THE RUSSIAN FOLK-THEATRE

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SECTION III

(continued)

NON-RITUAL DRAMA: I. HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL THEMES

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CHAPTER VII:
"THE SHIP" ("LODKA")

One of the plays which was discussed in the preceding section, that is "Mavrukh", was in part constructed on the basis of song-dramatisation. This method of forming playlets or scenes within the framework of larger plays was a common one in the Russian folk-theatre. One of the most popular plays of the non-ritual theatre repertoire, "Lodka", originally evolved in just this way.

The plays in the cycle "Lodka" may be composed of a variety of different scenes but they are linked together thematically as plays about brigands and structurally by the dramatisation of the song:

"Вниз по Матушке по Волге",

which occurs in most of them and which provided a basis for the addition of other elements.

The play "Lodka" was one of the best-known forms of folk-drama in pre-revolutionary Russia and variants of it can be found in almost every part of the country from Archangel in the far north to the

1. I have used the general title "Lodka" in this chapter for purposes of convenience. It encompasses a large group of plays and dramatic scenes (about 40–45 known texts) bearing a variety of titles: "Shaika Razboinikov", "Shlyupka", "Ermak", "Ataman Burya", "Mashen'ka", "Mogila Marii", etc.
Ukraine in the south, from Kazan' and the Urals to Chernigov in the south-west. V.Yu. Krupyanskaya in her thesis on "Lodka" suggests that the original home of the play was to be found in Central European Russia, in the areas around Moscow and more particularly in those areas which had for long been associated with Russia's textile industry, the governments of Moscow, Yaroslavl, Tver and Vladimir from which it gradually spread in all directions, to Petersburg and its immediate vicinity, to the east and the Urals and to the south and the Ukraine and the preserves of the Don Cossacks.

The existence of "Lodka" in the north was attested by Onchukov, who includes several versions of it (from the Onega-Archangel district) in his anthology of Northern Folk-drama. It gained particular popularity, however, among the Cossacks of the Don and the Urals which is not to be wondered at considering the historical background of these regions and their connections with such half-brigand, half-popular heroes as Ermak and Stepan Razin.

The upper Don region had a flourishing folk-theatre tradition in which variants of "Lodka" played a prominent part, mainly in variants which reflect later historical events rather than the original period of the play's existence, such as "Sud Atamana Bur'i", "Ermak", "Sud Atamana Bur'i", "Ermak",

1. V.Yu. Krupyanskaya, "Narodnaya drama Lodka, ego genezis i literaturyayastoria" (from a lecture at the meeting of the Folklore Commission of the Institute of Ethnography on 2nd April, 1945).
2. N.E. Onchukov, Severnye narodnye dramy (SPb. 1911).
"Ataman Churkin", "Konets Sem'i Prekloznikikh", etc.¹ In the Urals the play was known particularly at Ekaterinburg and in the region round Pehma, for example in the villages of Levshino, Verkhnie Mully, and Ammarinskaya. Thus in the village of Levshino:—

"Собирали чуть ли не со всего села лошадей, до 60-70 голов, их подпевали водкой, чтобы они "не смотрели сентябрем", запрягали гусем в большую лодку, в которую садились участники спектакля. Они так ехали по всей деревне, пели песни, гребя по воздуху веслами; атаман стоял на корме подбоченившись, брюхом вперёд. Доехав до площади, останавливались, затем ставили спектакль."²

Similarly, in the village of Vatlashovo:—

"При въезде в село навстречу сбегались масса народу. Он шёл и стоял по обеим сторонам кorteжа, участники которого распевали свои песни и гребли по воздуху веслами; не редко озорничали, засирая веслами подолы у стоящих и бежавших близко зрителниц."³

This type of processional ship was not on the whole common, however, and by its structure and the behaviour of those concerned reminds one

¹. See e.g. Golovachev and Lashchin, op. cit.
². V.P. Biryukov, Dorevolyutsionnyi fol'klor na Urale (Sverdlovsk 1936).
³. Ibid.
of the Shrove procession which no doubt influenced it.

Although, as can be seen from the above accounts, "Lodka" was popular among the peasantry and the semi-military, semi-agriculturalist community of the Don it was by no means restricted to a milieu of this type. Indeed, if Krupyanakaya's suggestion is correct, it is to an urban rather than to an agricultural milieu that we must look for the original home of the drama. That "Lodka" was as popular among the urban proletariat as the peasantry is attested by numerous documents. In the town of Varnavin (Kostroma government) up till the 1905 Revolution it was performed by young artisans as well as peasants. The young players in the town were even patronised by some of the high-ranking government officials and other wealthy citizens for whom the playing of the mummers was a popular part of the easy-going life they led.\(^1\) In the Urals too workers as well as peasants took part. In the village of Sosnovskoe in the 1890s a shoemakers' workshop was set up to improve standards of technique. In the evenings this workshop became a sort of club where among other things the local artisans used to watch and perform in popular plays, including "Lodka".\(^2\)

The great variety of variations to be found in the text of "Lodka" and its popularity among different layers of society can be

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2. V.P. Biryukov, op. cit.
partly accounted for by the simplicity of the original skeleton which could so easily be expanded and added to according to the whims, knowledge or background of the participators.

The well-known song:

"Вих по Матушке по Волге",

which should be considered as the foundation of "Lodka", was first published in Chulkov's 1773 song-book. The music to it, a fast, gay rhythm, did not appear till 1778 in Trutovskii's collection. It has been suggested that this merchant song was not itself a true folk-song but the work of an unknown poet, based upon some earlier authentic folk-song. The song as we know it suffered numerous changes in its career from the eighteenth century to the present day. The fast rhythm of the original gradually slowed down. By the time of the L'vov-Prach edition in 1790 it was already considerably slower, being included in the section:

"Протяжные песни".

Moreover, although the song was originally connected with merchant-life:

"На корме сидит хозяин;
Сам хозяин во наряде,
Во корешневом кафтане,
В лиценевом камзоле,
В алом шёлковом платочке,
В чёрном бархатном картузе..."

it gradually became assimilated into the large body of brigand songs.

about the Volga, thus entirely changing its character.

In its most primitive and earliest form then, "Lodka" consisted simply of a group of men pretending to row a ship down the Volga while singing:

"Вниз по Матушке ..."

and "obeying the orders" of the captain (the merchant-owner) in the bows.1 In spite of later distortions and additions elements of this form can be found in most extant versions of the play while in some it is retained intact as the central scene of a larger drama as in the following extract where the manoeuvres of the actors are described in detail:

"Все кроме атамана садятся овалом, как бы вдоль бортов "Лодки", а в середине, скрестив руки, становится атаман. Все разбойники одной стороны становятся на одно, а другой — на другое колено. Стоящие справа опускают вбок правую руку, а слева — левую. Другой рукой, плавно размахиваясь, все враз ударяют по ладони опущенной руки, подражая всплесками воды при ограблении веслом."2

Played in this way the scene resembles the symbolic, mimetic gestures of the khovovod games. Gradually the interpretation of both the song

1. Of this type is Izmailov's eye-witness description, dating to between 1814 and 1819:-
and the dramatic game changed and as "Lodka" developed into a fully
fledged drama it attracted more and more elements from robber litera-
ture both oral and written.

Vsevolodskii-Gerngross attempts to explain the change in tone
between the earlier and later versions of the play by suggesting
that in fact before the eighteenth-century text of

"Вниз по Матушке ..."

there existed another folk-song (upon which the author of the above
may have based his song) of similar style about Stepan Razin's
Astrakhan campaign and that this was the song which gave rise to
"Lodka". Only later then, would

"Вниз по Матушке ... ",

having grown immensely in popularity and having become a robber song,
have ousted its predecessor from the folk-play. There are clearly
similarities between this song and

"Вниз по Матушке ... "

- cf. "Мы посмотрим-ко, братьчи,
Вниз по матушке по волге,

/... "Ярославские студенты вздумали сыграть бурлакскую
"Лодку". Один нарядился лоцманом, другой рулевой.
Двенадцать человек сели на пол за гребцом; заиграли
gусли, скрипки и гитары, запели "Вниз по матушке ...", все сдвинулись в кружок ... Лоцман, одетый в выворот-
ченный тулуп, в уродливой шапке, стоял на пороге при
самом входе в большую комнату, почти в дверях и
командовал."

A.E. Izmailov, Vzglyad na sobstvennyu proshedshuyu (M. 1860),
quoted by V.N. Vsevolodskii-Gerngross, Russkaya, ustnaya, narod-
but, in view of its purely hypothetical nature, Vsevolodskii-Gerngross's idea seems to be an unnecessary complication.

The first dramatic development from the basic scene may be seen in the addition of a dialogue between the captain (now Ataman) and his "esaul". After introducing himself:—

"Не шум шумит, не гром гремит
Сильный атаман со своей жайкой валит," 2

he summons the "esaul", gives him a telescope and asks him to spy out the land:—

"Бог тебе моя подзорная труба
Стоя прямей, гляди верней
На все четыре стороны
Не увидишь ли где пеньев, кореньев, ровных мест
Как бы нам добрым молодцам на миле не сесть!
Судна не проломить
Души не погубить." 3

The "esaul" reports what he sees:—

"В горах черви, в воде черти,
В городах сучки, полицейские крючки;

2. From an old Volga song in Nikolai Lopatin, Polnyi narodnyi pesennik (M. 1885), p. 100, no. 84.
3. Ibid.
В деревнях богатые мужчины —
Нигде нам добрим молодцам разгуляться не дадут,"  

after which the Ataman's favourite song:-

"Вниз по матушке ..."

is sung. In most of the later versions, however, it is more usual, as well as more dramatic, for this dialogue to be interpolated between the beginning and end of the song. The last verses:

"Приворачивай ребята ко крутому бережочку,"

are then sung as the rowers, miming the ending, turn towards the shore, the nearby village and the local hostelry (known as Еленино or Настас'ино подворье). Sometimes, indeed, the woman briefly mentioned in the song also becomes a character in the play, as for instance in "Машенька" where the robbers who have arrived at the inn are warned by Настя that the police are looking for them. 2 This is an imaginative detail which does not occur in many versions.

In some later variants of "Лодка" where the original scene has been joined by many others a need has been felt by the actors, who thus reveal a certain feeling for dramatic structure, to integrate it more into the general plot of the play. In Сиповскii's version of "Лодка", while the crew are sailing down the Volga and the "есaul" is scanning the river, the sound of singing is heard in the distance:

1. Nikolai Lopatin, op. cit., p. 100, No. 84.
2. V. Dobrovol'skii, "Машенька", in Etnograficheskoe obozrenie (M. 1900), Bk. XLVI, No. 3.
"Среди лесов дремучих разбойничьих идут."

The Ataman is angry that his territory has been invaded and sends the "esaul" on shore to find out the culprit. The singer, Sergeant-Major Ivan Pyatokov, is brought back to the ship after a struggle, tells the story of his life and is admitted to the robber band after which the interrupted dialogue between Ataman and "esaul" is continued and the song brought to an end.¹

The third phase in the development of "Lodka" ventures beyond mime and elementary dialogue into the realm of fantasy and imagination, one of the most necessary elements in the creation of real drama. Many of the later versions of "Lodka" contain a large number of scenes and different characters and attempts have been made to introduce a simple plot. The material for these additions has been drawn over the years from a large variety of sources among the most important of which were certainly the song-cycle, legends and tales which grew up around the folk-heroes Ermak, Stepan Hazin and others of their following.

Little is known about the Cossack Ermak before he made his historical début in 1581 as the leader of a small band of outlaws and freedom-seekers against the Siberian Prince Kuchum. Tradition has it that he received a royal pardon for his misdeeds as a reward

¹. See "Lodka", in P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII–XX vv. (M. 1953), pp. 146–
for his conquest of Siberia. However little is known of him factually the folk-imagination was certainly inspired by his reputed exploits and a rich folk-lore tradition was built up round him. The historical songs, for instance, trace the whole course of Ermak's career, factual or legendary, from his appointment as Ataman by the Cossacks (or in some versions by the sailors of the Caspian fleet), his taking of Kazan' (legend has it that it was Ermak's idea to mine the foundations of the city), his meeting with Ivan the Terrible, his Siberian campaign.

The Ermak of the historical songs appears as the leader of a band of outlawed brigands who ply the river Volga in search of ships to plunder. They regard the Volga as their own special territory where they lead an uneasy, nomadic existence moving from one camp to another along the river bank in constant fear of pursuit and capture:

"Как проходит, братцы, лето тёплое,
Настаёт, братцы, зима холодная,
А где-то мы, братцы, зимовать будем?
На Яик нам пойти - переход велик,
А за Волгу пойти - намборами сливь,
нам ворами сливь, быть полоняемыми,
По разным по тьрам по рассоженными,
А мне Брамку, быть повешено." 1

They consider any ships, whatever their type or nationality, as fair game. Their main concern is the hope of rich booty and the excitement and danger of a pitched battle in which the Ataman, Ermak, always shows

himself to be a fearless leader:

"А бегут тут по морю
Славны гости турецкие
Со товары заморскими.
А увидели казаки
Те корабли червленые
И бросали казаки
На двенадцать караблей.
В три пулементы гунули,
А ружьём вдруг гранили . . . " 1

The life which Ermak and his followers lead is certainly a precarious one, although it has its charms:

"Пробьёмся мы, мазуры,
Промотаемся,
Мы во косточках, во карты
Проиграемся" 2

the greatest of these being the absolute freedom and independence which the robbers enjoy:

"Как на Волге-реке, да на Камышинке
Казаки живут, братцы, люди вольные." 3

Ermak, the Ataman, not only leads his men in battle, he is also somewhat of a patriarchal figure who has also to worry about the welfare of the men who follow him. In the historical song "Ermak v kazach'em krugu" it is he who foresees the difficulties of the onset of winter, and takes steps to safeguard the other robbers. He is the

3. Ibid.
father and food-finder of his company:

"Кормилец наш батюшка Ермак Тимофеевич."

It is clear from careful study of the texts of "Iodka" and its variants that the early period of "robber" literature has left its mark upon them and, presumably, at an early stage of its development, although it is extremely difficult to unearth with any certainty these elements from under the mass of later influences.

The robber band from "Shlyupka" (No. 1 in Onchukov's collection) for instance, shows some evidence of the Ermak cycle. Here the nomadic, freedom-loving life of the robbers on the Volga is underlined:

"Фу, какая здесь прекрасная долина
для нас скитавшихся людей!
Хочу здесь остановиться с буйной шайкой со своей,"

as well as their gay, if severe mode of life:

"Хочу пить, гулять и веселиться,
Грабить добрых людей.
Чем мне жить в лесу,
Лучше я буду жить здесь.
Чем мне жить там,
Лучше я буду при матушке Волге-реке атаман."

In contrast to this the plight of the robbers as hunted men seems to echo the plaint of Ermak and his followers:

"Леса мои, лесочки,
Кусты мои, кусточки,

1. N.E. Onchukov, "Shlyupka", No. 1 in Severnye narodnye dramy (SPB. 1911), pp. 75-76.
2. Ibid., p. 76.
The chief occupation of the robbers in "Lodka" is also that of attacking and looting ships on the river Volga. As one of them proclaims:

"Я есть слуга того, кто вмог по Матушки-Волге летает, корабли, корветы разбивает, и тем богатством наживает."  

Similarly, the Ataman, like Ermak, is both leader and father of his men:

"И сдаю тебе свою шайку молодцов, Удалцов, славных песельников, Пой, корми, обувай и одевай."  

Certain constructions and formulae, too, found in "Lodka" may have arisen under the influence of the Ermak historical songs. Compare, for instance, the Ataman's order (which appears in numerous variants) to prepare a boat:

"Пойди и построй мне лёгкую шлюпку,  
С гребцами, с молодцами,  
С удалими песенниками  
Чтобы она вмог по матушки Волге летела  
Из-под носу белая вена кипела,"  

with the equivalent order from Ermak:

3. Ibid., p. 81.  
4. P.N. Berkov, op. cit.
Ermaik himself actually figures as a character in some variants (indeed "Ermaik" is one of the title variants of the play). Two such plays occur in Gologachev and Lashchilin's Narodnyi teatr na Donu, but in both these the hero is far removed from the prototype of the historical songs. An interesting version, strongly biased towards the exploits of Ermaik, is the recently published "Drama o Ermaik", which includes several scenes of a pseudo-historical nature, Ermaik's victory over Matmetkula, general of Khan Kuchum, the "esaul"'s journey to Moscow to ask for a free pardon in exchange for the liberation of Siberia, his audience with Ivan the Terrible, Ermaik's next campaign against the Tartars at the request of the ambassador of Bukhasa, premonition of disaster and the report of his disappearance.

From the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century the increasing hardship of the peasants under the continuous oppression of the landed aristocracy led to an atmosphere of unrest and often open hatred among the peasantry with sporadic revolts and uprisings of varying intensity, reaching peaks in 1667-71 and 1773-1775 with the

class wars under the leadership of Stepan Razin and Pugachev respectively. Both wars were typified by merciless treatment of all representatives of the "ruling" or "privileged" classes, from the rich landed aristocracy to local squires, from shop-keepers to representatives of the imperial administration, from officers of the royal forces to members of the priesthood, but it was Stepan Razin, in particular, who became the figurehead of popular anti-feudal feeling and the hero of innumerable songs and tales. He was even accredited with supernatural powers.

It is probably to Razin and the type of popular literature which he inspired that we owe the "class-motivated" ferocity which occurs in certain incidents in "Lodka" in the character of some of the Atamans of these texts.

The most apparent result of this type of influence can be seen in the distorted ending of the dramatised

"Вниз по матушке ..."

in which, originally, the crew turned towards the shore for a well-deserved rest and relaxation at the local hostelry. In many variants of "Lodka" this has been replaced by a scene in which a village or an estate is sighted by the "esaul". The robbers land and the ensuing conflict between them and the landowner (rich inn-keeper or merchant) on whom they billet themselves is depicted in varying degrees of violence:
(Here, the "esaul" has been sent to investigate the landowner.)

"Эсaul: - Тебя-то нам и надо!
Рад ли ты нам
доро жен гостям?

Помещик: - Рад!

Эсaul: - А как рад?

Помещик: - Как чертами!

Эсaul (грозно): - Как? Повтори!

Помещик (дрожащим голосом): - Как милым друзьям.

After this the whole band arrives to be entertained:--

Атаман: - Деньги есть?

Помещик: - Нет!

Атаман: - Врёль, есть!

Помещик: - Тебе говорю - нет!

Атаман (обращаясь к народу, кричит): - Эй, молодцы, жги,
пали богатого помещика!" 1

A scuffle ensues and on this note the play ends.

Some of the songs appearing in "Lodka" also strike a strong
anti-feudal note as the two in "Ataman":--

"Толстый барин с крестьянами грудь берёт,"

and:--

"На торгу купец ворочает." 2

However, this antipathy, although probably of early origin, was no
doubt strengthened, developed and crystallised by the growing political

1. V. Sipovskii, "Lodka," in Istoricheskaya Khrestomatiya po istorii

2. Baron N.V. Drizen, "Ataman," Materialy k istorii russkogo teatra
(M. 1905), p. 280.
consciousness of the masses and the political activities of those leading them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The vivid impression left on the minds of the people by Stepan Razin is emphasised by Chesalin: he points out that even at the beginning of the twentieth century songs and legends about Razin could still be heard in many parts of the country, in the Saratov, Nizhegorod and Smolensk governments, for instance, or around Lake Pechora. He had even penetrated the modern factory songs of the urban workers of the Vladimir government.¹ That many scholars believed the folk-play "Lodka" to belong to this tradition is apparent in descriptions like that of Professor Shlyapkin who in a footnote to his edition of Griboedov's works refers to a performance of "Lodka" which he saw near St. Petersburg as "a complete account of Razin's campaign along the Volga".²

Within the texts of "Lodka" we find several interesting references which seem to point towards Stepan Razin personally. Among the legends about Stepan Razin are many which accredited him with gifts of magic. It was generally held, for instance, that no ordinary bullet could kill him and that, like the heroes of the magical tales, he had special powers which enabled him to evade his enemies. This

1. S. Chesalin, "Novaya zapis' Lodki", in Etnograficheskoe obozrenie (M. 1911), Bks. 36-37, No. 3-4, p. 102.
2. Quoted by V.N. Vsevolodskii-Gemgross, Russkaya ustnaya narodnaya drama, p. 69.
corresponds to some of the remarks made about the Ataman in "Lodka".
In one version, relating his adventures (a distorted version of
Pushkin's "Brat'ya Razboiniki") and imprisonment he adds:—

"Но меня доброго молодца
Не могли удержать за каменными стенами,
За железными замками.
Я на стене лодку написал и оттуда убежал." 1

In another, he ridicules the "esaul"'s doubts about the possibility
of capturing a heavily-armed ship:—

"- Фу, черт возьми! Ты сам знаешь, что я мелкие
пули духом отдуваю, а крупные ядра в руки принимаю." 2

Indeed Razin was so heartily disliked by the church both for
his strange reputation and for his treasonable activities that it
pronounced anathema on him which was still repeated in church services
during the nineteenth century. 3 Perhaps it is with this in mind that
the Hussar addresses the Ataman in "Mashen'ka" as:—

"Волшебник, супостат, изверг ада, чертов брат." 4

In the same play there is an extraordinary scene in which the Ataman
curses his men who thereupon fall down dead. He and the "esaul" call
upon a "spirit" who blows on them in order to revive them - a further

2. "Shaika razboinikov" No. 1, V.P. Biryukov, op. cit., p. 43.
4. "Mashen'ka", p. 120.
link between the Ataman and Razin's dealings with the supernatural.

Apart from these, in some cases, rather vague references there are of course several versions of "Lodka" in which Razin and his exploits are actually depicted. Such a play under the title "Stepan Razin" appears in Golovachev and Lashchilin's Narodnyi Teatr na Donu. This play was noted down in 1937 in Stalingrad oblast' from two old Cossack women. In this play we find the incident (often related in songs about Razin) of Stepan and the beautiful Tartar girl who is his mistress. Razin's men, jealous of his attention to her and afraid that their leader will become softened by her influence and lead them to disaster, begin to upbraid and mock him. Razin in reply, after his famous address to the river Volga:-

"Волга-матушка, много ты подарила мне..." throws his mistress into the river.

Golovachev and Lashchilin also mention an interesting version from the Urals which ends with Razin fleeing from his enemies to perish in the waters of the Ural River.

In spite of the fact that one can occasionally distinguish incidents actually connected with a historical figure it is certainly true that a great deal of confusion, developed, no doubt owing to the similarity between the careers of Ermak, Razin and other peasant heroes and the mass of legends that grew up around them, so that exploits of the one were sometimes attributed to the other and even
their names were interchanged. Moreover, the popularity of songs and tales about them led to the creation of much pseudo-folk-literature about robbers which eventually became attached to the original cycles. The resulting confusion can be seen, for instance, in the historical song "Emak u Ivana Groznogo":

"У Ермака Тимофеича, самого набольшего изо всех станниников, было много удалых товарищей, верных помощников; правой рукой у него был Стенька Разин, а за Стенькою Разиным Ванька Кани, Иван Мазепа, Гришка Отrepьев."

A similarly confused gathering of historical (and non-historical) personages from different periods of time can be seen in "Shaika Razboinikov" when the Ataman calls out the names of his followers, Sten'ka Razin, Van'ka Kain, Grishka Otrep'ev, Karikatura, etc.

Robbers and brigands whose actions in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russia were often linked with the movements of social unrest and protest became a popular theme not only of Russian folk-lore but also of Russian artistic literature and popular literature (lubochnaya literatura) in which setting the heroes and leaders of the robber bands were idealised and romanticised, often becoming Robin-Hood-like figures, robbing the rich to succour the poor. Such is the Ataman in "Drama o Ermake":

The imagination of Russian poets, Pushkin with his "Dubrovskii" and "Brat'ya Razboiniki", not to mention his deep interest in Pugachev and the legends and stories surrounding him; Lemontov with his "Vadim", was fired by the deeds and way of life of the freedom-loving brigands. However, borrowings of this nature did not merely constitute a one-sided enrichment of Russian artistic writings through themes taken from the life and literature of the folk. It was very much a mutual phenomenon in which both sides profited from the knowledge and creativity of the other. The actors and producers of the folk-theatre, always eager to embellish their plays did not only make use of material from other forms of folk-literature, but also borrowed extensively from literary sources. Songs like:

"Среди лесов дремучих, разбойники идут" ²

and:

"Что затуманилась заренька ясная . . ." ³

which were not originally folk-songs but poems which were later adopted into the folk-repertoire, became an integral part of "Lodka". The first, which describes the death and funeral of a robber chief,

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2. F.B. Miller's "Pogrebenie razboinika" (1st pb. 1846).
3. A.F. Vel'tman, "Pesnya Razboinikov" from the long poem "Muromskie lesa" (1831).
was traditionally sung, with actions corresponding to the words (carrying out the corpse upon crossed swords, digging the grave, etc.), after the death of any member of the robber band in "Lodka", the second was usually associated with the unhappy fate of the girl caught by the robbers in the play.

Among the earliest and most important literary influences upon "Lodka" Vsevolodskii-Gerngross accounts Pushkin's unfinished poem "Razboiniki". He notes the similarity between the opening scene of the poem in which the robbers capture a merchant ship and the Ataman seizes the captain's daughter for his concubine, and the scene which occurs in several versions of "Lodka" in which the robbers bring in a captive girl who was travelling to Astrakhan with her father. The father is killed and the Ataman demands possession of the girl. However, the links between the two works seem very slender and it is difficult to imagine how the authors of "Lodka" managed to get hold of the unfinished outline of a poem known only to a few of Pushkin's friends and subsequently destroyed. It is much more likely that both Pushkin and the authors of "Lodka" were drawing upon a similar knowledge of folk and popular literature on the subject. What is undeniable, however, is the influence of Pushkin's completed robber poem "Brat'ya Razboiniki", which is really an excerpt from the projected longer poem, based upon an actual event, about which Pushkin had read. Parts of this poem, which has suffered numerous distortions
in the folk-milieu occurs in many versions of "Lodka". A discussion of the rôle of this poem and some features of its "folklorisation" will be found in subsequent chapters of this work.

