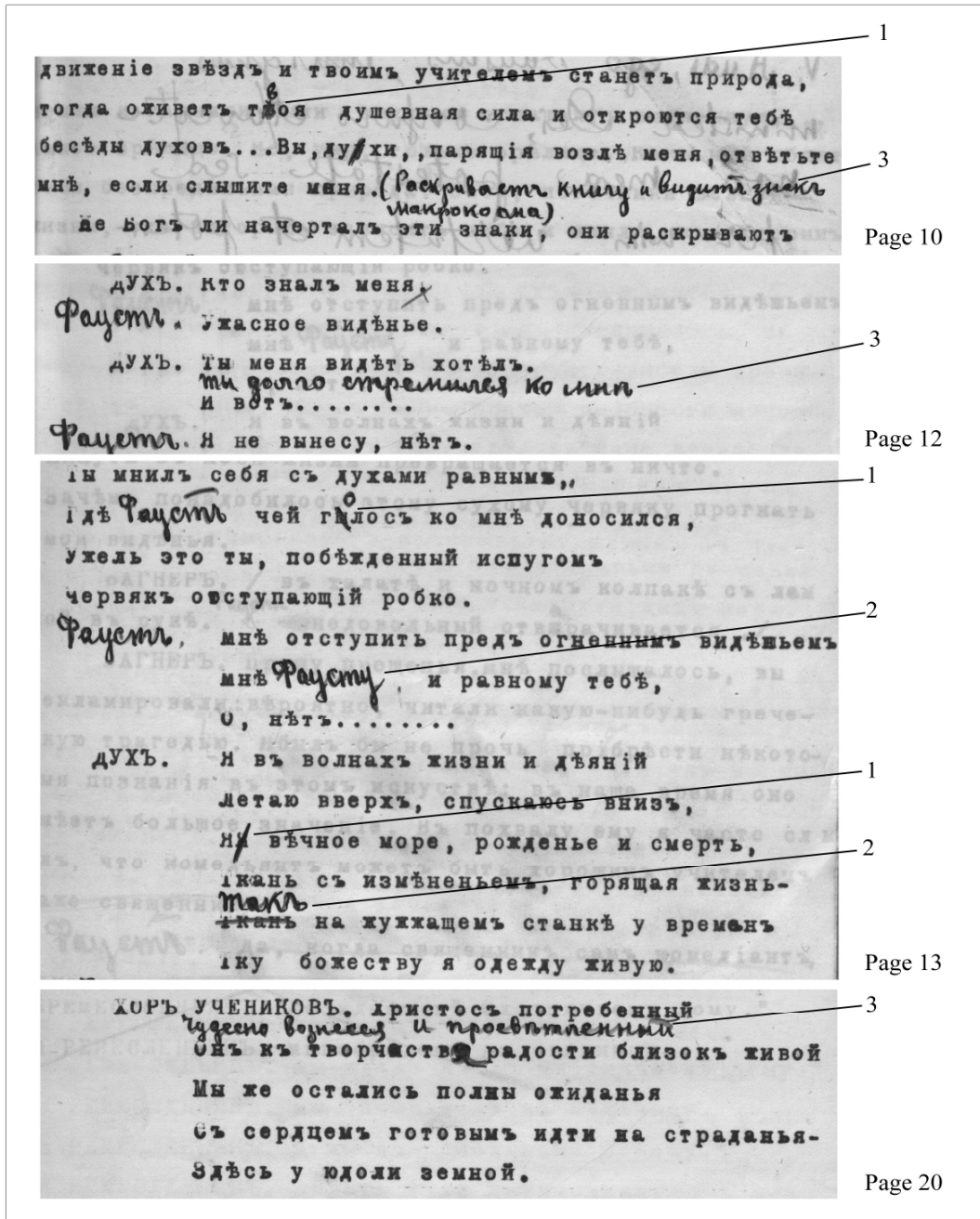


Figure 1.

МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ. Мой привѣтъ госпожину ученому.  
Вы заставили меня изрядно пропотѣть.  
ФАУСТЪ. Какъ ты называешь <sup>ты</sup> себя?  
МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ. Мнѣ кажется, что этотъ вопросъ

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МЕФИСТОФЕЛЬ. Онъ спитъ. Такъ хорошо, воздушные,  
нѣжные, маленькіе духи. В ъ вѣрно послужили мнѣ  
усыпивъ его своимъ пѣніемъ. За этотъ концертъ я у  
васъ въ долгу. <sup>Повторите слово (въ мѣста безумія)</sup> Одурманьте его обольстительными ви-  
дѣніями. (Да нѣтъ, не такой ты еще человѣкъ, чтобы  
удержать въ своихъ рукахъ чорта. ~~Повторите это въ~~  
~~ложѣ безумія.~~ Однако, чтобы разрушить чары этого  
порога, мнѣ необходимо только крысій зубъ. Не дол-  
го придется мнѣ заклинать, потому что вотъ одна уже  
скребется и сейчасъ же услышитъ меня.

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Figure 2.

## Appendix R

### *Faust* [Фаяст], 1912: Overview of Deletions

Overview of the deletions is based on the prompt-book.

The second column of the table shows the number of deleted lines from each scene. The third column features the percentage of the included original text in the adaptation. These calculations are approximate and are based on the number of lines that correspond with the original.

The fourth column provides line numbers from the original omitted in the text of the adaptation.

Scene title in Goethe	# of deleted lines	% of text incl.	Line numbers deleted from the text of the adaptation ( <i>Faust</i> 1902)
Zueignung	33	0	1-32
Vorspiel auf dem Theater	210	0	33-242
Prolog im Himmel	0	100%	
Nacht	121	73%	402-08, 439, 450-51, 456, 527-45, 577-87, 614-22, 626-51, 668-85, 706-11, 714-17, 720-31, 757-61.
Vor dem Tor	88	76%	846-51, 891-902, 908-11, 913-15, 923-28, 1015-22, 1031, 1042-47, 1050-52, 1076-89, 1122-25, 1130-41, 1158-62, 1164-65, 1168-69.
Studierzimmer I	105	70%	1202-37, 1241-46, 1253-55, 1294, 1304-12, 1331-34, 1363-64, 1383-84, 1434-35, 1457-96.
Studierzimmer II	192	65%	1536-38, 1558-61, 1610-16, 1661-62, 1678-89, 1719-29, 1746-49, 1752-55, 1766-67, 1776-1833, 1851-67, 1908, 1922-41, 1952-53, 1966-2000, 2055-64.

Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig	8	97%	2090-91, 2173-78.
Hexenküche	55	79%	2347-66, 2372-77, 2441-43, 2450-55, 2458-60, 2463-64, 2554-66, 2591-92.
Strasse	0	100%	
Abend	8	94%	2687-90, 2704-07.
Spaziergang	7	88%	2825, 2836-40, 2842.
Der Nachbarin Haus	0	100%	
Strasse	0	100%	
Garten	72	45%	3081-3101, 3104-05, 3113-18, 3125-37, 3144-62, 3194-3204.
Ein Gartenhäuschen	6	50%	3205-09, 3215
Wald und Höhle	0	100%	
Gretchens Stube	0	100%	
Marthens Garten	11	92%	3418-25, 3428-30.
Am Brunnen	0	100%	
Zwinger	0	100%	
Nacht	10	94%	3740-49
Dom	0	100%	
Walpurgisnacht	153	61%	3871-3911, 3948-51, 3977, 3987-89, 3999-4006, 4020-26, 4030-33, 4035-36, 4044-45, 4066-68, 4072-95, 4104-09, 4116-17, 4126-27, 4144-75, 4177, 4209-22.
Walpurgisnachts- traum	176	0%	4223-4398
Trüber Tag. Feld	0	100%	
Nacht. Offen Feld	6	0%	4399-4404
Kerker	88	58%	4438-41, 4448-50, 4452-60, 4463-68, 4472-

			74, 4478, 4482-83, 4497-4505, 4516-17, 4520-35, 4538-42, 4546-49, 4565-73, 4578, 4596-4600, 4603-04, 4606-12.
Total deleted lines	1345		

The deletion of 1345 lines equals 29% of the text of *Faust I*, indicating that 71% of Goethe's original was used in the 1912 adaptation.