The robber theme inspired not only some of Russia's greatest poets but also many lesser-known writers and during the nineteenth century a welter of short stories and novels appeared in the popular press; "Uaz, Zheleznaya Lapa, ili Zhivot mertvetsrazboinik" (M. 1840), "Iyubov' atamana Prokla-Medvezhe'i Lapy, ili volzhskie razboiniki" (SPb. 1868), "Ved'ma, Chernyi Voron, ili Strashnye Nochi za Dneprom" (M. 1874). From these stories come the names of some of the members of the robber bands in "Lodka", for example, Medvezh'ya Lapa, Sorvi-Golova (from "Ataman razboinikov Sorvi-Golova"), and Zarezov (perhaps from the Zarezko of "Khutorok bliz reki Unzhi").

The importance of this type of popular literature upon the later formation of the plot of "Lodka" can be seen in one scene in particular. Basically, this scene consists of the capture of a girl wandering in the forest by the robbers (they overhear her singing:--

"Я вечер в дюжках гуляла, грусть хотела разогнать"),

her refusal, in spite of the offer of rich gifts:--

1. See e.g. "Shaika razboinikov", Rosskii fol'klor, p. 367; "Lodka", Berkov, p. 147; "Shlyupka" No. 1, Onchukov; etc.
2. Infra p. 431 ff.
4. Ibid.
to marry the Ataman or become his mistress and her subsequent imprisonment or death. There are numerous variations on this scene, some of which indicate a confusion of disparate sources. The girl in question is known by different names, Mariya, Mashen'ka, Raisa, Sophia, Ksenya, etc., and her background varies from version to version: she is a priest's daughter, a prince's daughter, or from a Boyar's family:

"Я села Царского,
Рода боцарского;
Мать моя даря,
Зовут меня Марья." ¹

The most significant variation here is perhaps in the text of the "Drama o Emake" where a sharper and more modern note is heard. Here the girl is the daughter of a washerwoman who feeds her family by washing clothes for the children of rich folk.⁵ The girl in several versions is not found in the forest but captured while travelling with her father, a merchant:

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1. "Shaika razboinikov" No. 1, Biryukov, p. 44.
4. "Mashen'ka", p. 120.
5. "Drama o Emake", p. 257.
"По чистому полю едет карета, 
В этой карете сидит девица, 
Распевает, словно райская птица."  

This is the incident in which Vsevolodskii-Gerngross saw the link with Pushkin's "Razboiniki". A further regular addition to this scene, probably, indeed, part of the original, is the search for the missing girl by her brother or fiancé, usually an officer who later is killed by the Ataman in a duel. Among the most detailed scenes of this type and one revealing by its style and language its closeness to a popular literary rather than folk source, is to be found in Sipovskii's "Lodka". The scene opens with the officer coming upon his beloved, Sophia, in the forest on her father’s estate. After a brief exchange of amorous sentiments they part and Sophia is captured. Shortly afterwards the officer returns to look for her:—

" - О божественная София, куда ты скрылась? Или холодная могила скрыла тебя, или сие адские чудовища похитили тебя."

At this point he too is captured by the robbers and shot. In the verbose, although naively expressed language of this scene:—

" - Как пленительно ваши взоры проникают грудь мою,"

the exclamatory, ecstatic tone:—

" - О божественная София!", " - О восторг, о очарование!"

1. "Shaika Razboinikov" No. 1, Biryukov, p. 44.
one hears the echo of the sentimental novels of the late eighteenth century. One feels that such a scene would not be too out of place, for instance, in Karamzin's "Natal'ya, boyarskaya doch'". Another theme, clearly of literary origin, is that centring on the fortunes of a family of impoverished landowners, the Preklonskii's. This theme is found particularly in Golovachev and Lashchilin's Don collection (see "Ataman Durya", "Emak", "Konets Sem'i Preklonskikh"). In the third of these plays the drunkard and reprobate Preklonski is discovered, in spite of his attempt to escape disguised as a monk, and forced to join the band. In other versions, however, we only see the later part of the story in which the old man is offered the captive girl as a wife. He recognises a medallion round her neck and realises that she is his long-lost daughter:-

" - Ба, да, ба! Дочь моя, кровь моя. А атаман хочет на ней женить меня."  

The pathos of such scenes is heightened by judicious use of sentimental ballads and romances such as the song by which the girl betrays her presence to the robbers:-

"Я вечер в лужках гуляла . . . "

or the ballad sung by the officer and choir for the benefit of his fiancée just before they are captured in the first scene of Volkov's "Tsar Maximillian":-

"Ты куда, мой друг, стемнился . . . ?"

CHAPTER VIII:
THE "BARIN"

I have already pointed out how in certain scenes of the play "Lodka" an antipathetic, even violent attitude towards the local landowner was expressed. This is not merely an isolated incident for in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries one of the butts of popular satire was the landed aristocracy, which found expression both in humorous folk-literature and in the MS satires from which was drawn much of the material of the Urban Democratic Theatre. Such, for example, were the MS tales "Povest' Pakhrinskoi Derevni" and "Skazanie o Derevne Kiselikhe" in which a quick-witted peasant outwits the local landowner and helps to feed his serfs who are dying of hunger, or the "Skazanie o nekoev gospojine" in which the landlord questions his bailiff about the progress of his estates.¹

Variations upon this theme based upon a mixture of influences from folk and other types of popular literature entered the repertoire of the folk-theatre too, some possibly as early as the eighteenth century and others during the nineteenth century when continuing deterioration in the fortunes of the peasants and many of the smaller

landowners provided new elements of satire. Among the simplest examples of it in the folk-theatre and one of the most original thematically is the game "Igra v Barina", popular among the young folk of the villages. The action consists of the following: the coachman who accompanies the barin approaches the lads in the audience and asks which of them want to get married. Those who do have then to ask permission of the barin (possibly a remnant of feudal practices). He, being deaf, does not understand immediately as in place of "Жениться"
he hears "телиться" and "ягниться".

When each lad has chosen his girl the latter are presented, much against their will, to the barin who tried to kiss them.

The fun of the game consists partly in the grotesque and intimidating appearance of the barin:

"Человек необыкновенной толщины, в высокой шапке, с лицом, густо вымазанным сажей, и с длинным чубуком в руках."

He is made to look as stupid and gross as possible and always tries to rub the soot on his face off on the girls who come to kiss him. His "coachman" too provides amusement by riding round on a stick, lashing out not only at the "horse" but at any girls in the audience who cross his path. 1

One of the most common forms taken by plays on this theme is that of a satirical dialogue between two characters, the landowner in somewhat soiled finery and his bailiff or starosta in rags. The conversation is based upon questions from the barin about his estates (since he has not been near the place for years his own knowledge is of course abysmal) and the starosta’s ironical answers. Taking advantage of the barin’s deafness and stupidity he describes in a series of paradoxical statements the terrible conditions prevailing on the estate, the poor crops, lack of agricultural implements, the poverty of the peasants, etc. Here are some typical extracts from such a dialogue:—

"Барин: — Ну расскажи, дядя староста, откуда ты?
Староста: — С вашей новой деревни.
Б.: — Ну, как в деревне мужики поживают?
Ст.: — Порайто доробно поживает: с ноожи на ноожу попрыгивает, у семи дворов один топор . . .
. . . . . . . . .
Б.?: — У наших крестьян и посев большой бывает?
Ст.: — Порайто большой.
Б.: — А как большой?
Ст.: — В полосу зерно, в борозду друго, и посев весь.
Б.: — . . . А здак у них урожай хорошей бывает?
Ст.: — Порайто хорошей, боерин-батюшко.
Б.?: — А как велик?
It is probable that these dialogues had a factual basis since it was common practice for a visiting landowner to summon his bailiff who would present him with an official description of the progress of work on the estate. We find examples of this practice in Russian literature. In Turgenev's story "Burmistr", for example, Arkadii Pavlich visiting his village Shipilovka after a long absence asks the bailiff about the state of the crop, the yield and a variety of other points about the running of the estate with which he was completely out of touch. Although in fact all these things are in order the barin's lack of interest in the affairs of his villagers is brought out in another way. The villagers are oppressed by the tyranny of the "burmistr" Sofron:-

" - Да что ж они на него не жалуют?
- Экста! Варину-то что за нужда! Недоимок не бывает, так ему что? . . ." 2

The indifference of many absentee landlords to the fate of their lands or peasants was also expressed in folk-tales and anecdotes. In Afanas'ev's collection of folk-anecdotes there is one from the Ukraine which tells of the visit of an absentee landlord who has been away so

long that his villagers no longer remember what he looks like. One of the peasant-women is so curious to find out that she makes her way to the big house, but all she sees is the master's dog which he has left sitting in the carriage. When asked on her return about the barin's appearance she replies:

"- Да який! Зовсім я не наш барбос, тільки у ні довжі.

The "servant and master" theme was well known in Russian popular and folk-literature, as in the "Skazka o khozyaine i robotnike" in which the master tells his servant to buy eggs and cook them very lightly. The servant, afraid that they won't turn out right, keeps on trying them until only three are left. The master, furious, asks how he managed to eat them and the servant eats the remainder to demonstrate how it was done. Where this theme occurs in the folk-theatre there may have been a certain amount of influence from the plays based upon the Italian commedia dell'arte popular in the democratic theatre of the eighteenth century. There is very strong similarity between the scene with the Jew and the Cossack involving the buying of fish at the market in "Tsar Maximillian" (Abramov) and "Kherlikin i Shlyakhtich" (No. 2 in Tikhanov's collection of interludes). Here the servant is sent out to buy fish but trips up and scatters it

2. I.S. Abramov, "Tsar' Maximilian: svyatochnaya komediy" (SPb. 1904), p. 28.
3. F.N. Tikhanov, op. cit.
over the floor. An argument ensues between master and man over the cost of the fish.

One of the earliest references to the "master and man" theme in the Russian folk-theatre dates to the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century in the childhood recollections of A.A. Shakhovskoi:

"Я ещё помню, что в доме бабки моей слуги представляли "комедию": выходили на средину комнаты, один — будто господином в самом нарядном платье, какое мог достать, другой — его слугой в лохмотьях, и разговор начался.

Господин — Малой подай водки алоей!
Слуга — да где сударь она стоит?
Гос. — В постели.
Слуга — да не чорт ли её поставил?

Я забыл прочее, но помню, что этот разговор и в таких же виräхах с появлением мальчика, одетого горничной девушки, продолжался, по крайней мере, с полчаса в насмешку над промотавшимся помещиком."¹

One can also find examples of it in the puppet-theatre. In Chish's shadow-theatre of the 1860s in Toropets among the comic scenes there is the familiar dialogue between the barin and his

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Similarly one of the popular scenes after the serious part of the Siberian vertep was one in which the stupid and vain Polish Shlyakhtich was made to look foolish by his impudent servants.

An interesting example of the extent to which these satirical dialogues had become an integral part of the repertoire of folk-amusements can be seen in the following description told to Opochinin by an old woman from the village of Kuznetsov (in the Rybinskii uezd of the Yaroslavl government). Here the theme is performed in the manner of a khorovod which disintegrates abruptly at the end into a chasing game with the boys in hot pursuit of the girls:

"В середину круга, состоящего из парней и девиц, выходили двое наиболее речистых и бойких молодцов, должностновавших изображать Алёнку малого и Варина голого, они принимали каждый соответствующее своей роли положение и, при общем смехе стоящих в кругу, а также и посторонних зрителей, сходившихся со всей деревни, вели такой разговор..."

Although a common element runs through all the "anti-barin" playlets and tales, it is also possible to discern certain differences in attitude from one to another. Among the humorous monologues of

2. E.N. Opochinin, op. cit., p. 284.
the eighteenth century there were many mocking the bankrupt Moscow or St. Petersburg dandy who in spite of his airs and graces cannot conceal his tattered appearance. This fairly mild poking of fun at the discrepancies between the financial position and the haughty behaviour and condescending manner of members of the impoverished minor aristocracy towards their supposed inferiors can be felt in some of the scenes in the folk-repertoire. In several versions of "Lodka" and in some individual plays (e.g. "Mninyi barin")¹ the opening scene is set in a wayside tavern (traktir) where an officer or barin enters and begins by asking for the best room, the best wine (Champagne, Chateau Lafitte) and the best food. When told the cost, however, he is forced to change his mind:—

"Барин: — Шампанское есть у вас?
Афонька: — Есть, барин, самое лучшее, петербургское.
Барин: — Пожалуй, мне стакан холодной воды." ²

A note of keener approbation, however, enters into those scenes where the results of the barin's lack of funds and lack of interest in the well-being of the estate and its tenants reflect not only upon himself but also upon those who depend on him. Here the satire becomes an unconscious protest against the whole structure of the feudal society. Not only are his lands producing no crops through

lack of proper equipment, attention and supervision but the peasants who live on them are dying of starvation:

"Барин: - ... скажи мне, собрал ли ты с крестьян оброк?
Староста: - Собрал, барин батюшко.
Б.: - Поскольку и с кого именно? (Староста внимает из сапоги палку с зарубками и говорит:)
- Слушай, барин батюшко, сколько с кого именно.
Б.: - Слушай. Читай.
Стар.: - С Хомки грош, с Ерёмин грош, а с Ворфоломейки одну копейку.
Б.: - Почему у него мало?
Стар.: - Да он голый, как бес,
     По 3 дня хлеба не ест,
     А ребятишек-то полна изба." 1

Scenes of actual hatred and violence may also have occurred in the folk-theatre although examples of these are not always properly authenticated. In "Skomorosh'i igrishcha XVII v.", 2 the vices of two members of the "privileged classes" are portrayed: the greed of the merchants and the corruption and callousness of the voevoda who accepts bribes from but refuses the petitions of the poor peasants, who, not unnaturally, take revenge in their own way:

"Из ряда скоморохов высаживало двое других, садились

1. Ibid., pp. 363-364.
2. F.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII-XX vv., pp. 43-44.
воеводе на плечи и начали его тузить, приговаривая;
- Ой, боярин, ой воевода! Любо тебе было поминать
да людей безвинных обижать! ... Ну-ка, брат вези нас
на расправу с самим собой."

Although P.N. Berkov includes this among his collection of
folk-plays from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries it is not at
all certain whether or not it was in fact a folk-play. This version
is taken from an article, "Skomorokhi na Rusi", by M. M-N. (Illyustriro-
vannayagazeta 1868, No. 3 for 18th Jan., p. 38), where it was quoted
without reference to its origin.¹ Two other references to the play
known to me personally come in P.O. Morozov's article on the
folk-theatre² and in Golovachev and Lashchilin's Narodnyi teatr na
Donu, both of which could well have been taken from the same source
as Berkov's version.

Another decidedly aggressive play is the "Samboinnye knuty",³
in which the barin is outwitted by a cunning Cossack who sells
"automatic whips". He warns the barin that they only beat those
"who live by deception and lies". When the barin sets out to thrash
his farm-labourers he finds that the whip beats not them but himself
and the scene ends with the threatening cries of the peasants:—

2. P.O. Morozov, "Narodnaya drama," in Istorinya russkogo teatra,
According to Golovachev and Lashchilin this play was written down as late as 1937 from a Cossack woman in Stalingrad oblast', whose father and husband had taken part in this and other plays during the second half of the nineteenth century. It is, of course, possible that such a play did exist among the Don Cossacks but because of its narrow sphere of influence and comparatively late appearance it can hardly be said to belong to the main core of the Russian folk-theatre. Moreover the authenticity of some the plays in this collection is suspect.

Although many of these scenes, particularly the dialogue between barin and starosta, appeared independently it is probable that a number of them at one time formed the separate scenes of a single drama, which later became split up. In a number of versions, the dialogue between barin and starosta, the recital of all the ills which have befallen the village during his absence (the house burnt down, the death of his favourite horse, the death of his mother, etc.), the dispute between barin and tavern-keeper over the cost of food and drink and other episodes are linked together quite naturally during the master's stay at the local inn. ¹

¹ See e.g. S. Chesalin, op. cit.; and "Shaika razboinikov" No. 1, Biryukov.
The humour of all these scenes depends to a large extent upon a number of techniques in the language structure of the dialogues as well as the caricatured, grotesque appearance and behaviour of the main characters.¹

¹ See ch. xv.
Sten'ka Razin was not the only historical character to figure in the Russian folk-theatre. Another play known to have been popular among the soldiers, although with nothing like the sphere of influence of either "Loška" or "Barin" centres round the Emperor Napoleon and the campaign of 1812. "Kak frantsuz Moskvu bral" was presumably compiled shortly after the 1812 campaign, or at least at a time when the events of the campaign were still fresh enough in the minds of people to give rise to such an expression of patriotic fervour.

It is a satirical description of Napoleon's attempt to capture Moscow and the nature of the opposition he encountered. Its material is drawn partly from popular anecdotes of the time, half fact, half invention, about the stupidity and cowardice of the French and the bravery and patriotism of the Russians, partly from the satirical folk-pictures and cartoons such as those depicting the ignominious flight of the French from Vasilisa, the female village elder, or the lamentable state of the kitchens at the French general headquarters during the occupation of Moscow, and partly from a somewhat naive and muddled interpretation of the historical facts all strung together in the manner and style of the folk-theatre in general and interspersed
with stock characters and situations from the comic repertoire.

The play opens with a discussion between Napoleon and his adjutant about the course of the campaign, in which the size of the Russian army, the number of divisions captured and Alexander's Manifesto are all mentioned. There follow two scenes based upon patriotic anecdotes of the time. In the first we hear of the sacrifice of Countess A.A. Orlova-Chesmenskaya (here called "Osoba grafa Orlova-docho' Ichmenskogo") who volunteered all her jewels towards the war effort, and the Russian prisoner who, imitating the actions of Cevolus, cut off his right hand so that he could not be made to fight for Napoleon. This action was commemorated both in anecdote and folk-pictures.¹ The second scene deals with the capture, temptation and execution of a certain General Potemkin (sic!). Napoleon offers him an honourable position in the French army and when he refuses has him taken away to prison and later executed. Berkov suggests that the anachronistic appearance of Catherine's famous general in the 1812 campaign may be due to a confusion of family names. The plot of this scene is reminiscent of the deeds of the Smolensk partisan P.I. Engelgardt. Potemkin's sister married into the Engelgardt family and the younger generation of this line were considered as the "nephews of Potemkin". Engelgardt was considered

¹. See, for instance, pictures like the one depicting "A Russian Cevolus - who cut off his own hand, that he might not serve Napoleon, the enemy of the fatherland" (D.A. Rovinskii, op. cit., Bk. IV, Vol. XXVI, p. 445.)
something of a national hero and his deeds may have inspired the play.¹ However, it is also a fact that in the historical songs and other examples of folk-literature based upon historical events and characters confusion of names and dates is always prevalent; popular heroes being moved from one period to the other. I have already referred to this feature in the historical songs and "Lodka", where Stepan Razin, Ermak, Fugachev and Grishka Otrep'ev all appeared together.

The main part of the plot ends with two scenes depicting Napoleon's defeat. He discusses with Colincourt the fate of the thousands of wounded French soldiers who must somehow be returned to France. Colincourt suggests that they should simply be poisoned to save the expense of transporting them home or building a hospital to accommodate them. Colincourt appears alongside Napoleon as a butt for Russian satire in the folk-pictures of the period.²

The play ends with Napoleon and his army in full flight before the furious pitch-forks of a band of ferocious peasant-woman partisans (an obvious reference to Starostikha Vasilisa, immortalised in numerous folk-pictures, many of which can still be seen in the collection of the Kutuzov cottage museum in Moscow).

1. P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII-XX vv., pp. 334, 335, etc.
2. See e.g. "Rytsarskoe poezdka Napoleona iz Varshavy s Kolenkyrom i Dyurokom."
Various other scenes, small playlets and games deriving their content from historical or social sources are known to have formed a part of the folk-theatre repertoire, appearing sporadically for brief periods of time and in restricted localities. But on the whole, there are too few extant texts and too little available material on these to warrant more than a fleeting reference. There is for example the series of scenes based upon the adventures of the popular hero "Kazak Chigusha" (Kazak Chigusha i monakh", "Kazak Chigusha i Okrutnoi Ataman", etc.) which are given in the collection Narodnyi teatr na Donu,¹ and "Velikiy grekh vodka pit'", a comic scene popular in the Urals.² In both this scene and "Kazak Chigusha i monakh" the clergy are singled out for satirical treatment. In the first the Father Superior of the monastery and his two monks, both bearded and venerable in appearance, try to take a swig from a bottle of vodka instead of concentrating their attention on the holy book which each holds, while the others are not watching. In the second, the Cossack unmasks a monk who is found near his monastery carrying a large sack, supposedly full of cabbages but in fact containing a couple of girls for the monks' pleasure. Chigusha, bold, impudent and invariably master of the situation, is clearly a descendant, albeit totally divorced from his historical origins, of the popular vertepe

1. V. Golovachev and B. Lashchiiin, op. cit.
2. Biryukov, op. cit.
character, the zaporozhets. Such scenes are, however, only of marginal interest to the student of the folk-theatre.

Before the chapters on "Lodka", "Barin" and "Kak frantsuz Moskвуbral", the folk-theatre has been discussed mainly with regard to its evolution within or away from ritual drama. These three plays, on the contrary, reveal a stage of development at which the creators of the folk-drama were able to work independently from ritual although perhaps not entirely forgetting ritual antecedents. The life of the village, the social structure, social conditions, history and politics, literature and music — all these considerations totally unconnected with the suppressed and almost forgotten pagan motivation of the "drama" of the mediaeval and pre-mediaeval village society, yet vital to the interests of the modern peasantry, began to be reflected in their dramatic entertainments. In the variants of "Barin" one sees the theatre used as a means to reflect political and social realities, in particular the facts of life in a poor village with an absentee landlord, and, what is perhaps more important, as a means to comment on and judge them. The crops are bad, there are no tools, no horses to plough the fields, too little flour produced, the hens do not lay well and the unlucky are even likely to die of starvation. The picture is presented not realistically but satirically
by the way in which the facts are selected and the way in which they and the barin himself are presented to the public. Although at first sight "Barin", even in the more organised variants, appears to be little more than a series of comic dialogues loosely strung together by threads of thematic similarity, its construction is in fact a little more ingenious, depending for its effect not only upon the verbal skill of the servant, starosta, etc., but upon a series of paradoxical situations. There is, for instance, the contrast between the way in which the words of the servant are heard and interpreted by the audience and the master respectively; the paradox of the cunning of the servant and the stupidity of the master, the paradox of the relative social positions of the two main characters and the relationship in which they actually stand to one another. However, from a dramatic and aesthetic point of view "Lodka" is much more complex. Social notes are apparent here too, particularly in the scenes of the descent of the robber band upon the house of the rich landowner or merchant. In the "Drama о Ermake",⁠¹ where the plots of "Lodka" and "Barin" have become confused, Afon'ka Malyi warns his master that Ermak will soon come and avenge the ills of the peasants:—

" - Скоро он вас - хлоп! Вот вам и хлоп."

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But this is only a subordinate factor. "Lodka" is essentially a drama for entertainment. It provides elements of adventure, danger, romance, the exotic, divorced from everyday realities, yet at the same time expressing in a way, through the popularity of the Ataman hero, the strong, ruthless leader of an anarchical movement against the forces of order and authority and to a certain extent of the oppressed against the oppressors, the same sorts of hopes and ideals which induced the peasants to support leaders like Pugachev in the eighteenth-century uprisings. "Lodka" has action, a variety of characters and situations, alternating moods, violence, anger, laughter, pathos. It is above all a work which is basically the product of fantasy. In it historical characters mingle with characters from popular fiction and with stock characters of the folk-theatre. There is no attempt either here or in "Kak frantsuz Moskvi bral" at historical accuracy. Razin and Pugachev, Potemkin and Napoleon, meet as contemporaries and no-one is astonished. The folk-theatre is not concerned with historical or objective reality. It exists according to its own conventions and peculiar logic. These conventions impose themselves upon the synthesis of themes, ideas, characters, songs, jokes drawn from many fields which form the nucleus of each drama. It is these conventions which allow the historical figure Napoleon to take on the features of one of the stock characters of the folk-theatre, the "Tsar-tyrant", typified by Tsar Maximillian and Herod, from the vertep. Thus the conflict between the Emperor
and Potemkin develops along the same lines as that between Maximilian and his son Adolf. He tries to bribe him with rewards and promises of honours. On his refusal he is flung into prison with almost exactly the same command as is Adolf by his father:

"- Отвесь Потемкина в темную темницу — не утолит ли он своё лютое сердце и не победит ли он своей гордости." 1

The gravedigger is summoned to remove the body just as he removes that of Adolf and the dead knights in "Tsar Maximillian" or a fallen brigand in "Lodka". It is the same inner logic which allows Tsar Herod to become identified with Tsar Maximillian in some hybrid versions of the two plays in which they usually figure, which allows the starosta in "Barin" to become one of the robbers of the brigand band, which allows Afon'ka Malyi to threaten his unjust master with retribution from Ermak, 2 which lets Tsar Maximillian and the Ataman merge into one character with Adolf appearing as the robber's son:

"Гнедка с кобылой утаци, за них сто двадцать получили, прирятал денежки я к месту, засватал Машеньку-невесту. Захотелось мне получить свадебку сыграть, полез я деньги воровать." 3

2. Supra p.324.
The plays mentioned in this section, as well as the more important "Tsar Maximillian", all form part of the repertoire of the Russian folk-theatre. As a complete section is devoted to the common characteristics of this tradition along with the methods of acting and presenting the plays at a later stage in this work, I shall not attempt to go into more detail about them here.  

1. See Section Five.
SECTION FOUR

NON-RITUAL DRAMA: II. "TSAR MAXIMILLIAN"

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CHAPTER X

"TSAR MAXIMILLIAN": AN OUTLINE

Up to this point a variety of embryonic phenomena and already emergent, although primitive, forms of the Russian folk-theatre have come under scrutiny; remnants of pagan rituals, "work processes" converted into word, music and rhythm, dramatised songs, everyday scenes and people adapted into a public entertainment, the transition of primitive church drama from its ecclesiastical sources to the folk-milieu through the medium of the puppet-theatre, and many others. The wide variety of dramatic knowledge and experience gained in these exercises and preserved in the minds and hearts of the people for so long, in spite of persistent and ferocious persecution by church and state, reveals itself to no greater advantage in Russia than in the folk-play "Tsar Maximilian".

Before proceeding to an examination of various theories as to the place and time of origin of the play and its literary antecedents and contemporaries I should like to give a brief outline of the scenes and characters which appear in different versions. ¹

¹. The variants made use of in Section IV will be found listed in the Appendix.
The central theme of the play consists of the religious conflict between the pagan father Tsar Maximillian and his Christian son Adolf. The latter, three times summoned to adore the pagan gods, three times refuses. He is fettered by a blacksmith, sent to prison on bread and water or banished to the wilderness to reconsider his disobedience and finally he is executed by Brambeus (Burmail, Brambivul, Branbeul, etc.), the court executioner, a knight who has been kept in prison for thirty-three years (thirty-five, thirty-six) and is released specifically for this deed.

In this fundamental conflict the two opposing elements of regal power, perverted to dictatorship, and Christian humility, leading to martyrdom, are clearly depicted. Thus, on the one hand, we have the assertion of royal authority in Tsar Maximillian's introductory monologue about his power and far-flung military victories -

"— Просил я все вниз страны и покорил пред своей державою Испанию, Германию, Неметчину, Туретчину, и все чужестранцы покорныя пред мою державою. Кто над царями царь, над рыцарями рыцарь, над повелителями повелитель, как не я, грозный царь Максимьян." ¹ and his right to judge his subjects, including Adolf, to punish or to pardon; in the scene of his enthronment and investment with the royal

regalia, symbols of his power, brought to him with pomp and ceremony by his faithful pages; in the subservient speech and actions of his deputy, the Skorokhod-feld'marshal. On the other hand, there is the pathos and weakness of Adolf, loved by the people and defended in vain by his friend and executioner Brambeus, who after the execution himself commits suicide from grief:

" - Кого любил, / Того и убил, / сам себя погубил. / 0, нет! Не жить мне более / на этом белом свете! / 0, ты, ржавое железо, / произи, произи ты грудь мою!" 1

Occasionally, the death of Adolf is followed by a mock funeral.2

In some variants,3 the Tsar's attitude towards his son is reinforced by the demands of his second wife, a pagan goddess. In one version4 we see portrayed Maximillian's proposal, sent by messenger, and her acceptance on condition that he and his subjects will accept her faith. The marriage of the father, like the funeral

3. E.g. (a) I.S. Abramov, "Tsar' Maksimilian", in Izvestiya O R.Ya. S. Bk. 3 (SPb. 1904); (b) A. Gruzinskii, "Tsar' Maksimilian", in Etnograficheskoe obogrenie (M. 1898), Bk. 33, No. 3; (c) V. Kostin, "Tsar' Maksimilian", in Etnograficheskoe obogrenie (M. 1898), Bk. 37, No. 2; (d) Onchukov - Variant I; (e) Vinogradov - Variant IV.
of the son, is sometimes celebrated with a mock ceremony.¹

Adolf himself, and his supposed subversive activities, are in a number of variants betrayed to the Tsar² (by his step-mother, by King Mikes, by an anonymous slanderer). Adolf is not, however, completely without friends for in at least three versions³ his cause is pleaded by a foreign ambassador (Крымский посол, Краснокий посол) or, in other versions, by one or other of the warriors who appear later in the text. In one text he is even betrayed by his younger brother.⁴

Closely connected with the central plot are several comic scenes of an interlude nature which recur at different times throughout the play. The most important figure⁵ here is the grave-digger

1. Vinogradov – Variant III.
2. See, e.g.: (a) P.N. Berkov, "Odna iz stareishikh zapisei Tsarya Maksimiliana," in Russkii fol'klor, materialy i issledovaniya, IV (M.-L. 1938); (b) N. Onchukov, "Tsar Maksem'yan," in Severnye narodnye dramy (SPb. 1911); (c) Н.Н. Vinogradov, "Narodnaya drama Tsar' Maksem'yan i ego nepokorny syn Odof'," Izvestiya O.R.Ya.S, Vol. X, 1905, Bk. 2, in P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII–XX vv (M. 1953); (d) A.I. Myakutin, "Tsar Maksimiliyan," in Posni orenburgskikh kazakov, IV (SPb. 1910); (e) Vinogradov – Variant I.
3. (a) Onchukov – Variant I; (b) Berkov – Variant I; (c) Berkov – Russkii fol'klor.
5. He is absent in only one of the texts known to me, i.e. the Volkov variant.
Markushka, who is summoned to remove the bodies of Adolf and Brambeus, and later those of the dead knights. Along with Markushka appear several other characters, his friend, another grave-digger, his old woman, a tailor, the devil, a doctor, and a variety of humorous antics take place — the measuring of the body for the coffin, the sewing of a hat or sheepskin coat (tulup) for Markushka as a reward for his work. The most important of the characters thus drawn into the play is, however, the doctor —

"Я есть лекарь,
Из-под каменного моста аптечарь,
Болятки вынимая,
Чирки вставляю,
Старых на молодых переделяю:" 3

who is called to cure Markushka of his aches and pains or to tend the wounds of the fallen knights. He is sometimes accompanied by his assistant, Pashka-fel'dsher, whose drunkenness further adds to the hilarity. The scene which follows the doctor's appearance takes the form of a mock examination of the patient with ridiculous remedies offered for imaginary illnesses.

The second part of "Maximillian" consists basically of a series of duel-scenes (rytsarskoe shturmovanie) linked only tenuously with

1. Vinogradov — Variant III.
2. See, e.g., Vinogradov — Variant II, and the Kostin and Gruzinskii texts.
the preceding part, between the tsar's champion Anika the warrior, and a variety of enemies who come to overcome Maximillian and capture the city Anton-grad. These include such characters as the Black Arab (in 11 variants), the Zaeiulan (in 9 versions), King Mamai with his nephew (13 versions), the last of whom demand tribute from Maximillian and send him challenging letters. Of these scenes the most developed is that with King Mamai which is a dramatised version of the Mamaevo poboishche well known to Russian mediaeval and folk literature. Anika is consistently victorious and a "triumph" is ordered in his honour.

A similar scene to the above in construction, yet differently motivated is that between Venus (Venera) and Mars (Mars, Mareta). They too fight and Venus, defeated, is left to the mercy of her enemy until her brother appears to defend her. On occasions Venus is saved, on others her brother is killed, in others again Mars himself is defeated by Anika the warrior.

"Tsar Maximillian" usually ends on a highly moral note with the constantly victorious knight Anika, struck down in his turn by Death with her scythe. Anika at first challenges her boldly like the others, then, horrified at the inevitability of destruction, begs for just a little longer to live - three years, three months, three days, or even three hours - but all in vain.
The problems facing scholars of this somewhat amorphous collection of scenes are considerable. There is for example the problem of deciding when it was first written and performed. Without more detailed documentary evidence it is impossible to date the play exactly although many historians of folk-literature and the theatre have agreed in naming the early-mid-18th century as its probable birth-time. Extant variants of "Tsar Maximillian" cannot be dated beyond the first quarter of the 19th century, but we do have references to performances before this. For instance after 1793 when the Tobol'sk Archbishopric school became a seminary the pupils performed plays at Christmastide including "Maximillian" and "Tsar Herod". On extremely tenuous evidence Vsevolodskii-Gerngross quotes 1810 as one of the earliest mentions of the existence of "Tsar Maximillian". It occurs in the play "Mityukha Valdaiskii" by the Decembrist writer P.N. Semenov, when one of the characters, recounting his knowledge of the theatre, speaks at the same time of the popular "lubochnye romany" and a play "about some Tsar or other". We hear again of the folk-play in the thirties of the 19th century, in Leskov's story "Grabezhi", set in this period, when the narrator explains:

2. Vsevolodskii-Gerngross, Russkaya ustnaya narodnaya drama, p. 100.
"Нет маменька, как вам угодно, но я дяденьку без родственной услуги не оставлю. Неужели я буду неблагодарный как Альфре́д, которого ряженые солдаты по домам представляют." 1

Alfred is possibly an alternative form of Adolf, the hero of "Tsar Maximillian", but on the other hand the theme of the context of the quotation is the ingratitude of one relative (the nephew) in refusing his aid to another (the uncle) which does not seem to correspond to the situation in the play.

In 1863 an unknown author published an article in "Iskra" (No. 6, pp. 82-83) in which he gave the first eyewitness account of the play. The revival of interest in folk-lore towards the end of the 19th century led to the first appearances of the play in print, in versions collected by amateur observers as well as professional folklorists all over the country and published by various ethnographical journals, the Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, the Sbornik O. R. Ya. S. Kievskaya Starina, Zhivaya Starina and others; a large number of such texts were printed during the 1880s, 1890s and the first decade of the 20th century. However, performances of "Tsar Maximillian" began to die out from the beginning of this century. The advent of mass entertainment, the break-up of rural seclusion and the upheavals of war, revolution and civil war hastened this process and eventually

1 N.S. Leskov, "Grabezhy", Sobranie sochinenii v odinnadtsati tomakh vol 8, p. 128.
closed the door irrevocably on all such phenomena. Only sporadic performances were noted in the twenties, in outlying districts. In 1937 a Polish version, "Maskarada", was recorded in the village of Tachewka (gmina Tachwa, powiat Tarniœsk). Among the last seen performances of "Tsar Maximillan" must be the one filmed in the early 1960s by a group of ethnography students from Moscow in Gorky oblast'. The actors in this case were workers from a collective farm who were playing from memory the parts familiar to them from the days of their youth in the 1920s. This film, which I had the good fortune to see, was shown at the Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences history department in Moscow in 1963.

A run of at least 150 years is no mean achievement for any play, but the continued popularity of "Tsar Maximillan" over the years among simple audiences is as unquestionable as it is extraordinary. It penetrated to all sections of the "people", being played by artisans, factory workers, sailors, peasants and especially by soldiers. Like "Lodka", versions of it have been found scattered over the length and breadth of European Russia from the Kherson government in the extreme south of the Ukraine to the Onegh and

2. The extreme importance of the military in the dissemination and development of the play will be dealt with in Section V.
3. See, e.g., Smirnitskii, op. cit.
Archangel governments in the far North, from the Orenburg district on the frontier of south-eastern European Russia to Minsk government in Western White Russia.

This dissemination of the known variants of the play over such a wide area, coupled with the fact that only a handful of variants in any one region were ever published while many other regions remained totally unexplored, makes it extremely difficult to make any definite pronouncements about its place of origin, although several suggestions have been put forward. The existence of many versions in the central belt round Moscow (the Ryazan' and Yaroslavl governments, or the Kostromskii uyezd, for example) led to the idea that the play grew up among the industrial (predominantly textile) workers in this area. Onchukov, on the other hand, stresses the importance of the sawmills in the northern maritime regions of Russia (round Archangel, for example) as a repository and dispersal point for the folk-theatre.

One point which seems to be quite clear is that the basic text of the play is written in Great Russian as opposed to White Russian or Ukrainian, although a number of features can be seen both in the content and in the language which reflect its passage across the

1. See Onchukov's texts in Severnye narodnye dramy.
2. See Myakutin's text in Peani orenburgskikh kazakov.
3. See Gruzinskii's variant.
country and the various areas in which it settled and became part of the local life. Thus in the Ukrainian and White Russian texts one finds characters which traditionally belong to the popular literature of these regions, the Jew, the Cossack, the Ukrainian Hetman, etc. Here too occurs the strongest influence from the "vertep" and the allied play of "King Herod". Several versions from the Kherson government, for instance, present "Herod" and "Maximillian" combined into one under the title "The Throne ("Tron"). Similarly, among the characters in Onchukov's first version of "Tsar Maximillian" in the North are two old men (the gravediggers Patrakei and Mokei) who, from their exchange of reminiscences, have obviously served with the Baltic fleet. Their conversation is full of nautical terminology:

"Второй старик — у нас был "Сильвестр" на семнадцать верст. У нас на марсах можно было жить, на левее был питейный дом, а на громе, там харчевня. На крюселе там была лавочка артельная."

Another text which shows signs of regional occupation is the one from the Orenburg Cossacks, which is full of influences from the Cossack

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1. See, e.g., the Gruzinskii, Abramov and Volkov variants.
2. Supra, p.245 ff.
3. Onchukov, Severnye narodnye drama, p. 29.
4. (a) *Mare* = a sort of crow's nest or platform at the top of a ship's mast.
   (b) *grot* = mainmast, mainsail.
   (c) *kryusel* = the mizen-top.
way of life. Apart from references to the military milieu (which occur in other texts, although in this case they are particularly strong) there is a certain familiarity with "horse" terminology. In a comic scene the old man asks:

"Где же мой сивенький, кауренький жеребчик?"

These are two not very common "horse" colours, the latter of Tartar origin. A little further on he says:

"Погляжу, мои ли мета-то." ¹

As far as the language of "Tsar Maximillan" is concerned there are certain problems in deciding upon the nature of the basic text or deviations from it since many of the texts now extant do not truly reflect the language of their original version. The nineteenth-century copies of the play were often collected by untrained observers, unaware of the importance of exact reportage. Most of the texts were therefore copied down by them in standard Great Russian or else were communicated to them by a narrator with all regional features removed from the text for the sake of clarity. Moreover, before publication, the texts were often "bowdlerised", odd spellings were altered, obscure passages omitted or "corrected", artificial divisions into acts and scenes introduced and so on. However, it is generally agreed, on the basis of texts not so deformed, that the language of

¹. Myakutin, op. cit., p. 275.
origin was Russian. The stability of Great Russian as the language of "Tsar Maximilian" is borne out particularly by the fact that even in those places where Russian was not spoken, the language of the text remains basically unchanged. Thus Abramov says of his version (which, incidentally, he has left in its original form):

"Нужно заметить что население местечка Воронежа говорит на малорусском языке, но названная мною "комедия" всегда разъясняется на языке великорусском, впрочем не совсем чистом." ¹

Similarly, the play in the collection of White Russian folklore "Belorussskii Sbornik" ² is not written in White Russian proper but rather in Great Russian heavily influenced by a mixture of West Russian and Ukrainian phonetics and dialectal forms. Among lexical features of this nature one might note the use of the words "папошки" ³ (раношки) instead of "господа" and "изверг", ⁴ which the editor of the text suggests is a White Russian confusion of the two words "изверг" and "изуверг". Grammatical features would include the Ukrainian soft -і ending in the 3rd person singular of the verb, e.g.:

"отдыхает", "грешит", "живит".

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or the White Russian 3rd person singular present tense ending of -e where Russian would have -et, e.g.: "будь", "хоча"

(the unstressed -e being written here as -a); some phonetic points can also be seen: l > ω/ - C, and in final position in the past tense, e.g.:

"имев", "предав"

(where B presumably represents ω).

V > ω/ - C (prefix or preposition), e.g.:

"уместо" ("вместе"), "у том" ("в том").

C' j v > c' c' v : cf. "у платы" ("в плате"), and "по раздолье".

x' > r , e.g.:

"цар" , "к цару" , "цара теперь" , "рыцара" , etc.

It is also possible to find examples of the White Russian ij/yj from Common Slavonic ļ/ь , й/ь as in:

"мйо" , "выйт" ,

where we would expect ej/oj in Great Russian as in "мев" , "воют".

Abramov's Ukrainian text contains words like

"бачите", "уся", "забув", "наробил" , etc., and the gypsy's comic monologue at the end is a good example of
what Abramov meant by describing the language as "Great Russian, 
although not quite pure":-

"Умею читать, писать, рисовать и предельно кони++ов
воровать ... хуркуля, муркуля на крученью ковбасе як бы
у вас в печи сало не цвирчало, то-б до вас Изан-цыган
не зайця." 1

The Akimova text is particularly interesting from the point 
of view of language for it is written exactly as it was spoken with 
no alterations and shows definite features of the three linguistic 
groups which meet in the Saratov area. Saratov itself is situated, 
strangely enough, in the Vladimirsko-povolzhskaya group of North 
Russian dialects but it is not far from either the area of the central 
Russian dialects (eastern group) or the strong "yakan'e" group of the 
Southern Russian dialects (note, for example:

"свяную" ("своему"), "повлявляти" ("повелевать"),
"яго" ("его"), "фяго" ("всего").

If one looks at texts like Kallash's No. 1, 2 or Abramov's, both 
from Chernigov government, one sees that while the regional comic scenes 
contain many Ukrainian words and expressions the "serious" part of the

1. Abramov, op. cit., p. 32.
2. V.V. Kallash, "Tsar' Maksimilian", Etnografischeskos Obozrenie, 
   Bk. XXXIX (M. 1899).
plot is in Great Russian, although a few Ukrainianisms can be found. Indeed, it is generally true of the folk-plays, in particular "Tsar Maximillian", that while serious characters try to keep as close to the literary language as possible, comic characters are free, even encouraged, to get as much local colour into their speech as they can.

Having established then that "Tsar Maximillian" is Great Russian in origin, although contaminated by White Russian and Ukrainian, the next and far greater problem is that of deciding upon the nature of the actual artistic impulse that lay behind its creation. Many theories have been put forward about this, some of a more specific nature than others. There is, for instance, the suggestion that "Tsar Maximillian" is based upon a hagiographical tale, in particular the life of the martyr St. Nikita. The main exponent of this idea is Vladimir Kallash, who suggested that the original brief framework of the story once adapted into dramatic form was expanded by the addition of a variety of extraneous elements. The often widely divergent variants which were later obtained he saw as mainly the result of the oral tradition. The play, nevertheless, retained some of the characteristics of early Petrine drama of literary origin.\[1\]

Another popular theory is that "Tsar Maximillian" is a folklorised version of some unknown religious school drama of the early 18th

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1. [Ibid.], p. 3.
century. While V.D. Kuz'mina, for instance, is content to consider the basis for the play as simply "a non-extant early 18th-century drama, the dramatised version of some tale about the execution by a pagan Tsar of his disobedient Christian son", other scholars have made more specific claims. Both Berkov and Vsevolodskii-Gerngross connect "Tsar Maximillian" with one school-play in particular: Dmitri Rostov's "Venets Slavnopobednosnii Velikomucheniku Dimitriyu" (1704). Both agree that there are close similarities between the two plots. Vsevolodskii-Gerngross lists the following: (1) the name of the persecutor, Maximillian, (2) the fundamental conflict between father and son, (3) military action against the Tsar, (4) Dmitri's imprisonment, (5) the intervention of a third party on his behalf (in the "Venets ..." this is Nestor, in "Tsar Maximillian" the executioner Brambeus), (6) the execution of both Nestor and Dimitri. In considering the non-religious plot of "Tsar Maximillian", in particular the many duel and battle scenes, Berkov tries to explain their presence as a later corruption of the battle between the faithful Nestor and the temptress Melei. The name Melei he thinks is a distorted form of Medeia or Megera which he equates with the Venera of "Tsar Maximillian".

1. V.D. Kuz'mina, op. cit., p. 71.
2. P.N. Berkov, "Veroyatnyi istochnik narodnoi p'esy o tsare Maximiliane i ego nepokornom syne Adol'fe," Trudy otdel'a drevne-russkoj literatury Ak. N. SSSR (M.-L. 1957), XIII.
4. P.N. Berkov, op. cit.
I.L. Shcheglov-Leontiev was one of the first to suggest that the original impulse towards the creation of "Tsar Maximillian" may have been a desire to satirise the relationship between Peter the Great and his son Alexis, a dramatic interpretation of contemporary events among the most "strikingly dramatic", as he puts it, of the Petrine period.¹

T.A. Martem'yanov adopts this idea and develops it,² putting forward various reasons to support his claim. He notes, for example, that Peter had his son executed for disloyalty (cf. Maximillian and Adolf), that Peter's second wife (later Ekaterina Alekseevna) was a disruptive influence between father and son (cf. Tsar Maximillian's second, pagan wife, Venera, who demands Adolf's conversion from Christianity); like Maximillian Peter persecuted those of another faith (i.e. the Old Believers); in the comic patriarch or priest and the parody weddings and funerals which occur in "Tsar Maximillian" he sees the influence of Peter's "Synod of Fools"; a strong connecting link between Peter and the name Maximillian he sees in the document acclaiming Peter's right to the title of Emperor —

"Титул отца отечества, Петра великого, Императора Всероссийского/принят из которых титул императорский

The fact that Peter derived the right to his title from the 16th-century German Emperor Maximilian, combined with the knowledge that the name Maximillian was commonly used among the people as a persecutor of Christians, is enough to convince Martem'yanov that the Tsar of the folk-play and the Russian emperor are one and the same.

He also reminds us that satires upon the actions of Peter were not unusual. There are for example the well-known "folk-pictures" entitled "Pogrebenie Kota", and others depicting the marriage between Peter and Catherine.

P.N. Berkov, while not accepting this theory as the origin of "Tsar Maximilian" brings forward points supporting the influence of the historical period upon the plot of the play. In a variant collected by Vinogradov one of the knights who pleads for Adolf's life and threatens to avenge his death holds the title of Roman ambassador (rimskii posol). This, he suggests, could be a reference to the complications which arose between Russia and Austria after

Alexis' death since he was married to the daughter of the Austrian (H.R.E.) Emperor.¹

Josef Gołąbek, the Polish writer on the Russian folk-theatre, also tends to support Shcheglov's idea. He imagines that originally it would have been too difficult to perform the play openly or to have it written down. It would therefore be transmitted orally through various sections of Russian society until it reached the "folk". Eventually when the political significance of the play and the reasons for the disguised names were forgotten it reappeared as the story of a Christian martyr.²

One of the most extraordinary suggestions as to the origin of "Tsar Maximilian" was given by Veselovskii who thought that the original must have been an unknown folk-tale. All the foreign names occurring in the play he imagines to be later additions while Adolf and Anika-Voin are one and the same character.³

In all such theories there are doubtless elements of truth or at least feasibility, but all suffer from being too specific in contentions based upon a conspicuous lack of concrete evidence. This is particularly true of Kallas's attitude to the "Life of St. Mikita" and Berkov's and Vsevolodsky-Gerngross's to the "Venets Dimitriyu".

1. P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama, p. 33.
Kallash for instance points to the significance of the name Maximillian and to similarities in the basic plot. Yet, as I have noted, Maximillian was an accepted popular name for any royal pagan persecutor, appearing on folk-pictures in company with other heretics and oppressors of Christianity. It is of interest to note in passing that a King Maximianus (Maximian is one of the alternative names in the folk-play) appears in the pages of the German mediaeval "Kaiser Chronik" in connection with the Martyrdom of St. Maurice.

Moreover, in order to discover the basic thematic similarity between the "Life of Nikita" and "Tsar Maximillian" it is necessary to strip the former of a considerable part of its contents since the religious plot of "Maximillian" consists only of the Tsar's refusal to accept his son's faith, the latter's imprisonment and finally execution, whereas in the hagiography Nikita is subjected to a whole series of tortures (he is beaten, burnt, flung down from a tall cliff, etc.) and temptations (by beautiful maidens, by the devil in the form of an angel); the people rise up against the Tsar, the soldiers, wizards and finally Maximillian himself are saved by a miracle. 1 The events which Kallash sees as significant can be found in many other hagiographical tales, for example in the Life of St. Egor, who also had a pagan father:

"Ен имел отца няверхаго,  
А матку христианку . . . " 

The Tsar persecutes him: 

"Лютый бу там царь.  
Ен услышав о святом Ягоры.  
Слуги посылае,  
А руце свазавши . . . " 

Egor boldly refuses to obey him: 

" _ Не убоявся свят Ягорий  
Пред царом стоявши.  
Взяе божницу, разбив . . . " 

for which act he is flung into prison: 

"Потем повелев яго  
У темницу вести,  
На колясо потягнути . . . "  

Berkov also rejects the "Life of Nikita" as a possible origin because it is not included in either of the two major Russian calendars of the saints, Dmitri Rostovskii's "Chet' i Minei" or the Archbishop Sergei's "Polnoe mesyacheslov vostoka". As apocryphal literature it was not likely to have become widely enough known to form the basis for a folk-play. In fairness to Kallash, however, it should be said that he makes no attempt to exaggerate his claims. 

The same criticism holds good for Berkov's and Gerngross's idea since the plots of school plays based upon tales of martyrdom which, although different in origin, tended to follow a certain pattern would themselves reflect this sameness. Thus, other 

scholars (notably P.G. Bogatirev) have already indicated connections between "Tsar Maximillian" and the folklorised Czech school play of "St. Dorothy". Berkov's explanation of apparent anomalies between the text of the Russian folk-play and the school play seems highly unlikely, since the duel scenes, although there are many of them, are too constant and organic in character to allow of such an interpretation. Moreover, in all the texts known to me there is no duel between Venera and Brambeus, Adolf's friend (the equivalent of Nestor), which one would certainly expect to occur frequently if Berkov's hypothesis were correct.

While not wishing to deny the possibility that a historical satire lies at the foundation of "Tsar Maximillian", it seems that most of the arguments brought forward to support it are also rather slender. When examining Martem'yanov's evidence, for instance, it is possible to rule out the influence of Peter's "Synod of Fools" upon "Tsar Maximillian" for it is well known that parody weddings and funerals were a widespread feature of the Russian folk-theatre occurring independently, in "Pakhomushka", in "Mal'bruk", in "Lodka", etc., and that such performances were known elsewhere in Europe. Secondly, the comparison between Catherine and "Venera" should not be taken too far since, in the play, it is Venera who encourages the persecution of Christians while Catherine could hardly be blamed for Peter's policy towards the "Old Believers". Thirdly, it is unlikely
that the sort of people for whom "Tsar Maximillian" was a favourite entertainment would have been aware either of the document quoted by Martem'yanov or that Peter's claim came through the German Emperor Maximillian.

Similarly Berkov's point cannot be taken as evidence since the character mentioned (the foreign ambassador) occurs only in four of the texts, that I have studied (including the text mentioned by Berkov himself). In Berkov's text from "Russkii fol'klor-materialy i issledovaniya" he is entitled the "Roman Catholic ambassador" (rimsko-katolicheskii); in "Tsar Maximillian" - Vinogradov No. 1 he is titleless; in "Tsar Maximillian" - Onchukov No. 1 he is known as the Crimean ambassador (krymskii). This being so, there is no evidence to prove a link with the H.R.E. Indeed

"римский"

is quite likely to be simply a corruption of

"крымский"

since the play is full of other allusions to Turks and Tartars, the Crimean War, Turkish wars, etc.

A close study of the texts and the historical facts of Alexis' life fails to reveal any conclusive parallels, except perhaps in the critical attitude of the people towards Tsar Maximillian's action. There were many people who even while disagreeing with Alexis' political or religious views condemned the tyrannical and unnatural
cruelty of his father and this sort of atmosphere is dearly felt in "Tsar Maximillian" also. Bamuul, the executioner's reproach to Maximillian in Kostin's version might well have been intended for Peter too:

"Ах, как жалостно, господа! Из его белого каftана течёт благородная кровь его. Посмотрите, господа, какое правосудие у царя: единственный был сын, и того с миром сжил." 1

Similarly in "Tsar Maximillian" - Vinogradov I, the people take Adolf's part:

"- Посмотри на народ, как он плачет и сожалеет с нём." 2

Whether or not such an isolated detail has any significance is difficult to say, yet the conflict between Peter and his son as expressed in folk terms in the historical songs does seem to bear some resemblance to the folk-play, although little to the historical facts. In the historical song "Semeinaya Zhizn' Petra I" the action begins with the birth and early life of Petr Alekseevich. When he decides to marry he refuses to live in Moscow and asks his father to build him a town, "Pitenburkh". Peter marries:

"Хену себе Пётр взял в земле неверной ... дочь короля шведского, Настасью королевичу,"

1. V. Kostin, op. cit., p. lll.
2. N.N. Vinogradov - Variant I, p. 29.
and at first they live happily. When the first son, Theodor, is born, Peter is warned by wise men:

"Он ведь сделает-то тебе, ведь измену, 
Он измену тебе, да он твоей вере, 
Он ведь, будет править веру старинную, 
Он старинну будет веру богомольную, — 
Богомольную хранить веру, спасенную."

When the prince grows up he informs his father that he has had a dream in which two angels came to him and told him to take the old faith:

"- Не верить вере папиной, не верить и дедовой, 
а вернуться к вере праведка."

Peter imprisons his son for three days but he refuses to give in. Peter then threatens to have him killed and the young prince dies of fright. The song ends with the banishment of the queen to a monastery and the meeting between Peter and Ekaterina Alekseevna while he is wandering with a band of carpenters.¹

That the details of the martyrdom in "Taar Maximilian" are very close to the imaginative folk-representation of similar historical events is further borne out by the resemblance between the folk-play and the death of Ivan the Terrible's son as depicted also in the

¹. V.V. Sipovskii, История русской словесности, Pt. 1, issue 1 (Petrograd 1916), pp. 97-98.
historical songs. In the song "Oh Ivane Groznom", an informer tells Ivan that his son is a traitor, to which the Tsar answers:

"Уж той ты еси Малюта Скуратинок,  
Возьми моего сына милого за белы руки его,  
За белы руки, за златы перстни.  
И поведи его на то поле на кулиного,  
Ко той яме да кровавья,  
К той доске, да к дубовья,  
Снеси ему да буйну голову,  
Принеси мне сабельку кровавую . . . " ¹

The underlined formulae are similar to those used in corresponding passages in "Tsar' Maximillian".

Veselovskii's remarks on "Tsar Maximillian" are clearly based upon a none too accurate knowledge of the play, since Adolf is by no means always in league with the robbers as is supposed in his comments on the text he has at his disposal. This is an obvious contamination from the play "Lodka". There is no connection either between the characters or actions of Adolf the martyr and Anika Voin the boastful warrior.

Among the most plausible arguments put forward about the origin of "Tsar Maximillian" are two to which many of the best-known scholars

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¹ S.I. Vasilenko and V.M. Sidel'nikov, Ustnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo russkogo naroda, (M. 1954.)
of the theatre and folk-theatre adhere. There is firstly the idea that it is the result of an adaptation from one of the popular eighteenth-century tales or ritsarskie romany, and, secondly, the idea that "Tsar Maximillian" is a typical play of the eighteenth-century school-theatre repertoire. The ritsarskie romany or povesti were translated stories (from Italian, English, etc.) dealing with the adventures and loves of knights, princes and princesses. Duels and battles between the hero and his enemies, and the intervention of mythological and fantastic characters, are also common features. Many of these tales were adapted for the stage, as they were too in Western Europe from the 16th-17th centuries, and entered the repertoire of the eighteenth-century theatre in Russia. Among such plays were the "Akt o Petre zlatyh klyuchei", "Komediya ob Indrike i Melende", "Akt ob Aleksandre i Lodvike", "O Leandre i Lyuvize", etc.

Morozov is generally regarded as the first to have noted the similarities of content and style between these tales and "Tsar Maximillian":

"Эти уцелевшие до сих пор формальные особенности комедии заставляют предполагать, что она обязана своим происхождением письму, сочиненному в прошлом столетии, может быть, переделанной из какого-нибудь рассказа, теми же актёрами-любителями, которые оставили нам
Many others have since agreed with him including Volkov, Krupyanskaya, Kuz'mina, Kallash (who concedes only that certain details such as the foreign-sounding names may have come from this source) and Akimova who notes such common features as the courtly milieu, the appearance of the mythological characters Venus and Mars, and the tragic exile of the hero, among others.  

V.D. Kuz'mina's views about the probable origin of "Tsar Maximillian", that is, that it was based upon a non-extant early eighteenth-century school drama with a religious persecution theme, were also held by a large number of well-known scholars - Vsevolodskii-Gerngross, Berkov, Sobolevskii, to mention but a few.  

These two theories are, however, by no means mutually exclusive since the school-theatres in Russia eventually came to have plays based upon rytsarskie povesti in their repertoire, but taken together they seem to emphasise the widely-held opinion that "Tsar Maximillian" first appeared as an off-shoot of some branch of the eighteenth-century theatre.

2. T.M. Akimova, op. cit.
CHAPTER XI

"TSAR MAXIMILLIAN" AND

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THEATRE IN RUSSIA

After the gradual decline in the indigenous, spontaneous dramatic entertainments of the Russian people as a result of several centuries of suppression, the Russian theatre came into its own again from the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries with a variety of new forms all of which, however, showed traces of foreign influence in varying degree. The "theatre" once again became an accepted part of life in all levels of society from the Tsar himself to the ordinary people, the peasants and urban workers.

The religious theatre of the "schools" was of course in existence before Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich introduced the secular theatre to his royal court in 1672. The School Theatre was already a flourishing feature of Ukrainian intellectual life, where it had arisen under political and religious pressure from Poland and the Jesuits. The Ukrainians, like the Jesuits, had discovered the potentialities of drama as a means of propaganda and had incorporated the writing and acting of plays into the school curriculum. Its traditions migrated to Russia with the arrival of the well-known Ukrainian dramatist Simeon Polotskii in Moscow in 1663 to teach at
what later became known as the Moscow Spiritual Academy. The plays of the School repertoire fell originally into four main categories:

1. Easter and Christmas plays (e.g. Dmitri Rostovskii's "Rozhdestvenskaya Drama");
2. Hagiographical plays (e.g. "Aleksei bozhii chelovek");
3. Moralities (e.g. Polotskii's "Komediya-pritcha o blyudnom syne"); and later
4. Panegyric plays, sometimes with a historical theme (e.g. "Slava rossiiskaya").

Although we have a fair amount of information about which School plays were performed in the Ukraine and the Russian School Theatre we know very little about how they were performed; therefore our ideas of the scenic art of this theatre are limited more or less to what we know of the Jesuit School Theatre which it must have closely resembled.

The model school play was written according to strict dramatic principles. It had three main parts: (i) prologue, often spoken by the author, (ii) the body of the play with a minimum of three acts and a maximum of five, (iii) epilogue which was often a vote of thanks to the audience for having listened. There were two main divisions, into comedy (i.e. those with a happy ending) and tragedy. Most plays were written in regular syllabic verse although there are a few in rhythmic prose. Between the acts of the plays there were often interpolated comic interludes, sometimes parodying the serious
parts, sometimes independent and showing a whole range of characters, drawn largely from everyday life.

The dramatic theory of the school theatre was obviously highly complicated and in the hands of the Jesuit theorist Lang could be worked out to a fine art. Its main influences came from a mixture of the classical theatre (specifically from the classical oratory of Cicero and Quintilian who had in turn borrowed from the classical "comic" actors), with the mediaeval religious plays many of whose dying traditions gained a new lease of life in the school theatre.

The rules governing the movements and positioning of the actors upon the school stage were strictly defined: there was a particular way of standing and walking, a particular way of addressing another actor; there was a right and a wrong way of kneeling and sitting and a variety of set gestures used to express different emotions. Thus, in anger the forehead should wrinkle, the lips tighten; the actor begins to rush about, grinding his teeth and waving his arms.

The stage itself was also quite elaborate with a division into three main parts, heaven, earth and hell; curtains were used to divide off the various locations shown in the course of the plays, painted scenery was not unknown and the use of special machinery was made to produce startling effects (thunder and lightning, flights through the air, etc.).

The actors of course were the pupils of the Schools themselves.
In their costumes an attempt was made at historical accuracy, at least according to the knowledge and understanding of the times, based largely upon West European religious iconography, while abstract figures such as "Death", with a scythe, "Anger", with a drawn sword, or various "professional" people and ranks - the soldier with sword and spear, the workman with a hammer, the king with his crown and royal regalia - were clearly distinguished by some typical symbolic object.

After Simeon Polotskii's arrival in Moscow and the beginning of the school theatre, plays were put on not only at the academy and churches but also in private houses and at the royal palace, and a process of gradual secularisation began. One of the best-known centres of the School tradition outside the academy was the hospital theatre of Dr. Bideau, in operation during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. A fair number of his students were recruited from the Spiritual Academy and brought with them a knowledge of producing and acting in school plays. The plays performed in this theatre, to which a wide range of people were admitted, were therefore largely those of the School repertoire.

The School theatre continued to exist in Russia till the fifties of the eighteenth century, suffering during the hundred and fifty or so years of its existence a constant evolution or rather relaxation both in repertoire and the scenic art. The moralities (like "Uzhasnaya izmena Slastolyubivogo Zhitiya" of 1701) and religious plays
of the early period up to the early 1700s either began to give way to or to become influenced by plays of more varied content, during the reign of Peter the Great. Feofan Prokopovich's tragi-comedy "Vladimir" (1705) introduced a new phase of school writing. The religious themes became joined with historical allegories, panegyrics, plays with a political sting (e.g. "Strashnoe izobrazhenie vtorogo prishestviya gospodnya na zemlyu", 1702), and plays based upon topical events such as "Torzhestvo Mira Pravooslavnogo", 1703, about the Northern War. Eventually too the school theatre began to borrow from the repertoire of the secular stage and dramatised knightly tales and others began to appear upon the stage. Such plays became and remained popular until the end of the School theatre's existence.

From the twenties onward the slow decline of the school theatre had begun, although with a new lease of life in Trediakovskii's plays, written while a pupil at the Moscow Academy. School-plays were still being performed sporadically in the forties and fifties, as, for example, Odrovons-Migalevich's "Stefanotokos", written for the occasion of the accession of Elizaveta Petrovna.

The introduction of a secularised theatrical tradition to Russia is, however, due more than anything to the enthusiasm of Aleksei Mikhailovich when, towards the end of his reign, he arranged for the composition and performance of the play "Esfir" for the occasion of the birth of his son. "Esfir", adapted by the Lutheran pastor Gregory of the German settlement in Moscow, who had been
charged with the task by the Tsar, from a 1620 collection of English comedies, was performed in the specially-built theatre at the village of Preobrazhenskoe on the 17th October, 1672, and became known as the "first play of the Russian theatre". Between then and the temporary liquidation of the court theatre at the death of the Tsar four years later a variety of other plays were put on, including "Tamerlan i Bayazet" (an adaptation from Marlowe's "Tamburlaine"), "Komediya o Bakhuse s Venusom", and "Komediya o Davide s Galiadom", all of which show the influence of the Anglo-German tradition; but, as access to the theatre was strictly reserved to members of the royal household and court, its repertoire could have made no impression upon the masses.

The death of Alexei Mikhailovich, although it brought to an end an era in the early Russian theatre, did not end the court theatre tradition which was resumed in the early eighteenth century by Natalia Alexeevna and other members of the royal household. The plays favoured by the Tsar's sister were mostly on biblical themes or lives of the saints (e.g. "Komediya sv. Ekateriny" or "Komediya Rozhdestvu") along with some others on temporal themes and dramatisations of the "ritsarakie romany" (e.g. "O Petre Zlatykh Klyuchey"). The plays, some of which were written by the princess herself, were performed either at Preobrozhenskoe or, later, at St. Petersburg and the audiences were drawn from a much wider sphere than those during Alexei Mikhailovich's time. Judging by observations of foreign
witnesses the acting was probably very amateurish.

Plays were also performed for Praskov'ya Fedorovna and her daughter who sometimes had the rôle of producer, at their palace in the village of Izmailovo. These were probably farcical comedies and the actors were a mixture of aristocratic young ladies and gentlemen with serfs of the household.

The further development of the court theatre in the eighteenth century presents little of interest for this study, since it consisted mainly of performances by invited troupes of foreign actors and singers, such as the Italian opera troupe sent by the King of Poland to Anna Ioannovna on the occasion of her accession in 1730, or the French actors of Serini who regaled aristocratic audiences in the forties with a repertoire of the French neo-classical theatre, or the comic opera group of Lokatelli in the late 1750s. Like Alexei Mikhailovich's theatre the later court theatre was too limited in its audiences, as well as being short-lived, to have any lasting effects outside the court.

Of much greater significance for the development of theatrical knowledge among the people and for the future of the folk-theatre itself than either the theatre of the schools or the royal court was the growth, also during the eighteenth century, of a purely popular theatrical tradition. The reign of Peter the Great saw not only the return of the court theatre but also the return of the Anglo-German
tradition to the Russian stage in what was essentially the first attempt at providing a public theatre for the people.

In 1702 after eight years on the throne Peter became more and more convinced of the significance of the theatre as, among other things, a weapon of propaganda and an instrument of education, and decided to revive interest in it. Forthwith the puppeteer Ivan Splavskii was sent to Danzig (January 1702) to find a troupe of actors, and returned in June with the well-known producer Johann Kunst and his troupe. Peter immediately ordered a new theatre to be built on the Red Square and Kunst was given a group of Russian actors to teach. This building was eventually finished in December 1702 and Kunst's troupe began performing there; on his death the following year Otto Fürst took over.

Unfortunately the Red Square theatre was not popular and performances had died out by 1707, and in 1737 it was burnt down; all this in spite of Peter's efforts to encourage his people to visit it, ordering, for instance, that during the times of performances the Kremlin gates should be left open and all those wishing to attend allowed to enter without paying the customary tax.

This brief period of the public theatre was very badly organised in spite of the apparent professionalism and experience of Kunst and his own actors. The Russian actors behaved in a most unruly manner and did not get on with their German directors. Fürst, a watch-maker
by trade, neglected his job as a dramatic teacher so that his actors were often quite without instruction in the manner of playing; moreover there was a great deal of official opposition to the theatre's existence and both producers and actors were paid only sporadically. It was probably largely for these reasons that its existence was so short.

The plays performed by the Kunst-Fürst company were, like those of Johannes Velten who had transformed the later stages of the Anglo-German theatre and whose methods were brought to Russia by Kunst, drawn from a wide variety of sources but all adapted to the tenets of the Anglo-German players. There were plays from the French neo-classic theatre (e.g. "Poroda gerkulesova" from Molière's "Amphitrition" and "O doktore bitom" from his "Le Médecin malgré lui"), plays from popular tales ("O Frantelpree, korole eipirakom"), German plays based on neo-classical lines with historico-heroic plots (e.g. Lohenstein's "Scipio Afrikan"), the sentimental tragedies of the seventeenth-century Italian playwright Cicognini, along with some panegyrics written at the express command of Peter himself ("Komediya na vzyatie Oreshka").

The serf theatres which began to appear in Russia from the second half of the eighteenth century and of which several hundred were in existence by the early nineteenth century must certainly have played a part in the development of theatrical knowledge among the people, particularly in the provinces. The small private theatres,
especially those in the country, designed for the limited circles of friends and acquaintances of the owner, most likely had little effect upon the ordinary villagers, but many of those in the towns, which were often run on commercial lines (such as those of Kamenakii and Shakhovskoi), served a useful purpose in introducing a wide section of the public to the Russian dramatic classics, Sumarokov, Kniazhnin, Vonvizin and others as well as translations from Molière, Racine, Corneille, etc. However, as far as the present work is concerned, the most important arena for the dissemination of theatrical knowledge among the ordinary people in the eighteenth century was the Urban Democratic Theatre.

It is from the fifties of the eighteenth century that we have the first information about the growth of this new and important development in the Russian theatre. According to V.D. Kuz'mina the earliest record dates to 1747 when there appeared in a newspaper an advertisement to the effect that one, Ivan Lukin, a Petersburg merchant, would be staging comedies "on Sundays, feast-days and public holidays".¹

Ordinary people, as has been shown, had been able to go to the theatre before this time but now they began to organise amateur groups to perform plays for themselves. The growth of the popularity of

¹. Sankt Peterburgskie vedomosti 8th May 1747, No. 37, quoted by V.D. Kuz'mina, op. cit., p. 163.
these groups is attested by police records of requests for permission to perform. There are references to such in Moscow in 1742, 1755, 1757, 1758, 1767, and similar requests are known to have been made about the same time in Penza, Irkutsk, Tobol'sk, etc. The actors in these amateur groups were largely drawn from the ordinary people — artisans, clerks and factory workers mainly. Students from the academies also took part, bringing their knowledge of the methods of the school theatre with them. These actors did not usually have a permanent theatre in which to perform. More often than not the play would take place in a rented room or hall or, as often happened at the Shrovetide fairs, in a wooden hut (balagan) specially erected for the occasion.

The stage was usually of the simplest — a platform with a curtain or a screen at the back behind which the actors would come and go, with no wings and no scenery. For performances of the dramatised

zytsarskie romany, or historical comedies, however, the arrangement was somewhat more elaborate, the stage being divided into separate parts with curtains so that the action could move from one location to another.

The costumes were also, on the whole, simple, made out of the cheapest materials, and many of the characters just wore everyday

2. P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama, p. 110.
clothes with some symbolic object to tell the audience of their status or profession. The king, for example, would be recognised by his crown and the royal regalia, the gentleman by his sword, the workmen by various tools of their trade.

The repertoire of the Urban Democratic Theatre can be divided quite simply into three parts:

1. The shorter dramatic forms, consisting of
   (a) comic monologues by various well-known types like the St. Petersburg dandy who declaimed a monologue of self-characterisation in comico-satirical terms;
   (b) dialogues - humorous comments on everyday life;
   (c) short scenes - scarcely more than dialogues with slight pretensions to plot, derived from the oral tradition of folk-anecdotes and the satirical MSS. writings of the 17-18th centuries.

2. Short plays, similar in content and treatment to the interludes common upon the school stage.

3. Plays adapted from translated literature.

Little is known either about the methods of acting or declamation. Overemphasis of both gesture and speech was characteristic and there was little attempt at subtlety of expression.

In this theatre the audiences were drawn from all sections of the ordinary people. The actors with a similar background were well aware of and catered for the tastes of these people, their love of
excitement and laughter. Here the methodology and traditions of the school theatre and the Anglo-German theatre found a new home where they were adapted, simplified, vulgarised, inextricably mingled with elements of the folk-literature with which both actors and audiences must have been well acquainted, and transformed into a new theatrical phenomenon. It is against such a background that one can best imagine the person or persons who originally wrote or compiled "Tsar Maximillian" gaining their first experience of the dramatic art. Certainly when one examines carefully the available texts of "Tsar Maximillian" and compares them with typical adaptations from the xytasarskie romany performed in the eighteenth century on the stages both of the School and of the Urban Democratic Theatres, one finds many points of similarity between them. The plays which I have used for comparison with "Tsar Maximillian" are as follows:—

(a) "Komediya o Indrike i Melende": the play of the Petrine period from a translated tale, which probably belonged to the school repertoire of the 1710s-1740s. With others of its kind it may well have been performed also in the Urban Democratic Theatres.

(b) "Akt o Kaleandre i Neonilde": this play is also adapted from a European tale ("Il Calloandro" in Italian, "Der Prinz Kalloandro" in German). It came to Russia at the beginning of the

1. P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII-XX vv.
2. V.N. Perets, Pamyatniki russkoi dramy epokhi Petra velikogo (SPb. 1903).
eighteenth century and entered the repertoire of the school theatres; like the preceding play it belongs to the later period of the school theatre when a fusion between the methods and traditions of the schools and the romantic, secular themes of the new literature had taken place.

(c) "Komediya o Frantalpee . . ." 1  
(d) "O Sarpide dukse assiriskom, O lyubvi i vernosti". 2  
(e) "Drama o Ezekii, tsare izrail'skom". 3  
(f) "Istoriya o ts. Davide i ts. Solomone". 4

Plays of this type are often set against the "exotic" background of the royal palace or castle and the people whose adventures and fates are related in them are generally drawn from the upper levels of society, kings, princes, knights, ambassadors. This is of course no less true of "Tsar Maximillian" in which characters like the knights Black Arab and Zmeiulan and the King of the Golden Horde, Mamai, might be compared with Alkales, the Circassian prince, Agrollim, the Tartar Shah, and the Turk, Safar, in "Kaleandr i Neonilda". Mingling with such characters in the knightly dramas there are, too, mythological creatures, the ancient gods and goddesses or personifications of

1. S.K. Bogoyavlenskii, Moskovskii teatr pri tsaryakh Aleksee i Petra (M. 1914).  
3. V.N. Perets, op. cit.  
abstract qualities such as Faith, Love and Fortune. Thus, in "Kaleandr i Neonilda", the Gods on Mount Olympus plot the fate of the characters, Fame and Fortune attend the heroes like faithful servants, Honour and Chastity preserve them from moral degradation. In "Tsar Maximillian" Mars and Venus come down to earth adding their disputes to the duel scenes in the second half of the play. Similarly Death takes an active rôle, and analogies to the scene in "Tsar Maximillian" between Death and Anika the Warrior —

" - Полно, полно, Анника-воин, выхвалиться,
Не пора ли тебе на тот свет собираться."

in which the former strikes him down with her scythe, can be found, for instance, in "Kaleandr i Neonilda" where Atigrin is likewise killed:

" - Полно ж говорить, пришло уже время,
Понес ты днесь много смертельное время."

One of the most important passages in the first part of "Tsar Maximillian" concerns the bringing in of the royal regalia with which the Tsar assumes the power, duties and privileges of the monarch:

"Появляется торжественная процессия, впереди два пажа на подносях несут золоченную корону, скрипетр и державу, за ними, по два в ряд, несколько воинов с обнажёнными

2. V.N. Perets, Pamyatniki russkoi dramy, p. 114.
шашками. Пажи, подавая царю Максимилиану корону, становятся на колени, ... пажи повт — мы к царю идём, Злат венец носим — Царь Максимилиан надевает корону и берёт в руки скрипетр и державу." 1

In "Istoriya o tsare Davide i tsare Solomone" the coronation of Adanii follows similar lines:—

"Когда проговорит Виафар речь, то взять 4-м сенаторам парфиру и наложить на плечи Аданию, а корону взять 2-м сенаторам и 2-м воинам и наложить на главу, а скрипетр взять единому от первых сенаторов и положить на блюда и поднести ... " 2

or in "Kaleandr i Neonilda" the coronation of Foliandr.

Among the battle scenes in the latter half of the folk-play I have mentioned the recurrence of that between Manai and his nephew and Maximillian's champion. The challenge here is issued in the form of a letter:—

"Поди, снеси царю Максимиану первое письмо, свяжи ему, чтобы он дань платил, да злато-серебро возил, а то разобьём, разскладаем, сами златом завладаем." 3

1. Vinogradov - Variant III.
2. V.N. Perets, op. cit., p. 464.
In a similar fashion in "Kaleandr i Neonilda" Atigrin threatens Poleartes and the Greek kingdom:

"Иподнимися Грецию вашу всю до основания разорит и градъвыши опустоплит, а тебя самого злой смертью казнить..." 1

When, as usual, Anika the Warrior has emerged triumphant from all his battles with Maximillian's enemies it is usual for the Tsar to suggest that a sort of triumph be arranged for him with songs of praise for his strength and valour:

"Ц.М.: - Воздать хвалу Анике воину!
Все (поют хором): - Хвала, хвала тебе, герой,
Что град петров спасён тобой!
Лавры-венки на троне вьют
О храбром имени твоём!"

After the victory of the Swedes in "Indrik i Melenda" the Swedish king likewise demands praise and honour for the victors:

" - Давшему нам победу воздадим
Благодарение, и песньми духовными того ублажим." 2

One of the closest points of contact, however, between "Tsar Maximillian" and the plays under discussion is the large number of duel scenes scattered through the text, and the structure and terminology of these is basically the same. Note, for instance, the

2: P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama, p. 234.
insulting terms with which the challengers address each other:—

"— Как ты смелъ глупо, ах, тако дерзати!"

"— Не бранись, каналия, мерская ты хара!"¹

and:

"— Ты что, расплодиный змулан, хлюпочешь?"

"— А ты, что за невежа расселся на сом троне?"²

They challenge each other to fight boldly and defiantly, boasting of their own strength and prowess. One can compare, for instance, the Swedish king's challenge to the Danish king in "Indrik i Melenda" with the Black Arab's speech from "Tsar Maximillian":—

(a) "Король шведский: — Встань с престола, мне покорись, Своим королевством под моей скрипетъ смирися! Аще не восхотешь, велитъ смерти предать, И мои вои аще будутъ побеждать."³

(b) "Араб: — Сходи, царь, с трона, Сходи немедленно с трона! А не то я тебя сниму, В твое царство войду И тебя злою смерть казнить буду."⁴

The heroes join battle with the same impudent invitation to fight:—

(a) "Калеандр: — Изволь со мной ныне в том смело сражатца На преострых шпагах аще распироватца."⁵

(b)/

1. V.N. Perets, op. cit., p. 55.
4. Vinogradov — Variant III.
5. V.N. Perets, Pamyatniki russkoi dramy, p. 349.
Another striking piece of textural similarity can be found in these scenes of battle and destruction for the announcement of the enemies’ approach is often couched in certain conventional phrases. Thus the arrival of enemy forces in “Kaleandr i Neonilda”:

" - Под моё бо царство войско приступает - "

is expressed in a form similar to that in “Tsar Maximillian”, e.g.:

" - Подступает под наш град распрохалый эмиулен - "

while the enumerated threats of the enemy are also based upon the same pattern. The complaint of Paliartes, King of Greece:

"Хочет бо Грецыю в конец разорить, грады и вертограды, все опустоплити, меня же, стара суща, хотят во плен взяти." 

is closely paralleled by that of Tsar Maximillian:

" - И хочет всё наше царство пожечь, попленить, и меня, грозного царя Максимилиана в плен взять." 

3. Ibid.
The duel scenes and the terminology used in them lead to another important point, that is, the way in which the characters in these plays express various emotions. On the whole, the feelings of the characters are uncomplicated and straightforward, anger, love, hatred, jealousy, are expressed with naive frankness in an exaggerated, emotional fashion using many exclamations, apostrophe and emotive phraseology. Since the two predominant emotions to be found in "Tsar Maximillian" are anger and grief I shall consider only these two here. The vocabulary and modes of expression in anger employed by Tsar Solomon:

"- О, злодей мой, злых злодеев злейший,
Проклятый, зломысленный, враг сверхнейший." ¹

or Tsar David: (of his son Adanii) -

"- О, нечестивый, что так дерзает?
Утробы мою безмерно пронзает." ²

or Atigrin in "Kaleandr i Neonilda":

"- Ах, печаль печальная серце сокрушае.
И, яко мечь острь, утробы пронзает.
Ах, мерский лукавче, что ты сотворяем, ..." ³

1. V.N. Perets, op. cit., p. 490.
2. Ibid., p. 468.
3. Ibid., p. 81.
or Elvira:—

"— Он, он мерзостный и дерзостный язычек..." ¹

may be compared with the following from "Tsar Maximillian":—

"— О непокорный изверг материнского чрева, Страшись ты родительского гнева." ²

or:—

"— Тьфу ты, изверг!
Терзаем царское сердце!" ³

or:—

"— О сын дерзкий, Адольф мерзкий, посажен у тебя в тёмную темницу..." ⁴

or:—

"— Прочь, дерзкий терзаватель!
Ты отцовское сердце терзаешь." ⁵

The same set formula expressing a mixture of anger, defiance and scorn is to be found both in the folk-plays and in the school and knightly plays. The offending object or person is metaphorically speaking trampled underfoot. In "Tsar Maximillian" Adolf’s reaction

². P.N. Berkov, "Tsar Maximillian" — variant 1, p. 185.
³. Ibid., variant 2, p. 204.
to the pagan gods is expressed in this way:

"— Ваших кумирических богов.
Мечу, как хочу,
В грязь ты ем!" 1

Compare (Astarba):

"— Подвергу сию летость под мои ногу." 2

or (Senator):

"— Все части света будут трепать,
Ты ж их под ногами потшися топтать." 3

Grief and melancholy were also expressed in the same hyperbolic terms with an excess of exclamations, sighs and groans, and threats of suicide. Thus, the reaction of Mamai's nephew to his uncle's death:

"— О боги! боги! Что я вижу. Мой дядя лежит мёртвый ... Пущай идёт душа моя в ад ... Сабля моя острия железо ржавое, пронзай, пронзай грудь моя." 4

is much the same as that of Indrik when he finds Melenda, his beloved, apparently dead:

"— Ах! как могу арети мертву дражайшу невесту мою ... Лучше мы ныне умертвите! ... Лучше смертным ядом чашу испить ... " 5

1. P.N. Bezkov — Variant 2.
3. V.N. Perets, op. cit., p. 4.
4. Onchukov — variant 1, p. 21.
5. P.N. Bezkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama, p. 295.
Adolf's exile from the royal court either to prison or to the wilderness for a period of months or years in which to reflect upon his disobedience and disloyalty usually invoked tears and sighs, melancholy reflections upon his sad fate, sorrowful farewells to all his friends. These are usually taken from sentimental ballads popular in the nineteenth century such as "Я в пустыню удаляюсь...", "Не сливно шума городского", etc., yet they reflect very closely the sentiments of the heroes of the knightly plays who wrongly condemned or betrayed by villains or circumstances are imprisoned or forced to flee to the forests and deserted parts of the country, where they too lament their lost freedom, friends and family and their solitary way of life.

Neither the emotional state, nor the immediate actions, nor the personal status of the characters on stage was left to chance. To make sure that the audience understood what was going on and who was speaking, especially when some new face appeared, the speeches were arranged in such a way that this was carefully explained. Thus Atigrin describes his physical state for the benefit of the audience:

" - Ах, дух мой ненавоже, весьма уже тонко, / припне языки к гортани, говорит неможно."

Evandra tells of her fear:

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1. V.N. Perets, Pamyatniki russkoi dramy, p. 114.
"... Чрезвечественной страх ознобит тело моё." ¹,

Branbeul and Mamai's nephew of their anger:

"... Вьётся во мне сердце, кипит во мне кровь," ²

"... Дух твой во мне пылает и больше гнев мой возрастает." ³

The necessity of introducing each new character, especially the most important ones, to the audience lies behind the monologues of self-introduction and self-praise which were typical of the knightly school plays and with which also Tsar Maximillian and King Mamai make themselves known. Such monologues occur in all the plays under discussion and some of them are strikingly similar in content to those of the folk-play. Thus King Atigrin in "Kaleandr i Neonilda" and the Warrior Mars in "Drama o Ezekii ..." among others, boast of their conquests and the lands which lie in their power with virtually the same words as Tsar Maximillian himself. Compare (Atigrin):

"... Всю Азию, Африку в команде имею,

Содержителем света назваться смело ..." ⁴

or (Mars):

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4. V.N. Perets, op. cit., p. 3.
with (Tsar Maximillian):

" - Прошёл я покорил я Австрию, Азию, Америку, Европу," 2

and:-

" - Прошёл я все вожные страны и покорил пред своею державой Испанию, Германию . . . " 3

When the king or other person in authority wishes to summon someone to his presence, this procedure usually follows a set pattern. A court official is called and told of his task, which he repeats and promises to perform. In this way the Skorokhod replies:-

" - Сейчас схожу и приведу"

in reply to Maximillian's request to have his son brought before him, while the page in "Kaleandr i Neonilde" answers:-

" - Готов, господне, то днес сотворити / И того ковалера к тебе приводити" 4

to Armelina's request to have a certain knight brought before her.

When the mission has been completed the servant reappears before his master and introduces the summoned character who thereupon demands to

2. Tsar Maximillian - Kostin, p. 103.
3. Tsar Maximillian - Onchukov, Variant I, p. 5.
know why he had been sent for as in the following examples:—

"- Почто так скоро сyna своего Адольфа призывает?
Или каким делам указ повелевает?" 1

or:—

"- Почто, пресветлейшая госпожа мой, призывает?
Что творите мне повелевает?"

(a senator in "Indrik i Melenda"), or:—

"- Княже наш, почему нас изволили призвати, еще ли
что завещаете рады содержати"

(an ambassador in "Deistvo o Knyaze Iefaii galaatskom"). 2 The similarity of construction between "Tsar Maximillian" and the other plays is quite apparent.

Finally, a close correspondence in the choice of titles, or formal modes of address between characters, can also be seen. Compare, for instance, these addresses to Tsar Maximillian:

"- O могучий государь, милостивый царь", 3

and:—

"- O могуществейший государь, милосерднейший
царь Максимилиан" 4.

2. I.A. Shlyapkin, op. cit., p. 58.
4. Ibid., p. 183.
with the following address to King David:—

" - Великий царю, а мой милостивейший государю!" ¹

Among the most popular epithets to be found in these addresses must be counted the adjective "любезный" and others from the same root, such as:—

"Всебезсознаный мой родитель батюшка", ² "воин возлюбленный", ³ "любезнейший скорогод-маршал", ⁴ "любезнейший мой сын"; ⁵ "любезнейший мой сенаторы", "возлюбленная моя гвардия", "любезны мой вои". ⁶

The above findings do not of course definitely prove that "Tsar Maximillian" belongs to the same tradition as the late school plays and in particular the adaptations from translated tales. Some of the constructions and expressions examined can also be found in other branches of the theatre in Russia in the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. There are certain superficial similarities between "Tsar Maximillian" and the plays of the early Anglo-German tradition in Russia, that is, during the reign of Alexei Mikhailovich.

2. Tsar Maximillian, Berkov - variant 1, p. 184.
4. Tsar Maximillian, Myakutin, p. 263.
5. Ibid., p. 263.
In the "first play of the Russian theatre" ("Arktakserksovo deistvo" or "Esfir") one finds exclamations expressing emotion, the summons and answers of royal servants, a description by Prince Memukhan of Arktakserxes' power and conquests, all of which resemble superficially the conventions discussed above. However, the language of the play and the irregular syllabic verse in which it is written set it apart, along with religious school-plays of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, from both "Tsar Maximillian" and the dramatised tales, the verse structure of which resembles the raashnyi stikh of the folk-play. Moreover, much of the similarity between different types of plays in the eighteenth century can be attributed to the fact that they often stem from a common although very distant origin since the traditions of the mediaeval church in Europe affected the Jesuit theatre in Western Europe and from this passed to the Ukrainian school theatre and later the Russian school theatre. The same tradition found in the mediaeval religious stage in England certainly left deep traces upon the subsequent development of the English theatre some of which, brought to Germany by wandering players and thence to Russia by the Pastor Gregory and later by the Kunst-Fürst troupe, may well have been reflected in the Russian theatre as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. Another important factor to bear in mind is that for several centuries the literary theatre and folk-literature and entertainment were not artificially divided to the
extent they are in the modern theatre and what appears in the folk-
theatre to be a borrowing may very well have been borrowed itself
originally by the literary stage from folk-lore. A case in point
are the interludes of the school-theatre many of which were based
upon folk-anecdotes and many of which again from the stages of the
school-theatre and the verterp found their way back to
their original source.

Later,¹ when the structure and basic characteristics of "Tsar
Maximillian", viewed as a piece of folk-literature, are discussed in
detail it will be seen that some of the features which the folk-play
has been shown to have in common with the eighteenth-century theatre
are also among those which have been derived from folk-lore sources.

For secular popular literature the eighteenth century was an age
of transition, and before the advent of the neo-classical tradition
the indigenous theatre was in its infancy. The inexperienced authors
and translators of the new literature had no literary tradition to fall
back on. Not only did they rely heavily on foreign models but they
also drew inspiration from their native folk-literature which had for
centuries provided the people with the entertainment which the written
literature lacked.

¹. See ch.xiii.
"Tsar Maximillian", typical of this transitional phase, is essentially a hybrid, reflecting features of both folk and written literary traditions, and was clearly compiled at a time when plays like "Kaleandr i Neonilda" or "Indrik i Melenda" were popular on the Russian stages not only among the aristocracy but among a wide cross-section of the population.
Although it is possible, as has just been shown, to identify "Tsar Maximillian" with specific literary currents, the play itself presents the reader not so much with a single dramatic entity as with a collection of dramatic items, traceable to a wide variety of different sources. The component parts of the play are often only tenuously linked together by the thread of battle between Maximillian's champion Anika and a series of challengers. Many of the variants lack one or more of the elements common to other variants. The order in which scenes are presented is variable: some versions have scenes which appear nowhere else, others offer hints of scenes long forgotten and nowhere recorded. Yet, in spite of its haphazard nature and in spite of the wide range of sources from which its parts are drawn, "Tsar Maximillian" still gives the impression of an organic whole because of the unifying and coordinating stamp laid upon it by the oral tradition in which it grew and developed over so many years.

In examining the more important characters and scenes of the non-religious text I have made the following division into "serious" characters, such as the knights taking part in the duel-scenes, and
"comic" characters appearing in the interlude scenes.

I. The "Rytsarskoe shturmovanie"

(a) "Mamaev poboishche"

The great and significant battle of Kulikovo Field (1380) between the Tartar Khan Mamai with his "Golden Horde" and the Russian Prince Dmitri Ivanovich naturally fired the patriotic feelings of the Russians and it passed not only into history but into legend. First related in the Kulikovskii cycle of the Chronicles, the story was retold thereafter in many different versions. Most of these date to the 15th-17th centuries but some are known to have appeared as late as the 18th and 19th centuries. Folklorised, the battle became the subject of innumerable tales, bylini and historical songs and was pictorially represented in the folk-pictures.

The theme was not neglected by literary writers either and Ozerov, for example, made use of it for the plot of his tragedy "Dmitri Donskoi" (1307). It is interesting to note that here it was used as an allegorical representation of the war between Russia and France. It is possible that the "Mamaev poboishche" within the framework of "Tsar Maximillian" may have been similarly interpreted, for the reign of Alexander and the French wars have left their mark on the play in other ways. For instance the song
often used to introduce Tsar Maximillian himself, dates to the 1813-14 period of the liberation of Russia (and Europe) from the French invaders. The French wars left their mark too upon other parts of the folk-theatre. Thus, Napoleon appears in some versions of the vertep. In "Zhivoi vertep" from the town of Nezhin, Napoleon is involved in a comic dialogue with a peasant who persistently misunderstands his questions. There is also, of course, the folk-play "Kak Frantsuz Moskva bral" which deals with the events of the 1812 campaign.

The form which the "Mamaev poboishche" takes in "Tsar Maximillian" is interesting. The challenge from King Mamai is issued through his nephew by means of a threatening letter. This formula is reminiscent of certain folk-songs and historical songs popular in the 17th century;

"Пишет, пишет султан турецкий царю белому" ²
or: "Не в лусях то вода полная разливалась" ³

In these the language strikingly resembles that of the folk-play, for instance in the threats of the Swedish king:

1. A.N. Malinka, op. cit.
3. Ibid., p. 148.
"Пишет, пишет король ивевский своё грозное письмо ...
Отдай Ригу, отдай Ревель, отдай славный город Кронштадт / Не отдашь ты мне этих городочков - я не честию возьму, / Я не честию возьму, батальную сочиню "

or the reply of the "White", Russian Tsar to the boasts of the French king which is almost exactly the same as Maximilian's reply to Mamai:

"А мы столики поставим ему - пушки медные, / А мы скатерти ему постелем - вольные пули, / На закусочку поставим - каленых картеч - / Угощать его будет - канонерушки."

This convention occurs also in the bylina such as "Kastryuk i Tsaritsa Krymskaya" and "Mamaevo poboishche" where Vasilii Prekrasnyi, Mamai's son-in-law, is told to write

"Ярлыки скорописные... с угрозами с великими."

In view of these similarities it is highly probable that the scene in the folk-play was itself borrowed or based upon an already folklorised version in the historical songs or bylina rather than taken from any of the prose tales.

This letter-writing formula was adopted by many other anonymous

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1. Narodnye istoricheskie presni, p. 263.
eighteenth-century Russian playwrights and it is one of the features which the folk-play had in common with the later examples of school-theatre drama.  

(b) Anika-Voin and Death

This scene occurs in almost all the variants of "Tsar Maximillian". In it the royal champion Anika in the midst of his boasting after victory is visited by the white-robed figure of Death who, in spite of all his pleading for mercy, strikes him down with her scythe, allowing him at most a few minutes in which to bid farewell to the world or to sing a favourite song for the last time.

Tales of the inevitable enemy Death, of the eternal combat between Death and Life, enjoyed widespread popularity in mediaeval Europe. For a time the theme was one of the most prominent in popular literature, inspiring many paintings, etchings, poems, etc. It had its influence too upon dramatic literature. The early Spanish play "La Trilogia de las Barcas" was probably derived from the mediaeval "Danza de la Muerte" ("Danse Macabre"). It occurs in various episodes in the English miracle and morality plays, for instance in the "Slaughter of the Innocents" when Death comes to Herod, or in "Everyman" where the similarity to the "Contest of Life and Death" is close. The theatrical historian E.K. Chambers mentions

1. Supra, p.373.
a certain play, both history and morality, based on the "danse macabre" which was acted before Philip the Good at Bruges in 1449.¹

In 1510 a painter named Pietro Cosimo organised a macabre "Triumph of Death", a pageant which paraded through the streets of Florence: "Upon the top of the chariot sat a figure with a scythe in his hand, representing Death, having under his feet many graves, from which appeared, half-way out, the bare bones of carcasses."²

The sixteenth century saw the appearance and growth of tales upon the theme of life and death in Russia - "Prenie Zhivota so smert'yu" or "Skazanie o nekome cheloveke Bogoboyaznike" - which, originally translated from German originals, gradually adapted themselves in the new soil and evolved peculiarly Russian features. It is in these later versions that there are unmistakeable similarities to the scene "Anika Voin i Smert". In them Life (Zhivot) is represented as:

"... некий человек воин удалой, езда по полю по чистому и по ровному широкому".³

He has not found anyone to fight with him for a long time and proclaims his valour and his great deeds:

"Многое время никого же себе имея противника и размышляя в себе: — Яко несть мне подобна на земли и прежде мне не быть такова ... ." 1

Death comes to him but he does not recognise her, calls her

"Злообразная баба". 2

She is carrying all sorts of instruments and weapons of torture,

"... мечи, ножи, пики, рожни, серпы, сечица, косы, бритвы, уды, теслы ... ." 3

but Life refuses to be intimidated:

"Рече же ей живот: — Аз еси силен и храбр, и на ратех многия полки любивъ ... а ты како ко мне едина пришла еси." 4

When at last he realises that Death stands before him he falls to his knees and begs for mercy:

" — Дай же мне сроку, госпоже моя, на три дня, дабы аз просил у господа Бога милости." 5

But Death merely replies:

" — Несть тебе строку не токмо на три дня, но и на три часы не будет," 6

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1. Ibid., p. 175. 3. Ibid., p. 172. 5. Ibid., p. 177.
2. Ibid., p. 176. 4. Ibid. 6. Ibid.
whereupon she strikes him down with her scythe and the other implements.

This compares very closely with the text of the folk-play, for like "Life" Anika, after his many battles, seeks a further challenger:

"- Хожу, стражаю, по чистому полю,
По широкому раздоль,
Ищу себе встречного и поперечного." ¹

Death comes up to him and he addresses her rudely:

"- Что ты за баба
Что ты за пьяница?"

Finally Anika, like "Life", is forced to plead for three years, months, days, etc., of respite:

"- Дай мне хотьтри года пожить,
Свои грехи замолить." ²

Although in most versions of "Tsar Maximillian" Death’s only weapon is her scythe there is one version in which there is a hint of the array of the mediaeval text. In Kostin’s version Death has knives and files as well as the scythe.³

There are many folk legends about Anika: he is supposed to have been a brigand, robber of monasteries and the subduer of many kings and knights, living to a great old age (220, 390 years). In

some places he was equated with an infamous robber, executed in the reign of Peter I, the so-called "Brigand of Vologda". Anika appears too as the hero of folk-tales, songs and spiritual verses. In the folk-ballad

"Дик-был Аника-Воин
Два ста лет и двадцать лет,"

Anika decides to set off to capture Jerusalem:

"- Весь Ерусалим-град порублю,
Весь в полон вольну!"

but Death in spite of offers of money and riches will not let him go.¹

The further popularity of Anika among the people is attested by his appearance on folk-pictures, of which Rovinskii described several in his major collection. The description of one of these, in which Anika, sword in hand, is mounted on his horse, closely corresponds to the "Tsar Maximillian" version and to the texts of the mediaeval tales.²

It has been suggested that the Russian folk-hero may originally have sprung from a Byzantine tale about Digenis the Warrior ('warrior' in Greek being αὐρήρης) and his famous exploits. But the tale as it appears in its mediaeval Russian version ("Devgenievo deistvo")³

³ V.D. Kuz'mina, Devgenievo deistvo (M. 1962).
seems to have little in common with "Anika and Death". The name Anika may well, however, have come from the Greek.

"Death scenes" bearing some resemblance to the works I have been discussing were not unknown in early Ukrainian and Russian dramatic literature. Among the Ukrainian interludes of the 18th century is "Intemediya na tri persomy: smert', vojn, khlopets". In moralising Russian school plays too the abrupt appearance of Death in person before a sinner was a common element. Thus in "Tsarstvo natury lyudskoi" (1698) Death appears with a speech much resembling those of the mediaeval tales. Similarly Death acts very much as a deus ex machina in the later school plays from translated literature, as, for example, in "Kalandr i Neonilda".

There is one somewhat different version of this scene in "Tsar Maximillian" which really takes the form of parody. In the version "Kallash - No. 2" instead of Anika we find "Fedot and Death". The scene follows essentially the same pattern except that Fedot is a comical character in whose mouth the brave words of Anika take on a humorous tone. This sort of aping of serious scenes was typical of the interludes of the school theatre. The interlude might present a realistic peasant character drawn from everyday scenes familiar to the audience to correspond to an allegorical "tiller of the soil",

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1. Prof. A. Beletskii, (M. 1923), p. 89.
drawing the parallel between the resurrection of man after death and
the miraculous rebirth of nature, in the serious part of the drama.¹

There would seem to be little doubt that the scene "Anika-Voin
i smert'" in "Tsar Maximillian" was based upon a combination of the
mediaeval "Contest between Life and Death" with the tales about the
folk-hero Anika. Its inclusion in the play may be due partly to a
knowledge of the traditions of the school theatre and partly also to
the analogous scene in the _vertep_ where Herod is justly felled by a
mocking Death for all his wickedness. The influence of the _vertep_
can probably be seen in the few versions of "Tsar Maximillian" in
which it is the Tsar himself who is killed rather than Anika. In the
version "Berkov, No. 2", the Tsar, terror-stricken, commands his warriors
to defend him but Death strikes down their swords with a wave of her
hand. In the same way Herod's warriors are powerless to defend
their king.

(c) The "Zmeiulan"

Serpent-like creatures were a common phenomenon in the popular
literature of the eighteenth century, presenting one of the many
hazards against which the adventurous knights had to battle. Such a
creature (Zmii) can be found in "Kaleandr i Neonilda", ravaging the

¹ Prof. A. Beletskii, _op. cit._, p. 36.
whole of King Atigrin's land until he finally offers his daughter in marriage to the knight who can rid them of the scourge. However, there is no reason to suppose that "Zmeiulan" was drawn from such a source rather than from Russian folk-lore itself, the serpent being one of the chief enemies of the bogatyri in the byliny (see, e.g., "Alesha i Zmei Gorynych", and "Dobrynya i Zmei"). The "Zmeiulan" of "Tsar Maximillian" is doubly serpent-like since the last part of his name -ulan is Persian for 'snake'. The word ulan is of course used in Russian folk-lore for the Turks and Tartars. Thus in the historical song "Nabeg krymskogo khana" one of the Tartar warriors is referred to as

"УЛАНОВ СЫН",

while in "Ermak i turetskii sultan" the Turks are referred to as

"А МУРЗЫ ВЫ, УЛАНОВЬЯ."

The snake was not only the symbol for the pagan enemy but for evil in general and the powers of darkness. It is as such that they appear on the whole in the fairy-tales and epic poetry, possessed of extraordinary magical gifts and forbidden knowledge, inhabiting the frontiers of the known world and beyond, eternally hostile to man.

(d) The Black Arab

Blackening the face with soot was one of the most popular ways of disguising in the Russian Christmastide mumming. It is probable

1 Supra, p. 110.
that the Black Arab of the folk-play, who is similarly decorated, springs from the same source. Many peoples considered that the colour black and in particular the blackness derived from the soot and ashes of the fire was extremely powerful in warding off evil spirits: "The supernatural virtue ascribed to ashes, which also appears in the frequent use of them at tattooing, probably depends on their connection with the fire, which is the strongest means of purification."¹ Figures with blackened faces were common in ritual games and processions all over Europe. In the sword-dances of England, the Basque country, Spain, Portugal, etc., these characters became known as Moors and the battles of the sword-dancers explained as clashes between them and the Christians. It was assumed that these "Moors" in fact had given their name to the dances - the Morris dance in England and the Moriscos of Spain and Portugal. However, many scholars² now believe that this was merely a rationalising of an already existing custom and that the blackened faces themselves gave rise to the title Moors rather than vice-versa. It is interesting to note that May-day (when the sword-dances were often performed in England) was traditionally the day of chimney-sweeps. It is quite possible then that the Black Arab of "Tsar Maximillian" in fact belongs to a very ancient European ritual tradition.

¹ R. Karsten, Civilisation of South American Indian (N.Y. 1926), p. 72.
² E.g. E.K. Chambers, op. cit.
(e) Mars and Venus

During the pre-Christian period, burlesques on the lives of the gods were a feature of popular dramatic literature and this continued into the Christian era. St. Cyprian, for instance, complained of the wanton Venus, the adulterer Mars, etc., being shown on stage.

The renewed interest in classical literature and ancient mythology brought to Europe by the Renaissance resulted in the reappearance of the gods in literary characters. Along with personified vices and virtues and abstract qualities they became implicated in the plots of the school plays and even the neo-classical plays, discussing and influencing the fate of the heroes as in Pierre Corneille's "La Toison d'Or".

The lives of Mars and Venus seem to have been particularly popular as a dramatic subject and a number of plays with the title have been recorded in eighteenth-century England, for example J. Weaver's "Mars and Venus" (1717) and P.A. Motteaux' "The Loves of Mars and Venus", performed in 1696; 1697.

A similar phenomenon can be noted in the Russian school plays where gods and goddesses and qualities like Charity, Honour, Faith, etc., are often portrayed. Venus appears alongside Virtue, Religion and the Angels in "Aleksei Chelovek bozhii". Mars is to be found in the historical school play "Drama o Ezekii":
Both Mars and Venus together with the other gods on Olympus take an active part in the dénouement of "Kaleandr i Neonilda".

2. The Humorous Interlude-type Scenes

Originally, interludes were, as their name suggests, short scenes of a humorous nature played in the intervals between the serious acts of the school plays. They could be of two kinds: firstly they might in some way imitate the serious content of the preceding act, or they might be entirely independent of the rest of the play. The content of these interludes was drawn from popular anecdotes, from the comic tales of wandering mediaeval story-tellers where characters and scenes from everyday life were often depicted with satirical wit. Taken out of context these interludes were carried about the countryside and performed by poor wandering scholars (nivorezy) to earn themselves a little extra money.

Comic, interlude-type scenes were also found in the vertep, where they were no doubt inherited straight from the religious plays of Western Europe but with the comic parts removed from their natural setting in the body of the play to form eventually a separate part of

1. V.N. Perets, Pamyatniki russkoj dramy, p. 401.
the performance.

With time the interlude lost its connection with the school theatre and became almost an independent genre, a name for any one-act play or scenes of comic or topical nature. Such playlets became extremely popular for instance in the Urban Democratic Theatre where they constantly attracted new characters and situations. When the Italian *commedia dell'arte* became popular in Russia in the eighteenth century, characters from it too were incorporated into the interlude repertoire. Thus the eleven interludes in the Tikhanov collection relate the adventures of Harlequin, Pantaloon and others of this tradition.

Moreover, comic monologues and dialogues very similar in type to the interludes sprang up spontaneously from the humorous fancy of the folk itself, so that, considering all the complexity, it is impossible to decide where any particular interlude originally came from. All that one can do is point out parallels and similarities.

(a) *The Jew (the Tailor), the Cossack, the Devil*

Since none of these three characters appears frequently in the Russian folk-plays, but since on the contrary they are very popular in the Ukrainian *vertep* and South Russian popular literature, it is

1. P.N. Tikhanov, *op. cit.*
reasonable to assume that they have entered plays like "Tsar Maximillian" and "Lodka" as a result of southern influence. The variants in which they occur are often, in fact, from the southern regions, as for example Abramov's variant of "Tsar Maximillian" which is from the Northern Ukraine, or "Tsar Maximillian", Kallash - I, from the boundary government of Chernigov; in both of these the Jew and the Cossack play a part in the comic interludes. One of the songs the Jew is made to sing in the Abramov variant: --

"Танцует жид Ходором / Перед наном Фёдором. / И задроком и передроком / Перед наном Фёдорком" - 1

is a variant of one well-known in the vertep. It occurs, for instance, in Vinogradov's "Velikorusskii vertep" and in an eighteenth-century MS. Russo-Polish variant described by I. Franko. 2

The tailor appears only in a very few variants of "Tsar Maximillian" and "Lodka" and that South Russian compound of the vertep with "Maximillian" known as "Tron". He is usually a Jew, an indication of Jewish interest in the cloth trade in Russia. There is a scene in the play "Ataman" 3 where a Jew is approached and asked about his profession: --

"Занимаюсь красным," he answers. "Krasnyi tovar" was an old-fashioned term for textile

2. I. Franko, op. cit., Vol. LXXII, Ch. 5, p. 23.
manufacturing and the Ataman jokingly suggests that he should sew kaftans for the whole robber band. In Crazinskii's variant of "Tsar Maximillian" he is called upon briefly to sew funeral garments for Adol'f and in the text "Vinogradov - 2" he has to make a coat (tulup) for the old grave-digger as a reward for his services. In such scenes it is the Jew's professional, rather than ethnic or religious, peculiarities which are depicted. However, in several other variants the attitude towards him appears in quite a different light.

In both the Abramov and the Kallash No. 1 texts of "Maximillian" there occurs again the mockery and hostility towards the Jewish character, religion, dress and customs typical of the Polish and Ukrainian vertep. The former ends with several comic scenes in which the Jew is made to dance and sing for the general amusement of the audience. In both there are the familiar cliché inferences about the Jewish "national characteristics" of cowardice and avarice:

" - Правда, Янкель, что у тебя много денег - ?.

ЯИД. - Ай, веи, ваше царское и императорское величество! Яки у вида грош, хиба только одни вонс!" 1

In Abramov's variant he joins forces with that other antipathetic character, the gypsy, in attempting to rob the unconscious body of

the Cossack, but as they start to draw off his long boots the Cossack, just as bold and offensive as ever, leaps to his feet and sends them flying. The Jew is addressed in a tone and manner which express in forceful terms the sense of superiority and scorn of the masters for the suppressed and alien minority. The Cossack and other characters in Abramov's variant address him most of the time as

"ЛиДовская морда,"

and both variants are full of latent violence as in the song:

"Ах ти мальчик миленький, / Возьми пистоль маленький, / Убей, убей жида / Раскурвина сына" ¹

or in the Jew's reluctant dance in Kallah No. 1 under threat of punishment from the Tsar, or the Cossack's hopeful expectation of future encounters with Jews and Poles:

"Аа не будет лучше, / Да не будет краще, /Як у нас на Україні; / Не побачиш ляха, не побачиш жида." ²

The religious practices of the Jews are also mocked and the "saying of prayers" becomes a part of the comic entertainment.

In the "Belorussskii sbornik", however, the Jew plays an entirely

². Ibid., p. 27.
different rôle. He is an ubiquitous character who bobs up at the most unexpected and inappropriate moments, mimics the other characters, twists their words (e.g. when the Tsar is crowned and the knights all shout:—

"Ура, ура, ура!"

he mimics them with a

"Скула, скула, скула!" ¹

and gets in everyone's way (e.g. when he offers to help the gravedigger remove Mamai's corpse he merely manages to trip him up). Here he performs a similar function to the "Devil" in the Myakutin variant of "Tsar Maximillian". The Devil too keeps interfering with the plot. As well as playing tricks with the gravedigger's horse he pushes himself between him and the old woman as they try to kiss and puts his own hand forward along with hers when she is offered some snuff to which the gravedigger is forced to retort:—

"- Вот она, тут и была с двумя руками." ²

The Devil in the Russian and Ukrainian folk-theatre was not necessarily a sinister character, although in the vertern his main task was to assist Death in dragging Herod off to Hell. In the rôle of an ubiquitous and interfering shadow, however, he performs a function similar to that of his ancestor, the Devil of the mediaeval miracle

¹ E.P. Romanov, op. Cit., p. 280.
plays and later of the school plays. His role is an ambiguous one. He is a jolly, comic character amusing the audience with his tricks, yet these tricks are often macabre. He is too a reminder and a warning to those whose way of life is not as blameless as it might be.

(b) The Gravedigger

Among the most frequent and popular comic scenes in "Tsar Maximilliam" are those involving the old gravedigger, known variously as Mark, Marko, Markushka. He is always reluctant to answer the summons to clear the bodies off the stage and once there manages to find many excuses for doing no work. He is usually highly disregardful of the Tsar's rank, bargains for wages with him, disobeys him, mimics him, sits on his throne and, in spite of Maximilian's threats, seems to enjoy the same degree of immunity as the mediaeval court jesters. Sometimes he is accompanied by his old woman; they bicker at each other, take snuff, fool about, try to measure the corpse for a coffin and generally manhandle it to such an extent that in one variant Adolf causes great consternation by leaping up and biting the old man's finger.

The antics of the gravedigger and his old woman are in many ways like those of the did and baba of the vertep. For example the old peasant in Malinka's "Zhivoi vertep" converses as impudently with Napoleon as Marko does with Tsar Maximillian and, like him too, misunderstands, either deliberately or through deafness, all the
questions Napoleon puts to him. Not only his character and rôle
but also his appearance resemble those of Markushka. He is described
as "a hunch-backed old peasant, dressed in rags".¹

However, one must look further back than the vortep in order to
find Marko's antecedents. The most distinctive things about him are
his hump-back, his tattered appearance and his sheepskin coat inside
out. The following description is typical:—

"С длинной клочковатой бородой, в полушубке овчиной
наружу, сгорбленный, с палкой в руке."²

In the Russian folk-theatre alone he has many "brothers" apart from
the did of the Ukrainian popular theatre: the hump-backed ritual
bear, the old hunch-back Semik, the tattered old beggars in sheepskin
coats of the Christmas-tide mummings. His old woman too may be seen
again in the grotesque figures of the Kikimora, the witch and
Semichikha.

A similar figure can be found in the ritual drama of other
countries too, for example, the hunchback fool of the English St. George
plays who has a number of titles, Red Jack, Happy Jack, Big Head,
Beelzebub, etc. The hump-backed clown "Dossemus" was one of the
stock masks of the Atellan theatre of ancient Greece and the figure

¹ A.N. Malinka, op. cit., p. 39.
² "Tsar Maxmillian", Kallah - Variant I, p. 10.
seems to have retained its popularity through the ages. Names like Morychos, Monas, Marikas, etc. were frequently given to the comic figures of the ancient mimes, and it has been suggested that these should be connected etymologically with "moros" which is the common generic name for a mimic fool. One wonders if there could be any similarity between these names and that of the Russian gravedigger, the mimic fool of the Russian folk-theatre. The gravedigger's female companion may also have been one of the stock characters of the ancient theatre if indeed she is to be regarded as a more human counterpart of Kikimora and others like her. Allardyce Nicoll describes the hag-like counterparts of the ancient "moros" and suggests that "the mime, until its latest days, loved this witch-like old woman, a descendant of whom in the spirit is to be discovered in the Mome Helvis of mediaeval times."  

(c) The Doctor

Another of the basic comic scenes in "Tsar Maximillian" involves the doctor and, sometimes, his assistant. Two separate episodes are

2. Perhaps, however, Marko owes his name to a more prosaic although no less intriguing source. In Rovinskii's *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, in a list of saints from the Kievan "Monastery of the Caves", I came across the following reference to a certain "Преподобный Марко гробокопатель" (D.A. Rovinskii, *op. cit.*, Bk. 4, p. 763).
to be distinguished here, the first in which the doctor tries to cure
the old gravedigger’s aches and pains and the second in which he is
called upon to revive the fallen knights. The doctor introduces
himself in much the same way as the Tsar and the warriors except that
his speech is in a humorous tone:

" - Вот я доктор-лекарь, на-под каменного моста
аптекарь.""

He is also known as Dr. Ul'f (in "Onchukov 2"), Dr. Foma (in "Onchu-
kov 1") and in several versions states that he has come from England
(see e.g. the texts Berkov, Rusakii fol'klor; Volkov; Akimova). He
reels off a list of his accomplishments, of the miraculous cures he
has worked:

" - Не даром про меня прошла слава, что я вылечил
не мало; десяток пять-шесть в снор земле есть. Ко
мне ходят на ногах, а уходят на дровнях." 1

In the following extract he details his somewhat peculiar methods of
treatment:

" - Умёу лечить,
Умёу танцить,
Умёу летать,
Умёу с бёлым светом разлучать!
живые места вырезаю
И на место их мёртвые вставлю,

In the first episode, the gravedigger pretends to be ill in order to get out of burying Adolf and Brambeus. The doctor begins by asking him where the pain is. The old man mentions various parts of the body - head, eyes, nose, stomach, back, legs, teeth - and the doctor offers suitably inept cures:

"- Взять твой нос,
   Сторвать и выкинуть на мороз
   И будет вдруг твой нос!" 2

Eventually, the old man is cured, by fright if not by the doctor's suggestions. A different method of treatment is found in Berkov's variant in Russkii fol'klor-materialy i issledovaniya, where the doctor tried to make his patient repeat certain spells after him:

"Доктор. - Ну говори за мной, старик
   Зубы мои зубы,
   Отвались, нос и губы."

Additional humour is brought to the scene by the doctor's "examination" of the patient. A good example of this is to be found in "Tsar Maximilian" - Onchukov 1. The old man cannot tell exactly where the pain is and keeps on saying, "Higher! Lower!" until the doctor loses patience with him and gives him a slap with his sabre. This scene as can be seen was primarily one of crude, rough humour. A somewhat different aspect is to be observed in the second episode. In five variants to my knowledge (Kallash 1, Volkov, Berkov 2, Onchukov 1 and in one Ukrainian text contaminated by the vertep 2) an actual resurrection from the dead takes place. These scenes are of particular interest since they connect the Russian play not only with the beginnings of ritual drama in Russia itself but also with a widespread tradition in European folklore, in particular with the English folk-play "St. George". 3

The comic doctor has been a stock figure in popular drama all over Europe since the dawn of theatrical history. He appears in the ancient Greek Doric mime: "In view of this evidence, therefore, we may

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2. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
3. Infra, p. 476.
be permitted to believe that in Lacedaemon . . . there was a type of
mimic farce in which actors . . . took a variety of parts, the most
popular being fruit thieves and comic doctors."

In the English mediaeval miracle plays, too, we often find a
comic doctor, for example in the "Adoration of the Magi" of the
Chester cycle, or in Abram's "Le Veil Testament".

The "Dottore" is of course a well-known figure in the Italian
Comedia dell' arte but it is only in the late texts that he is
occasionally portrayed as a doctor of medicine rather than a doctor
of law. It is interesting to note in this respect that in the Russian
Shutovskaia komediya dating to the twenties and thirties of the
eighteenth century, which is based upon the Italian theatre, an
ineffectual doctor of medicine, trying to cure Pantaloon of a cough
among other things, does take part.

The first of the comic doctor episodes in "Tsar Maximillian"
probably owes a lot to the comic dialogues of the Urban Democratic
Theatre, where the language was very similar. For example in one
such dialogue a gypsy quack doctor advises an old man with a headache:-

" - Обрить голову, догола, затым огнём пожарить ..."

while in another a French doctor boasts:-

2. See in V.N. Perets, Pamятник русской драмы, p. 495 -
"Ко мне приведут на ногах, а от меня повезут на дровнях."  

This link with the popular theatre of the towns in the eighteenth century is borne out by many other similarities.

The second episode, however, finds its closest parallel in European folklore. A death and resurrection scene with the participation of a doctor occurred in some of the spring dramatic rituals. For example according to Frazer, "in some parts of Swabia on Shrove Tuesday Dr. Iron-beard professes to bleed a sick man who thereupon falls as dead to the ground; but the doctor at last restores him to life by blowing air into him through a tube." In some of the English sword-dances a doctor is summoned to resuscitate a character who has been accidentally killed. There are instances where the Bessy, or man-woman, interferes during the making of one of the sword-patterns and is killed! In the Basque Mascarades there is the same scene again. The doctor tells boastfully of his travels, of the distant countries in which he learnt his work. "Après avoir fait le tour de la Fraise et de la Russie, de l'Angleterre et de la Turque je suis revenu chez moi." The Russian doctor describes his travels

1. V.D. Kuz'mina, Russkii demokraticheskii teatr XVIII v, p. 117.
2. See supra, p. 75 ff.
likewise.

The scenes and characters of "Tsar Maximillian" are drawn from a variety of sources, from the school theatre, from the Urban Democratic Theatre, from mediaeval literature, significantly in versions which have already become folklorised and, last but not least, from a folk-tradition common not only to Russia but to Europe as well. This connection between "Tsar Maximillian" and the folklore of other countries can be further expanded. The closest and most interesting analogy to the Russian play can be found in the English folk-play "St. George" and a comparison between this and "Tsar Maximillian" will be given later in this work.¹

The extreme diversity of sources upon which the various scenes of "Tsar Maximillian" are based is a strong indication that it should not be regarded as an adaptation from any particular tale or play as some scholars have suggested, but that it is in fact a compilation of items which, to begin with, may not even have been connected.

Some of the items are of literary, others of folk origin and in the methods used in uniting them into a single dramatic spectacle the creators of the folk-play have been indebted to the traditions of both written and oral literature. In the preceding chapter I have tried to show how "Tsar Maximillian" was connected with the literary theatre

¹. Infra, p476.
of the eighteenth century; in the following ones I shall try to show the extent to which it is also a part of Russian folk-literature.
CHAPTER XIII

"TSAR MAXIMILLIAN" AS AN INTEGRAL PART
OF RUSSIAN FOLK-LITERATURE

A.: THE POETIC STRUCTURE

"Tsar Maximillian", as it now stands, in spite of the chequered material upon which it is based, bears the unmistakable imprint of a work of folk-literature. Some of these features are inherent in the material used for its creation, others were accumulated during its long history as a part of the oral tradition. In the verse structure itself, both of this and of the other folk-plays, the style of a certain type of folk-literature can be observed.

Anyone reading a text of "Tsar Maximillian" would become gradually aware that it was written neither in pure prose nor in pure verse. He would notice, for instance, that passages of apparent prose had suddenly taken on a definite rhythm of their own and a definite rhyme pattern. It was because of this irregularity of the linguistic structure of the play, because of its obvious lack of a definite metre and apparent lack of syllabic organisation that scholars for many years considered it to be written in a sort of rhythmic or rhyming prose.

1. Although most of the data in the following chapter have been chosen with/...
In Old Russian prose writings of a kind where legal precision or strict accuracy were not prerequisites the emergence of an interesting stylistic device can be noted, beginning about the fifteenth century and continuing well into the seventeenth. It became common to place verbal constructions at the end of the clause or sentence and this automatically gave rise to a primitive morphological type of rhyme. The gradual awakening of writers to the stylistic possibilities of the custom, perhaps under the influence too of Byzantine rhymed prose, must have led to conscious refinements and, almost inevitably, to a more balanced or rhythmic arrangement of the words between the rhyming endings. By the seventeenth century the better examples of this style were being recognised by writers such as Simeon Polotskii as poetic rather than prose forms.

It is quite probable that this style was already popular among the folk. It bears some resemblance to that of the byliny, where the occasional rhymes arise from syntactic parallels and where the regularity of the line comes from the three major stresses rather than the number of syllables or the metre. A somewhat similar arrangement may be seen in some of the poslovitsy in which there is no metre but the same amount of major stresses in the two halves of the line, as in:

... with specific reference to "Tsar Maximillian" it may be considered as relevant to the other plays in the folk-repertoire as well, where the raeshnyi stikh, the effect of oral transmission and the many features typical of the folk text are equally in evidence.
However, the appearance of syllabic verse ousted this style in literary writing, although as late as the beginning of this century it was still regarded as the proper vehicle for folk-literature of humorous or satirical content. Because it was used extensively in the comic, descriptive monologues of the raeshnyi ded it became known as the raeshnyi stikh.

Because of the many irregularities it is difficult to define its characteristics. The Soviet Encyclopaedia describes it as follows:

"Раешный стих.
Форма народного стиха, признаком которой является обязательная смежная рифмовка, при неограниченных колебаниях слогового объема стиха и отсутствии какого-либо организации ударений."

This description, however, does not appear to be strictly accurate.

The most constant thing about raeshnyi stikh is certainly its rhyme structure which consists mainly of rhyming couplets, but sometimes extending into 3, 4 or even more lines, all with a single rhyme

1. Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya (2nd edit.), Vol. 35.
pattern, for example:

"А вот и я, развесёлый потешник,
Известный столичный потешник,
Со своей потешной панорамой;
Картинки верчу — позорачиваю,
Публику обмывачиваю,
Себе пятаки замочачиваю."

The couplets, however, may be freely interspersed with non-rhyming lines. A certain amount of internal rhyme can be found and alliteration is quite frequent.

There is no metre and the divergence between the numbers of syllables in each line shows that the verse structure does not depend upon syllabic equality. But it would scarcely be true to say that there is no attempt at syllabic organisation at all, for within the couplet the variation in the number of syllables per line is rarely greater than 1/2 (with exceptions) whereas the difference from couplet to couplet can be as much as 5/13 or 3/19.

Apart from the rhyme, the other most constant feature is the stress pattern. If only the major stresses are counted (as in the byliny) it will be found that there are usually 2 per line (with a common variant of 3 with occasional exceptions). The line usually falls into 2 (or 3) parts each containing a major stress.

The looseness of this structure gave its users considerable scope

for improvising, using their wit and natural talent for rhyme and word selection to obtain the greatest effect; and it is in this irregular rasahnyi stikh that most of "Tsar Maximillian" is written, not only the comic parts, but the serious as well, which may be an indication of the great age of the play.

One of the first things that strikes us on examining the texts of "Tsar Maximillian", especially the less distorted ones, is the quality of the rhyme. No text is completely without it, even the most verbally primitive (e.g. "Tsar Maximillian" - Akimova) and some (e.g. Berkov's text in "Ruskiifol'klor ...") seem to be written in it entirely. The distinctive couplets or runs of contiguous rhymes, depending upon the talent of individual actors, are much in evidence, as in:

"Вот мой острый меч шумит,  
Хочет голову срубить,  
Кровь горячая жжит,  
По мечу ручьём бежит."  

or:

"Ц.М. - Где же ты по сие время скитался?  
Адольф - В красной лодочке катался,  
С разбойниками анализалась."  

Masculine, feminine and dactylic rhymes can all be found:

(a) Masculine: "И для какого служил царственный трон  
На превышном месте сооружён?"

(b) Feminine: "Здравствуйте, господа сенаторы, я пришёл из царской конторы."

(c) Dactylic: "За кого вы меня считаете, за императора русского, или короля французского?" ¹

In the formation of rhymes many parts of speech are used and in all sorts of combinations. Thus from the text "Tsar Maximillian" - Berkov No. 2 we find the following:-

(a) господа noun (b) в том pronoun (c) бьёт verb
съеда + prep. худом + adj. метёт + vb.

(d) державу noun (e) Русь noun
славу + noun boiler + verb.

Examples of internal or double rhyme are also fairly common, for example:-

(a) "Выбирай любого,
Оставай худого," ²
(b) "По всей области летала,
А моей храбрости не видала?" ³
(c) "Град Антон огнём сожгут,
А тебя самого в полон возьму." ⁴

Another regular feature of the verse pattern is the frequent use of alliteration:

2. Ibid., p. 196.
In spite of the fact that many passages of "Tsar Maximillian" have been distorted by oral transmission it is possible to find places where both rhyme and the syllabic quantity are carefully controlled. Thus, when three lines with the same rhyme occur together the number of syllables per line very often falls into a definite pattern such as:

- short - short - long;
- long - long - short;
- long - short - long;

or even equi-syllabic. Here are some examples of the three types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Syllables</th>
<th>(a) short - short - long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-6-11</td>
<td>&quot;С чёрными бровями,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
<pre><code>              | С длинными усами,       |
              | И потрясал он всеми небесами.&quot; |
</code></pre>

2. Ibid., p. 273.
No. of Syllables

7-7-9:  " - Прощай, земля скирая,
        Прощай ты, мать родная;
        Прощай, милушка дорогая." 1

(b) long - long - short:

10-10-7:  " - Ты знаешь, я у вас в Персии бывал,
          Много вас, красноложих побивал,
          Ты где, в то время бывал?" 2

(c) long - short - long:

14-9-14:  " - И в чем это меня к себе царь призывает?
          Видно, меня далеко знают,
          Коли такие большие дела доверят." 3

(d) equi-syllabic:

9-9-9:  " - Присяду-ка я да отдохну,
          Маненечко табачку нюхну,
          А потом и до царя махну." 4

As in the fairground monologues the stress pattern is quite clear - two major stresses per line with occasionally three:-

" - Я вам сказал / что ваши боги,
    Кладу / под ноги,
    В грязь / топчу,
    Веровать / не хочу,
    А взвей / во Иисуса Христа,
    И целую его / в уста." 5

However, the quality of the verse varies a great deal from

2. "Tsar Maximillian", Onchukov - Variant 1, p. 11.
version to version and the standard is rarely consistently high. The extent to which the text varies according to the ability and memory of the actors of each variant can be seen by comparing two similar passages from different versions. One can compare Adolf's refusal to worship the pagan gods as expressed in the following two extracts:

(a) "- Не поклонюсь я твоим кумирическим богам, я твои кумирические боги, Подвергаю под ноги." 1
(b) "- Я верую вами; Иисусу Христу, который распят был на кресту. А кумирические бога, Подвергаю под нога, Как хочу, Так топчу!" 2

It is clear how much more organised and talented the second version is. Such wide variations are of course largely due to the inadequacies of the system of oral transmission.

By the eighteenth century the *naasnyi stikh* or rhythmic prose form was being used almost exclusively in popular or folk-literature, particularly of a comical or satirical content. Although a very few of the school dramas did in fact employ rhythmic prose the vast majority were in syllabic verse and if even the serious parts of "Tsar Maximillian" had been adapted from a hagiographical play one would expect at least traces of the syllabic verse structure to have remained.

The fact that "Tsar Maximillian" is written in rashnovi stikh tends to emphasise the idea that its origins are rooted in a popular and folk rather than a scholarly, "literary" tradition.

B: THE ORAL TRADITION

Not only did complicated verse structures suffer in the transmission from one generation to another, but the actual language of the plays often became distorted.

One of the most revealing features of a folk-lore tradition is the superstitious attention to precision, to the exact repetition of a particular action or to the exact reproduction of the "fixed" part of a text. We know that improvisation was one of the mainsprings of folk creativity but only in that part of the action or text regarded as "free" and in the folk-drama this would usually include the comic scenes. Professor Bogatirev sums up this ambiguous attitude to improvisation:-

One of the prime characteristics of all aspects of folk-art, pictorial, musical (vocal), choreographic, verbal and dramatic - is to be found in the strict adherence of its creators and performers to the norms of traditional style inherited from their fathers and grandfathers . . .

But there are also cases in which the performer, having made creative additions to the thing he performed, is convinced
that he has altered nothing and is surprised and even troubled when the collector points out the changes he had introduced into the text . . . " \(^1\)

These generalisations can be applied specifically to the Russian folk-theatre in which the actors also had a keen sense of tradition. Abramov, in his introduction to the text of "Tsar-Maksimilian" underlines this characteristic. Most of the actors he observed, particularly those in serious roles, were required to have their parts by heart and improvisation of the text was not permissible. Only in the case of some of the comic characters, Mark the old gravedigger, the gypsy and others, was a relaxation of this rule possible. These characters were allowed to interpolate their own jokes and remarks on topical events. \(^2\)

This attention to exact reproduction may be considered one of the reasons for some of the more confused passages of the text of "Tsar Maximillian" and other folk-plays where words have been repeated by an actor who did not fully hear or understand them. Rather than alter the accepted text the meaningless phrases have been repeated until passages like the following are arrived at:--

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2. I.S. Abramov, op. cit., p. 2.
Compare the above with the more coherent version of this ballad, popular in the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, which appears in "Tsar Maximillian" (Vinogradov No. 1):

" - Я в темнице удалиюсь
С распредеяших земных мест.
Сколько горестей терпел я . . . . .
А в разлуке тяжесть есть.
Зоставляю, друг любезный,
Зоставляю для того,
Что дороже есть милее
Я прекраснее всего." 1

Apart from the songs there are corruptions within the actual text itself; as in the following:–

"Твой брат давно в поле зарос травой." 3

instead of:–

"Твой прад давно в поле зарос травой." and:–

"Из-под тучи гнилой,"

instead of «—

"Из-под тучи огневой." ¹

and «— "Прожай род и народ
И вся просвещенная обида," ²

instead of «—

"И вся священная обитель.""

Some of the distorted results of oral transmission of the text can be observed particularly clearly in the various literary passages which have over the years crept into "Maximillian" and other folk-plays. During the course of the nineteenth century borrowing from the works of written literature became particularly popular among the actors and producers of the folk-theatre and many quotations from contemporary poems and sentimental romances appeared in the dramatic texts. Not only minor writers with a passing influence on public taste but also the masters of Russian nineteenth-century poetry found their way into the folk-theatre. In different variants of "Tsar Maximillian" and the other folk-plays it is possible to find quotations from such poems as Pushkin's "Gusar", "Brat'ya Razboiniki" and "Chernaya Shal'", Lermontov's "Demon", Batyushkov's "Razluka" and many others.

These extracts probably reached the folk-plays through the medium of the popular collections of songs and poems (chapbooks) which

were circulating among the ordinary people in the eighteenth and
nineteenth centuries and which contained a great variety of different
authors including such names as Merzlyakov, Pushkin, Lermontov,
Zhukovskii, Batyushkov, Glinka and Grebienko, all of whom have left
a trace of their poetry on "Tsar Maximillian" and other plays of the
folk-theatre.

Such literary borrowings were used by the folk-actors to expand
the basic plot, to keep the interest of the audience alive, and
even to add to the artistic value of the plays. From them often
came new characters, new situations, a new emphasis to established parts
of the plot and a new emotional and verbal richness to the somewhat
naive expressions of the text itself. They filled much the same role,
in fact, as the songs. Pushkin's "Hussar", for instance, or his
"Robber Brothers", have entered the plot of "Tsar Maximillian" and
"Lodka" respectively as new characters. Both these poems are good
examples of the use made of literary borrowings in the folk-plays and
both also clearly reflect the inevitable effects suffered by a piece
of literature when it is removed from its "intellectual" surroundings
and plunged into the folk-milieu. Pushkin's "Gusar" appears in
several versions of "Tsar Maximillian" but only in three of the texts
known to me is the quotation large enough to justify study: that is,
in "Tsar Maximillian" (Kostin), "Tsar Maximillian" Biryukov, and a

---
MS copy of the play in the possession of Professor P.G. Bogatirev.

Parts of the "Brat'ya razboiniki" also appear frequently but for the purposes of this study I shall examine it in detail as it occurs in "Shlyupka"-Berkov, where it is quoted, almost in full, in two places.

Through time, these literary quotations, like the texts of the plays themselves, became distorted in various ways; became, in other words, "folklorised". It is interesting to see the methods by which this is achieved. Roughly speaking the causes are twofold. The transformation occurs firstly because the poem is considered to have become a part of folk-literature and secondly because the poem is considered no longer in isolation but as an integral part of a play. By saying that the poem has become part of folk-literature I mean simply that, like the rest of the play, it has become part of an orally transmitted tradition whose specific features and laws have gradually influenced and modified its original content. Previously, it has been noted how oral transmission with its misunderstandings and mishearings affected the text of "Maximillian" itself. There are numerous similar distortions within the poems themselves. So,

1. From the archives of the Saratov Archive Commission (Uchenaya Arkhivnaya Komissiya). The text was taken down from the words of a peasant (N.P. Konyaev) from the village of Pribashenko, Bunkovskaya volost', Bogorodskii uezd in the Moscow government on 13th July, 1912.

2. Shlyupka - Variant 1, N.B. Onchukov, Severnye narodnye drama, pp. 70-87 in P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII-XX vv., pp. 150-.
in the "Robber Brothers" in "Shlyupka" - Berkov, \(^1\) the "грешную молитву"
of the original has become:--
"грстную молитву";
"он вбород упрамо"
has become:--
"он вбороду прямо";
"онять недуг его сломил и арне грёзы посетили"
has become:--
"недуг его сломил, и грёзы приключились."

The actors' memory was not infallible either and some verses were forgotten or the order in which they were remembered confused.
In the poem "Gusar" from the text "Tsar Maximillian" Biryukov, verses 4-6 and 8-11 are missed out as well as the last verse and considerable portions of verses 26, 27 and 28. This is also true of the "Robber Brothers" in "Shlyupka", where large sections of the poem are omitted; in the first quotation lines 5-66, and from line 89 to the end, in the second lines 18-40, 44-54, 59-62, 117-152, 157-164, 218-234. \(^2\) Some of these omissions are certainly due not simply to forgetfulness but to a definite wish to simplify the text, to cut out non-essentials which might slow down the action. Therefore,

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1. See pp. 158, 159.
2. Shlyupka, Berkov, pp. 151, 156-8
in the plays we are faced not simply with literary recitation but with a poem which has been used and adapted for a specific purpose. In the second quotation from the "Rober Brothers" in "Shlyupka" the lyrical description of the robber camp is omitted and the description of the brigands themselves reduced to the line:—

"Кид, калымк, башкир, цыган, брат и я." 7

Similarly, the somewhat sentimental episode with the old man and the descriptive passage beginning:—

"Тогда сильнее
Взяла тоска по прежней доле,"

are also left out. Only the bare essentials of the "death" scene remain:—

"Три дня больной не говорил
А на четвертой день позвал меня,
Пожал мне руку,
Рука здорова: он вдохнул
И на груди моей уснул." 2

Such passages as those omitted would not have fitted in well with the rougher and more primitive nature of the robbers in the folk-drama, and of course they would be out of place in a first-person narration as the poem has become in the plays. In the extract from "Gusar" in the "Tsar Maximillian" (Biryukov) version, verse 4 has been wrongly placed in front of verse 7. In Pushkin's poem the Hussar sprinkles some of the magic potion over the cat and then over other objects in the room, whereas in the play the reverse process occurs.

2. Ibid., p. 258.
Alterations in the text of the poem can take place when the folk-actor does not remember the original version in full or when he consciously changes a word or a phrase to make it more comprehensible or acceptable to his audience. This type of substitution often takes the form of simplification and at the same time expansion in one way or another. Note the following examples from the "Robber Brothers" in "Tsar Maximilian", Kostin. Here the words:

"Здесь человека держат" 1

have been used instead of the less usual word

"берегут"

in line 5 of the original poem. Pushkin's rather inexplicit lines:

"Здесь на тебя как летий зверь глядит хозяин, а с хозяйкой . . ."

(lines 9-10) have clearly not been properly understood by the actor who has rationalised them to something more obvious:

"Глядят хозяин да хозяйка." 2

The phrase "очень тихо" 3 replaces Pushkin's "тихохонько"

(line 46) which is more difficult to pronounce.

When the narrator has recourse to improvisation for whatever reason, he tends to expand the original text, drawing on the fund of

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
folk words and constructions which come readily to his lips. Often he introduces the double-words, synonyms and repetitions typical of folk-literature. If one compares certain quotations from the "Robber Brothers" with their "folklorised" equivalents one can readily see the expansion which has taken place:—

(a) **Pushkin**

"Всё нажим! Всё себе берём."  "Оборвём, обдерём, всё это дело намё.

"Туда! К воротам, и стучим."  "Туда катаём, туда летим, смело послеваем."

"... нашему младене Всемирна чужая семья."  "Поила-кормила нас чужая семья."

"Летим над снежной глубиной."  "Не дорогой-стороной Под снежной глубиной."

A typically folk device, too, occurs in the repetitive basis of these lines:—

"И сажла три салёные свечи
И сунулась в какой-то уголок
И достала какой-то пузёrek.

...                ...

И я тоже соскочил с печки
И я зажег три салёные свечи
И сунулся в тот самый уголок."  


2. "Shlyupka", Berkov, pp. 157, 230, 156, 157, respectively.
Other details added to the text are also borrowed from folk-lore. For instance, in the description of the Hussar's horse in "Tsar Maximillian", (Kostin) and "Tsar Maximillian", Biryukov the constant epithet "вороный" is used, and the phrases:

"Шея дугоей, грива волной,
хвост красноперекопской трубой"

correspond to the Russian pogovorka:

"У коня хвост трубой,"

and similar expressions. ¹ The numbers three and seven, constantly recurring in folk-lore, creep into the descriptions too. As a result the simple "свечка" in Pushkin becomes:

"три сальные свечи."

In place of:— "Под лавкой дремлет кот"

there appears:— "лежит кот
Тому семьдесят семь лет." ²

Acknowledgement of the poem as being part of the dramatic text brings in its wake another series of changes and the Hussar becomes an accepted character in the play and, as a normal consequence, in both the Kostin and Biryukov variants the poem is now told in the first person. In the Kostin version this leads to the omission of

certain unsuitable lines. Verse 6 is left out; the first line:—

"Он стал крутить свой длинный ус,"

because, as the hussar is himself relating the story a third-person narrative is no longer suitable (for the same reason the first two lines of the whole poem are also omitted); the rest:—

"Ты, хлопец, может быть не трус,"

because it is no longer in context, as the hussar is now addressing his tale to Tsar Maximillian. Moreover, in keeping with the dramatic structure, a little dialogue has been introduced, the lines:—

"— А чем же?
Расскажи, служивый"

being spoken by Tsar Maximillian.

In the extract in "Tsar Maximillian", Biryukov the whole poem is turned into the first person and the first two lines are not omitted as in the previous example but converted into:—

"Чишу я своего коня . . .

One of the results of this change to the first person has been a concentration of the action of the poem into one place (Kiev) and not two as in the original (i.e. Kiev and the soldier's billet). This accounts for the following:—

"Близ Киева, Днепра
Чишу я своего коня скребницей."
The change to first-person narrative is true also for the "Robber Brothers" which is retold completely in the first person, introduced by the altered lines:

"А на Волге шайка собирались из наших милых друзей: жид, калмык, башкир, цыган, брат и я."

The presence of an audience too, has had an obvious effect upon the structure of the poem. Thus in the variant "Tsar Maximillian", (Biryukov) the hussar, on entering, prefaced his tale with an address to his audience in the style of the fairground clowns:

"Здравствуйте господа,
Второй раз заявляюсь к вам сюда,
Второй раз прихожу
И очень вам интересно расскажу."

Elsewhere a brief dialogue takes place between hussar and audience in place of the omitted verses 4-6 and in places where the text has been radically altered the tone of the new version is generally that of one man relating in comradely fashion his experiences to another:

"Ну слушайте. Около Днепра стоял наш полк. А на моё счастливое моленье попала хозяйка, да добрая - так добра, так хороша! Бывало напоит, накормит, да сорковушку винца приготовит."
In "Shlyupka," Berkov, too, the robber addresses his audience directly. Just before he tells how he and his brother were captured he turns to them and says:—

"Но и тут, не долго, друзья, попиравали ..."

Interesting changes can also be observed in the metrical and verse structure of Pushkin's poems. Where the actor has forgotten the exact lines but not necessarily the general content he automatically remakes the verses on the pattern of folk-verse, raeshnyi stikh, which was of course more familiar to his ear than the literary metres. This has taken place in the following couplets from "Tsar Maximillian", Kostin:—

"Ты пострел
Зачем седа поспел?"

"Как я гусар присяжный
Да поеду тебе на кочерге грязной."

There are also examples of sustained runs of raeshnyi stikh in "Tsar Maximillian" (Biryukov):—

"Щея дугой,
Грива волной,
Хвост краснолаковской трубой."

"И я тоже соскочил с печки
И я зажег три сальные свечки
И сунулся в тот самый уголок
Достал же тот самый пузырёк ..."

In Kostin's version the folk-actor has not been able to resist adding a fifth line to one of Pushkin's four-line verses rhyming ab/ab, thus
creating a couplet on the pattern of raeshnyi stikh:—

"... жила с дядушкою вернёт
Да моя Маруську забавляет." ²

Raeshnyi stikh also creeps into the "Robber Brothers" as in:—

"Туда стремимся,
Так стучимся,
К себе хозяйку вызываем, пьём гуляем,
К себе красных девушек ласкаем ... ." ³

or:—

"Бывало, взойдет месяц ясный,
Мы на промысел ужасный,
Как месяц посреди небес,
Мы из-под земли, да и прямо в лес." ⁴

The poem "Gusar" as it appears in Professor Bogatirev's MS copy stands somewhat apart from the others as it is very much more a folklore version. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to recognise the original text in it. In fact, it is more than likely that, as Professor Bogatirev suggests, this text derives not from Pushkin's poem but from the folk-legend to which Pushkin himself was indebted for his own material.⁵ Professor Bogatirev also points out that a

2. Compare with stanza 22 of Pushkin's poem.
4. Ibid.
story published by the writer Somov, "Kievskie Ved'my" (1833), based upon the Ukrainian legend of the soldier and the witch, appeared in the same literary journal as Pushkin's "Domik v Kolomne" and in the same year as "Gusar" was written.

The hussar's monologue in this text can be divided into two parts, the first of which is completely independent of Pushkin's poem. The second part bears thematic, although scarcely textual, resemblances to Pushkin.

The first part, in which the hussar boasts of his courage in battle against the French, Turks and Germans, relates his comic adventures in various countries and towns, and describes his experiences "с одной прекрасной Барбарой", is composed of a hothpotch of different elements, including many folk-songs and romances, such as the early nineteenth-century aria:

"Кончен, кончен, дальний путь, 
Дай гусару отдохнуть,"

or:

"Гусар на саблю опираясь, 
В глубокой горести стоял."

Among the passages which can be traced to the fairground clowns is the hussar's description of his mistress, which is full of the same comically paradoxical statements as the popular comic's "portraits" of his wife or daughter. These "portraits" always began with an apparent compliment but the real feelings of the comic were soon revealed, as
in the second monologue quoted by Leifert in his work on the fair-
ground theatres. In it the comic "praises" his daughter's
culinary achievements:—

"Оказала нам дочка угощение:
Сварила суп
Из каменных круп,
А пирог был с такой начинкой,
Что у меня Матрена 3 дня возилась с начинкой;"

The hussar compliments his mistress in similar terms:—

"Хлебушка печь тоже была мастерница
Бывала испечёт так: снизу падгарела
Сверху падгарела
На краям пресна
.:.:.:.:.:.:.:.
.:.:.:.:.:.
Садала ела, ела
И та акалала."

The hussar's speech continues with a list of the "gifts" that he sends to his beloved, namely a candle end and a novelty tea-pot without a bottom to it and only the handle left. These are objects which obviously fall into the same category as the satirical dowry and lottery lists which were also a source of amusement to the fairground crowds. Among the objects described in one of the comic lottery lists in Leifert's collection is a similar teapot:—

"Чайник без ручки, без дна
Только крышка одна." 2.

1. A.V. Leifert, op. cit.
2. Ibid., p. 66.
After these preliminaries follows the story of the hussar and the witch. It is written in a mixture of irregular raashnyi stilkh and prose. The language is extremely colloquial and nowhere corresponds to Pushkin's poem.

"Borrowing" was in fact one of the most popular methods of adding to the textual skeleton of the folk-plays. It was particularly common to find within the framework of one play specific borrowings or influences from other plays and scenes in the folk-dramatic repertoire.

I have already pointed out that some of the comic characters may have entered the play from the vertep. It was customary among folk-actors to perform two or more plays from the repertoire consecutively. The same actors merely changed roles and with time, particularly where the costumes were similar or remained the same, a certain amount of confusion appeared as to where one play ended and another began. Thus the religious play "King Herod", a live version of the puppet-vertep, thus became confused in some places with "Tsar Maximillian" whose plot in parts also resembled it superficially. In Vinogradov's 4th version of "Tsar Maximillian" Herod and Maximillian have become one and the same person and it is Maximillian who, at the end of the play, orders Anika to massacre the children and it is Anika-Voin and not Herod's emissaries who kills Rachel's baby before her eyes.
Scenes from the cycle of robber-plays also occur frequently, and usually irrelevantly, within the framework of "Tsar Maximillian". Thus, the first scene of Kallash's second variant and the first act of Volkov's version are simply adaptations or excerpts from "Lodka" which are totally unrelated to the following text. A more organic connection between the two plays can of course be found in the person of Adolf, who in several versions (see for instance "Onchukov No. 1", "Abramov", "Vinogradov, No. 2") is himself a member of the robber band, and this becomes one of the reasons for his father's displeasure. In Vinogradov No. 2 Adolf himself becomes the leader of the robber band:

"Д.М. - ДЕ ТЫ ПО СКЕ ВРЕМЯ СКИТАЛСЬ
И ТАК ДОЛГО ПРОКЛАДАЛСЬ?

АДОЛЬФ - А Я НИГДЕ НЕ СКИТАЛСЬ,
И НИГДЕ НИ ПРОКЛАДАЛСЬ,
А ВСЁ ВРЕМЯ ВНИЗ ПО МАТУШКЕ ПО ВОЛГЕ
В ЛЁЖКОЙ ЛОДОЧКЕ КАТАЛСЬ.
.......
АТАМАНОМ БЫЛ Я,
И УПРАВЛЯЛ ВСЕМ РУКА МОЯ." 1

Parts of the satirical dialogue "Barin" have also made their way into "Tsar Maximillian". For example, in the last scene of the variant "Onchukov No. 2", Maximillian turns into a landowner and begins to question Maksimko (now a peasant from Chudov village) about the well-being of his estate and tenants.

C. USE OF FOLK-SONG

A much more artistically complex form of "folk-borrowing" within the framework of the plays, in particular "Tsar Maximillian", is that of the folk-songs.

The variety of Russian songs is infinite. There are songs reflecting every shade of emotion, from the comic songs sung for public entertainment at the fairgrounds or at village parties, to the traditional dirges of the funeral mourner; there are songs for every season from the Christmas and New Year "carols" to the spring songs in praise of awakening nature; songs for every occasion in life from birth to death; songs sung by a variety of specific social or professional groups, as the soldiers who sang about their fate, bewailing their recruitment into the hard life of the army, or exulting at a victory over the enemy, or coach and sledge drivers who reflected in their melancholy music the vast desolate spaces of Russia over which they passed, or the rhythmic song of the bargemen measuring their way up the rivers and canals. Through the centuries the folk-song retained its popularity, becoming an inalienable part of every holiday, party or festive occasion. It is not by chance that the wedding ritual, one of the most important events of the peasant's life, was constructed round a series of songs. The ancient Russian epics were created to be sung and even the predominantly prose-genres of Russian folk-literature such as the skazki often
included a folk-song in the text.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the folk-plays performed at holidays and fairs should themselves abound in song. This is especially true of "Tsar Maximillian" where the greater sophistication of the text allows wide scope for imaginative embellishment. There are variants of plays which contain no songs but these are rare; some have only two or three, others (such as the Myakustin, Vinogradov I and Abramov versions of "Tsar Maximillian" which contain respectively no fewer than 15, 11 and 16 songs) are full of songs from beginning to end. Even within the narrow scope of the folk-play the songs are extremely varied in type. We find, for example:-

(a) **Robber songs**:-

"Уж загорелась в чистом поле трава ковыль", a song about Stepan Razin;

"Вниз по Матушке по Волге"; "Ты ввойди, ввойди солнце красное", also supposed to be about Stepan Razin.

(b) **Soldier songs**, with a further sub-section of Cossack songs:-

"Чёрный ворон что ты въёлся, над моею головой?", a popular Cossack song;

"Как во поле полянке ёлочка стоит ёлочка стоит, стоит
"Вою Россию проехал, все губернии изошёл . . . ";
"Спомогла наша надежда, жизнь кончилась";
"Я в пустыню удаляюсь, от прекрасных здешних мест",
a romance by the poetess Zubova, popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Songs derived from literary sources which later became folklorised, for example:

"Ночь тиха, счёть минуты, у тюремы двери крепки",
from Ogariev's poem "Arestant", first published abroad in 1857, which later became very popular in Russia;

"Гусяр на саблю опираясь в глубокой горести стояла",
from Batyushkov's "Razluka";

"Не слишком шуму городского, за Невской башней тишина",
from a song by Glinka, published in the almanach "Venera" in 1831;

"Как на любом месте, молодец стоит",
from "Ballada" by Turgenev; and

"Я вечер в лужах гуляла",

1. See e.g. V.Ya. Propp, Narodnye liricheskie pesni (L. 1961).
2. See e.g. "Romansy" in V.P. Biryukov, op. cit.
from a poem by Khovanskii in "Aonida" (1796).

(e) Love songs, like:

"Уж ты ветка бедная, ты куда пливешь?"

(f) Arias from popular operas, such as the prayer:

"Ой ты боюсь милосердный, Боюсь сильный и преследный"
from the operetta "La Neman idu."

and:

"Кончен, кончен, дальний путь",
which is possibly a popular aria from the early nineteenth century;
it occurs in N.M. Yazykov's play "Zhar-ptitsa" (1836).

(g) Comic songs:

"Дует, дует ветерок из трактира в погребок", "Пора
молодцу жениться, пора ехать со двора, etc., and even

(h) hymns: the official royal hymn,

"Боже царя храни, сильный, державный, царь православный",
is sung in the Kostin version of "Tsar Maximillian".

There are many difficulties involved in correctly categorising
the folk-songs and even more so in tracing their origin. However,
a general assessment of the nature and role of the folk-songs appearing
within the framework of the folk-plays may be made. On the whole, in
the so-called "robber-plays" the majority of songs are on the "robber"
theme, whereas in "Tsar Maximillian" there occurs a different and very
interesting phenomenon. Among the songs which constantly recur, a high proportion are drawn not from the wealth of authentic folk-songs of ancient origin but from those of much later date. Many are the work of professional poets and song-writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which, having first become popular with the urban population whose taste tended towards the sentimental and the melodramatic, later spread throughout the country and eventually became folklorised. To name but a few:

"Я в темницу удаляюсь",
"Не слышно шума городского",
"Кончен, кончен дальней путь",
"Как на лобном месте",
"Гусар на саблю опираясь",
"Померла наша надежда",
"Среди долины ровные" (from a song by Merzlyakov).

Apart from these there are many others which although occurring less frequently or only in isolated cases continue to heighten this impression of the musical content of "Tsar Maximillian". Among these we find:

"Отворите мне темницу"
from Lermontov's poem "Zhelanie" (1832),

"Хожу я, гляжу я безумно на черную маль" from a poem by Pushkin first published in "Syn otechestva" No. 15 (1821),
"Вдоль по улице широкой молодой кузнец идёт",
which could be from a song by P.P. Ershov in his dramatic tale
"Fo_ma-Kuznets", 1 or simply a variant of other folk-songs in
the same style.

This fact serves to underline further a point I have made
before, namely that "Tsar Maximillian" is chiefly a product not
of the folk-lore of the village but of the urban masses whose
inherited knowledge of folk-literature was considerably
influenced and distorted by the popular entertainment and tastes
of the town. It is also interesting to note that among the other
songs occurring in "Tsar Maximillian" many are soldier songs,
a reflection of the professional background of the actors or
producers, many of whom, as will be shown, were soldiers.

Careful examination of the texts of the folk-plays shows that
in the vast majority of cases songs are chosen, not at random but
for some specific purpose. There are even examples where the
words of the song have been deliberately altered to correspond to
a situation in the play, as in the variant of "Lodka" "Ataman Churkin".
Here there is a line of the song:-

"Среди лесов дремучих"

1. In the anthology Osennii vecher (1935).
The songs can be divided into two main groups according to their function in the plays. Group I will contain songs not organically connected with the text, group II will contain songs which do have some organic connection with the play. Within these two groups it is possible to subdivide into (a) songs with a passive rôle and (b) songs with an active rôle. "Passive" songs are those whose presence in the play adds nothing to our knowledge of the existing situation or characters, although they may serve to underline some point, heighten the tension and so forth. "Active" songs, however, can be used to help on the development of the play, by introducing new elements.

It is a tribute to the dynamic nature of the folk-plays, "Maximillian" in particular, and to the artistic and dramatic sensibility of their communal authors, that very few songs can be found which are totally unconnected thematically or emotionally with the play.

(a) Inorganic, passive songs. - It sometimes happens that a very popular song finds its way into the folk-play repertoire, merely by virtue of its popularity. But this is a rare occurrence. The existence of irrelevant songs in the folk-plays is mainly due to the hazards of the oral tradition whereby gradual corruption of the text may lead to the omission of one part of a scene while the remainder
becomes disconnected and incomprehensible. This is clearly the case with the song:

"Гусар на саблю опираясь",

sung by the Arab in the Berkov variant from Russkii fol'klor of "Tsar Maximillian". 1 What has happened here is simply that the correlation between speaker and words has been lost. The song, commonly sung by the Hussar, has been accepted as an integral part of the text, while the character himself has been replaced by another. A larger group of inorganic, passive songs, however, was made to fulfill a specific function. The emotions aroused by the folk-plays were evidently strongly felt both by those taking part and by the audience. Very often the prevailing mood is heightened by the insertion of a song, humorous, sad, heroic, whose actual content may be quite unconnected with the play itself. Thus in the Abremov variant of "Tsar Maximillian" during the interlude scenes with the "Jew" and the "old man" there are several comic songs:

"Подрались, подрались старушечка с стариком";

"Буда в мене старушечка любка," 2

whose sole function is to add to the humour of the scenes where these two comic figures meet. The pathos of Adolf's execution in Volkov's "Tsar Maximillian" is underlined by the singing of the hymn:

"Ой ты бохе милосердный, 
Боже сильный и пречудный!" 3

1. p. 338.
2. p. 31.
3. p. 332.
with Adolf, the executioner and the military guard all on their knees. Similarly, in Gruzinskii's "Tsar Maximilian" the melancholy song:

"Ох вы, лесы мои, лесы тёмные,
Ох вы, звери мои, звери летне . . ."

makes Adolf's sadness more pointed. It is more usual, however, to find that the songs which heighten a prevailing mood have been carefully chosen to fit in with the rest of the play as well.

(b) Some organic, passive songs. - In Onchukov, 'Shlyapka' No. 1 during a scene of merrymaking the robbers sing:

"Ай да усы, ай да усы, развейся усы,"

a humorous robber-song which corresponds both to the mood and to the characters themselves. Several versions of "Tsar Maximilian" include a song in praise of the Tsar which identifies the feelings of his warriors and subjects and is at the same time very apt, for instance, the songs:

"Славься, государь на троне," 1

or:

"Славься, славься, Русь святая,
Ты не победима . . . " 2

Similarly, the constantly recurring

"Хвала, хвала, тебе герой, 
что Антон град спасён тобой!"

not only underlines the mood of joy at victory but also refers to a specific event and to a specific character in the play, Anika.

(c) Inorganic, active songs. - A large number of songs, indeed the majority, have a more definite function than merely to underline. These are used in such a way as to add to the action itself, to offer some new development, to expand our view of what is going on, and they are used to this purpose in a variety of different ways.

As has been shown above, a song may be used to emphasise the dramatic mood. A song may also have the active role of changing the mood of the action, in particular of altering a melancholy moment into a gay one or of relieving tension by alternating the sad with the humorous. Sometimes only one song is introduced by way of a little break, while in other cases the songs form an integral part of the comic interludes which alternate with the serious or tragic scenes, or else form of themselves an interval of light musical entertainment in the course of the play. We often find such songs inserted after particular episodes, such as the death of one of the main characters.

In "Tsar Maximilian" (Onchukov 1), after Anika is slain by

1. p. 47.
Death, the Tsar asks for his favourite song to cheer him up. The humorous song:

"Ай, Настасья, ты Петровна, отпрая-эо ворота,
Ай да ляли, ай да ляли, принимай-эо сокола" –

which follows completely changes the mood, and it is upon this optimistic note in fact that the play ends. In the same variant after the melancholy scenes of Adolf's banishment and his father's anger a moment of light relief is interpolated before the final humiliation and execution. The motivation for this is provided by Adolf himself who pretends to recant and calls for singing and dancing to celebrate his return from exile. In some variants of "Lodka" the mood at the beginning set by the Ataman's monologue is a melancholy one. This is often remedied by the Ataman's own suggestion that the robbers should sing his favourite song. The robbers obey him with the song:

"Ах вы, горы мои, горы,
Горы вор облещись!"

Sometimes songs fulfilling this purpose occur not independently but within the structure of another scene. Here, of course, the whole scene is intended to relieve tension or add light relief and the songs are only a part of the artistic methods employed. A typical example of this can be found in the Abramov variant of "Tsar

Maximillian" in which a sentimental and superfluous scene depicting the murder of a girl by her jealous lover is immediately followed by a series of exchanges between the Jew and the Cossack, including a number of comic songs.

(d) Organic active songs. — Songs may be used not only to change the mood of the plays, in other words to introduce new emotional elements, but also to introduce new characters. Thus in several variants of "Lodka" the entrance of the robber-band is accompanied by or prefaced by the singing of a song such as

"Нас не мал кругол собрался,
Все нехватов молодцов,
Атаман нам любовался,
Все считал за подлецов." ¹

or:

"За Уралом, братцы, за рекой шайка собиралась,
Ей, ей, ночь гуляй, шайка собиралась." ²

or:

"Вниз по Матушке по Волге." ³

Such songs act almost as signature-tunes, telling the audience to expect the arrival of the robber-band. At the beginning of many variants of "Tsar Maximillian" (see Myakutin, Onchukov ¹, Onchukov ²,

1. Shlyupka — Variant 2, N.E. Onchukov, Severnye narodnye dramy (SPb. 1911).
2. Shlyupka — Berkov, p. 159.
etc.), before the tsar's first appearance on stage the song:

"Велил, велил русский царь
Православный государь ..."

sets the scene and prepares the audience for the ensuing entrance of Maximillan.

An extension of this principle is the type of song in which the character in question actually describes himself, his mood or the situation in which he finds himself, thus forming a sort of musical soliloquy which takes the place of the customary spoken monologue. Adolf in prison recollects the happy times of his youth and bewails his present fate in

"Было время золотое,
Я с друзьями пил, гулял,
А теперь что случилось,
В тьму каменную попал ..."

In the song:

"Я в темницу удаляюсь, от прекрасных земных мест.
Сколько горести смертной мне в разлуке с милой жить,"

which occurs in many texts, Adolf again expresses grief at his impending banishment. Often these "song-speeches" are addressed directly to some other person or persons. Joined by a reply, in spoken or

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music form, or by some physical response evoked by the appeal of the singer, the song becomes woven into the very fabric of the dramatic action.

The various stages in this process can be seen in the following examples. Here the Ataman addresses a kidnapped girl, promising her an easy life and fine clothes:

"У меня есть для тебя
Кофточка золотом пита,
Щуба на лисьем меху,
Будешь ходить ты бархатом одетая
И спать на лебяжьем пуху..." 1

It is customary for Adolf, reconciled to his fate, to take farewell of the world and ask his father's forgiveness before his execution and he does this usually in a song in which he addresses by turn his father, his friends and his bride.

In these two cases specific people are addressed but no reply is forthcoming. In the play "Stepan Razin" 2 there is an example of a response in the form of action, to the song of the imprisoned robber. The prisoner in an allegorical song-soliloquy bewails his fate:

"Уж загорелась во чистом поле трава – ковыль,

1. "Shaika Razbainikov", Biryukov, op. cit., p. 44.
2. V. Golovachev and B. Lashchilin, op. cit.
The young eagle of course refers to himself and the singeing of his wings refers to his falling into the hands of the enemy and his subsequent imprisonment. In despair, he appeals to his friends to rescue him:

"Ой вы братцы, друзья мои милые, не спохватите меня добrego молодца, во небольшках, . . ."

In answer the Cossacks and Razin himself burst into the prison and free him. A further stage is reached when a complete musical duologue or even dialogue has evolved. This is often simply the result of dramatising a song.

In the following example¹ a dialogue takes place between Adolf and his gaoler. Adolf mourns his lost freedom and begs the gaoler to help him escape. The latter, although he sympathises, is afraid to let him go. It will be seen that the duologue is a dramatised although distorted version of Ogarev's poem "Arestant" (1850):

"Адольф — Ночь тиха, смотри минуты,  
У тюрем х двери крепки,  

¹ "Tsar Maksimilian i ego nepokornyi syn Adol'f," in V. Golovachev and B. Lashchilin, _op. cit._
At this point Adolf calls to the guard for assistance, and the guard replies:

"часовой: это барин всё возможно
одного лишь я боюсь,
здесь начальство всё лихое,
ofицерам донесут,
отгадут под суд военный
и сквозь строй солдата проведут."

Similarly, in "Shaika Razboinikov-Onchakov" there is a three-cornered dialogue between the Ataman, one of his men and the robbers partly in spoken and partly in musical form. The Ataman and Rezanov discuss the capture of a barrel of wine and the robbers gather round to celebrate. Rezanov sings:

"вдруг я вышел на дорогу,
тут попался мне мужик,
он несёт вина в бочёнке,
подошёл к нему я в мят ..."

The Ataman asks:

"что я ты ему сказал?"

Rezanov then sings in answer:

"Не сказал ему ни слова,
Цон по неё тесаком,
И схватил вино в бочёнке,
Тут и след мой уж просты ..."
Then the robbers sing and make merry:

"Друзья в бутылки наливайте,  
Обсужайте в рюмках дно,  
То-то дулы, то-то дулы,  
То-то людьми мои!"

There are instances, however, when the action, mood or thoughts of the characters are expressed through the medium of a choir, which is usually hidden off-stage. Direct musical statement is thus replaced by indirect musical comment.

It has been shown how, in some cases, the use of appropriate descriptive songs develops into a primitive form of dramatisation. In situations where the correlation between the words of the song and the action on stage, in other words the "dramatisation", is high, there appear to be two distinct factors at work. On the one hand a constant action in the play is merely emphasised by the choice of a song similar in content and mood, which sometimes creates the false impression that the said action is in fact a dramatisation of the song. To take an example: the chaining, imprisonment and execution of Adolf are obviously an integral and original part of the plot. Often the scene depicting these actions is illustrated by the singing of Turgenev's "Ballad":

"Как на лбном месте молодец стоял,  
... ... ... ... ... ...  
Скован он, скован, скован по рукам,  
Скован он, скован, скован по ногам..."
Clearly in such instances the action cannot be regarded as a dramatisation of the song. However, there are other examples where in the same scene, the addition of another song, also connected with the theme of the action, leads to considerable expansion, the appearance of a new character, and, to a certain extent, a change in the whole mood of the scene. In several variants of "Maximillian" the scene of the chaining of Adolf is further expanded by the singing of the comic song:

"Вдоль по улице широкой
Молодой кузнец идёт,
Он идёт, идёт, идёт,
Громко песенку поёт..."

The subsequent words and actions of the blacksmith himself who materialises from the song, introduce a note of frivolity into the usually tragic scene. Compare too the following use of similar songs in closely related situations. In the first example,\(^1\) the song

"Номерла наша надежда..."

describing the tragic death of a loved one, is sung after the death of Anika and accompanies the bearing out of his body on the crossed weapons of his friends. Secondly, in "Ataman Churkin",\(^2\) the death of the robber leader in the forest is followed by the singing of the

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2. V. Golovachev and B. Lashchilin, *op. cit.*
well-known robber-song:—

"Среди лесов дремучих, разбойники идут."

In this case there follows a scene in which the actions of the robbers actually correspond to the words of the song. They bear him out in their arms, dig a grave for him and bury him as the song describes. In the first example one would assume that the song is a secondary element, in a supporting rôle, whereas in the second example it has become instrumental in the development of a new scene.

The most obvious case of song dramatisation is, of course, that of

"Вниз по Матушке по Волге,"

which provided the nucleus for a whole series of folk-plays.

It was quite usual too for the plays themselves to open on a musical note. The actors used to enter the house where the performance was to take place, singing a song in which they introduced themselves to their host, asked his permission to play and expressed their hope of some small reward. The commonest song of this introductory type was the following:—

"Ты дозволь, дозволь, хозяин,
В нову горенку войти!
Ой валина! Ой валина!
Черная смородина
В нову горенку войти
Вдоль по горенке пройти
Слово вымолвить! . . ."

This song acts as a sort of prologue to the action, having much the
same function as the zazhina of the byliny or the naboronye pesni of
the Khorovod dances. In the folk-theatre in general it was a common
phenomenon to preface a performance by a formal request for permission,
whether musical or spoken. Songs similar to the above Russian one
can be found, for instance, in texts of the English folk-play of
"Saint George" where Father Christmas asks:

"A room, a room, I do presume,
Pray give us room to rhyme,
For we have come to show activity
This merry Christmas time."

It was customary also to end the performance of the folk-play in a
formal manner, resembling the kontsevka of other genres of folk-
literature. Such conventional endings to be found in the Skazki as:

"Вот вам сказка, а мне буликов связка,"
or:

"Тем сказке конец, а мне водочкі корец"

were not only indications to the audience that the tale was at an end
but also a humorous request to reward the story-teller for his enter-
tainment. In folk-drama the request, or quête, as it is called, is
also recognised as part of the structure of the play. It can take

1. The Mummers' Play from Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks.: Stuart
Pigott, "Mummers' Plays from Berkshire, Derbyshire, Cumberland and
the form of a song but in the Russian folk-plays it is more usual to find a spoken jingle. One variant of "Tsar Maximillian" ends thus:

"Представление кончено господин, Пожалуйте за погляденье денегки сюда!" ¹

Another variant ends as follows:

"Вот почтенейшая фублика, Занавеска закрывается, И представление всё кончается, А ахтерам с вас на чай полагается." ²

Often, however, a lively song is chosen to round off the folk-plays, so that the action may end on a cheerful note after the preceding scenes of death and violence and so that the audience may return home in a congenial frame of mind.

D. THE TECHNIQUES OF FOLK-LITERATURE

In general "Tsar Maximillian" is full of words, phrases and constructions habitually used in folk-literature in the singing of songs and the telling of tales and epic verses. Constant epithets which helped to crystallise an image in the minds of the audience are to be found in the folk-plays as well as in other branches of

¹ Vinogradov - Variant I, p. 52.
² "Tsar Maximillian", Berkov - Variant I, p. 199.
Some of the techniques used in other branches of folk-literature for slowing down or retarding the action with a view to focussing the attention of the audience or creating suspense also occur in "Tsar Maximillian". A favourite device of this type often found in the akazki and byliny are the different ways of using repetition, such as repeating the initial word in the line:

" - чтобы сверх земли не тлен, чтобы червь их не толкал, чтобы дождь их не мочил."

or:

" - За чем Аник у воина призвываем, иль что делать повелеваем? Иль я в чём провинился, иль мой булатный меч притупился? Иль я стал глуп..."

Retardation by repetition often occurs at a particularly interesting moment in the plot so that the listener is deliberately kept waiting.

for the next event. This can be seen, for instance, in the description of the battles between the bogatyri of the epic tales or the knights of "Tsar Maximillian" and their various enemies, the outcome of which is never decided immediately. In the byliny the battles usually last three days, in "Tsar Maximillian" there are always three sessions and the final outcome is never certain till the last.

To hold up a positive statement by prefacing it with a series of negatives was another way in folk-literature of introducing suspense. Compare the following extract from "Ilya Muromets i Solovei-razboinik":

"Да и пехотою никто тут не прохаживал,
Да и ни птица чёрный ворон не пролетывал,
Да и пёстрый азеръ тут не проропявлъ,
А сидит там Соловей-разбойничек"

with these from "Tsar Maximillian":

"- Я ведь не баба,
Я ведь не пьяна,
Я есть смерть твоя упряма."  

and:

"Я ни есть царь русский,
И ни есть король французский.
Я есть сильный и славный царь Максимиллан."

Constant repetitions from a single word or particle to whole passages

2. Berkov - Variant 1, p. 198.
were an effective means of holding back the development of the plot. In "Tsar Maximillian" when the tsar gives an order to his pages or to the Skorokhod-fel'd'marshal it is usually repeated by them word for word. The description of the impending enemy attack is often given in triplicate. First the enemy tells how he has reached the royal capital and what he will do to the city, the people and Maximillian himself, then the tsar reports this speech to Anika-voin and thirdly Anika repeats it to himself while on his way to join battle. In Kostin's variant Maximillian threatens to fling Adolf into prison, then, turning to the Field-marshals, he repeats the whole of his threat in the form of an order. Many other examples of this can be found in all variants of the play.

The frequent use of synonyms in folk-literature may also be regarded as having a similar retarding effect. In "Tsar Maximillian" it is possible to find many examples of synonymous constructions of which several different types exist. There are pair-words like:

"Биться - рубиться", "меч - кладенец", "указ - дело",
"меч - конь", "бой - поединок";

parallel tautological constructions in two different lines or phrases as in:

"Самому Марсу голову снесу,
И под меч положу," 1

or:

"А я к тебе пришёл биться, рубиться,
На острых мечах пожертвовать." 2

or:

"Но этого не думал - не гадал,
И в уме-разуме не держал." 3

1. "Tsar Maximillian", Vinogradov - Variant 1, p. 32.
3. "Tsar-Maximillian", Onohukov - Variant 1, p. 3.
Sometimes different grammatic parts of the same root are used together in the same sentence or phrase. Typical is the construction where the verb and the object are from the same root as:

"Негод, годовать, не пирировать."

Another is that where the verb is connected with a noun from the same root in the instrumental case as in:

"Видом не видал, слишком не слыхал."

For purposes of emphasis a finite verb is often linked with its infinitive and examples of this too can be found in "Tsar Maximillian" and the other folk-plays. Typical are the following examples:

"Происходить я происходил все четыре стороны", 
"Покорять я покорил весь земной шар", 
"Заковать-то я закув", or, in the negative:

"Прости не прощай."

Hyperbole is a common feature in Russian folk-literature and can be found particularly in the bylina to describe the powers of the bogatyrь, Although it has been suggested that such passages as:

"На гору встану - горы трещат, 
На воду лягу - вода кипит, 
На землю встану - дым столбом, 
Земля с треском провалится ..." ¹

which appears with many variations in most versions of "Tsar

¹. See e.g. "Tsar Maximillian", Myakutin, p. 288.
Maximilian may have been borrowed from Derzhavin's "Oda na vzyatie Varshavy" it seems to me more probable that Derzhavin himself borrowed his lines from folk-literature, where similar expressions abound, as in:

"Как затрубил во турый рог,
Вёсокие горы задались,
Тёмные леса развлеклись,
Во реках вода приусохнула,
Во озерах вода приудрогнула,
Во морях вода всколыхнулась,
И пошёл около моря шум велик." 1

Folk-heroes about to meet their death often pronounced their farewell to the world in a set manner. Adolf before his execution does likewise:

"Ты прости, отец родной,
Ты прости меня редчитель,
Души моей погубитель!
Ты прости, моя корона,
И наследственный престол!
Ты прость мой княгиня,
Знать не видаться нам с тобой!" 2

In similar terms the hero of the epic poem "Molodets i korolevna" takes leave of all that he loves in the world before going to his death:

"На первую ступень ступил молодец,
- Прости, прости, мой отец и мать! -
На другую ступень ступил молодец,
- Прости, прости, весь род-племя! -

1. From the heroic epic "Salamon" in Pis'ma P.N. Rybnikova k I.G. Sreznevskomu in Russkii Fol'klor, Materialy i issledovaniya, IV (M.-L. 1959), p. 302.
The heroes of folk-tales when they fall into the hands of their enemies are often flung into a dark prison, where they are slowly starved to death. Adolf suffers the same fate and the phraseology used to describe his imprisonment and death corresponds to that of the folk-tales and byliny:

"предай его злой смерти", "отведи его в тёмную темницу", "заморите его голодной смертью", "не давать ни пить ни есть".

One of the favourite punishments meted out to the pagan enemies of the epic-tales, that of being tied to a horse's tail and dragged across the plain, also occurs in "Tsar Maximilliam" where the Arab and Zmeiulan are threatened with similar treatment. This is of course a small point, yet the cumulative effect of many details of this kind is such that the closeness of the textual nature of the folk-play to other types of Russian epic folk-literature becomes indisputable.

In the serious parts of the play, as is clear from the above examples, it is the terminology and conventions of the byliny which occur most often. This is only natural since there is much in common

2. See e.g. "Skazanie o trekh bogatyryakh zemli svetorusskoi" in Byliny v zapisyakh ..., p. 170.
not only in the structure but also in the general atmosphere between these and "Tsar Maximilian"; the pathos of the hero's death, the heroic battles, patriotic sentiments, pagan enemies, etc. The style of the humorous scenes, however, largely reflects the lighter side of Russian folk-literature, the quips and jokes of the fairground clown, the humour of the comic monologues and dialogues of the fairground shows and the urban democratic theatre.

The similarities in style between "Tsar Maximilian" and Russian folk-literature in general are not coincidental but simply serve to underline the fact that this play is as much a part of the folk-repertoire as the skazki, byliny or historical songs and that its original authors as well as all the later adaptors, producers and actors who developed and expanded the plot according to their own tastes and knowledge used in its construction the language and terminology familiar to them from their own background.

In the preceding chapters it has been shown that much of the source material used over the years in the creation of "Tsar Maximilian" and the other folk-plays does not belong to the folk-literature repertoire. But although the themes and characters of the plays are often non-folk in origin, it is still evident that each play, regarded as an integrated whole, is as much a part of an oral folk-tradition as any fairy-tale or heroic epic. Maximilian and Herod or the Cossack and Petrushka are not related in the way that Dobrynya Nikitich and Ilya Muromets are by historical, national and
emotional circumstances but nevertheless the original concrete differences between them have become ironed out by the conventions of the medium in which they exist. In the folk-play as in the fairy-tale it is not the character as such that is important but the function or rôle he performs. The psychological make-up of some of the heroes of the folk-drama is, comparatively speaking, well defined. One can make a number of statements about Petrushka and the Cossack, for instance, which, taken together, present a tangible picture of these individuals. In the folk-play on the whole, however, attempts at character analysis are usually irrelevant. The interest of the folk-play is not to be found in the development of individual "heroes" or their relationships with each other. They are all basically static and flat: their emotions and reactions are always predictable. They are presented in clear-cut colours, black and white sympathetic and unsympathetic, hero and anti-hero. Shades and tones are rare and changes of temperament do not affect the final assessment of the character. In spite of the improvisatory nature of many features of the folk-drama the characters themselves can never step outside certain prescribed limits. Many scholars have commented upon the lifeless aspect of the "heroes" of these plays where, at least in the serious dramas, it is only the comic types who show signs of individuality. The most important cause of this phenomenon lies undoubtedly in the intention of the folk-artist which was not to present living characters in real situations but to present
types who fulfil specific functions within a basic framework of actually fixed, although apparently variable circumstances. Confusion between the plays "Maximillian" and "Herod" and the fact that the characters of Herod, Maximillian and Napoleon, for instance, are really indistinguishable when viewed outside the context of the physical plot, is to be explained not by the paucity of imagination of the folk which is admirably revealed in other works of art, but by the conditions of the folk-play which demand that the characters should fulfil their given function, which in these cases happens to be basically the same.

Although nearly all the Russian folk-plays are based in some degree upon historical situations there is no attempt to reproduce the historical environment. The folk-audience accepts within the framework of one play the juxtaposition of historical characters of different ages, characters belonging to totally different literary epochs (like Maximillian, Venus and Mars, Anika-voine and the gravedigger), or characters from history together with characters from literature. In most variants there is little to suggest that Maximillian, Herod and Napoleon, to take but one example, belong to quite divergent historical environments. Their speech is basically similar; they use the same formulae when addressing their subordinates, the same words of command. They express anger in the same way and often the reader will come across speeches or parts of speeches which are used indiscriminately by all of them. No scenery or properties
are used to create a historical background. The time of the folk-play is essentially the present. There is no attempt to relate historical situations to "the present day" but the audience reacts here and now to what is presented before it regardless of the historical content. The original sources drawn from a wide variety of times and places are merely used as the raw material of creation and fitted to the conventions of another medium. In the context of the folk-play V. Propp's comments upon the nature of Russian *skazki* become remarkably appropriate:

"Забегая вперед, можно сказать, что функций чрезвычайно мало, а персонажей чрезвычайно много. Этим объясняется двоякое качество сказки: её поразительное многообразие, её пестрота и красочность, с другой стороны — её не менее поразительное однообразие, её повторяемость."  

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1. V. Propp, *Morfologiya skazki*, (L.1928.)
"Tsar Maximillian" is undoubtedly an integral part of Russian folk-literature. In the various scholarly arguments as to the possibility of discovering its origins in some long-forgotten piece of written literature this fact has often been either ignored or understated. As far as I am aware no attempt has been made to look for the antecedents of the play in European folk-lore in general. Nevertheless an examination of Western European dramatic folk-literature reveals some interesting parallels to the Russian play. There are, for example, striking similarities between parts of "Tsar Maximillian" and the English folk-play of "St. George".

In England, as in Russia, the folk-theatre was a flourishing art-form for many centuries and even today has not completely died out although absolutely spontaneous performances are extremely rare. The most popular and widely known and performed of these plays was "St. George", known in many different editions with local and historical variations. Berkshire, Gloucestershire, the Isle of Man, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Cornwall, Leicestershire, Yorkshire, Scotland and many other parts of the country were familiar with it.
The known time-span of the existence of "St. George" covers roughly the same period as that of "Tsar Maximillian" although its origins are almost as obscure as those of its Russian counterpart. The earliest known text dates to 1738, but the fact that a similar type of performance was observed in America as early as 1782 seems to indicate that it was known long before this date. The text of the play, in those versions where the protagonists consist of a series of saints, St. Patrick, St. George, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Denys and St. James (as in the Symondsbury Mummers' Play\(^1\) or the "Seven Champions of Christendom" of the Yorkshire sword actors\(^2\)) probably derives from Richard Johnson's "Famous Historie of the Seaven Champions of Christendom," the first and second parts of which appeared in 1596 and 1597 respectively and to which a third part was added in 1686. However, and particularly in view of the fact that all the variants do not follow the same pattern, Johnson may merely have been standardising some spectacle which was already enjoying widespread popularity among the folk. On St. George's Day in the Middle Ages, for instance, costumed processions were held representing the fight between the champion and the dragon, sometimes accompanied by miracle plays on the same theme.\(^3\)

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Like "Maximilian", "St. George" was a Christmas play performed as a regular part of village entertainment over the festive season by enthusiastic groups of amateur players or mummers who toured the big houses of the neighbourhood:—

It is usual at Christmas in most parts of England for a number of young men (about ten) to dress themselves fantastically, putting the shirt on the outside and decorating themselves with foil . . . and in this disguise to go from house to house offering to perform a Christmas play, and of course expecting a gratuity. These people are called in the North by the name of Mummers . . . They usually carried old swords which were used in the fight which generally made part of the entertainment. ¹

As with the Russian folk-plays in general performances were prefaced by the polite request of the actors for permission to act the drama and rounded off by their requests for remuneration in the form of small sums of money or food and drink. This feature in its Russian context has already been mentioned ² and can be compared with the customary introductory speech in England by Father Christmas whose main function this is:—

Here comes I, Father Christmas,  
Welcome or welcome not,  
I hope old Father Christmas  
Will never be forgot.  
A room, a room, I do presume,  
Pray give me room to rhyme,  
For we have come to show activity  
This merry Christmas time. ³

². Supra, p. 462.
The true action of the play begins when the hero, St. George (King George, King William, King Alfred, etc.) steps forward, introduces himself to the audience, praises his own valour and challenges any man to stand against him:

Here comes I, King George, the valiant man,
With naked sword and spear in hand,
I fought the fiery dragon and brought him to slaughter,
And by these means I won the King of Egypt's daughter.
And what mortal man dare to stand
Before me with sword in hand
I'll slay him and cut him as small as flies,
And send him to Jamaica to make mince pies. 1

The rest of the play then develops upon very similar lines to the plot of "Tsar Maximilian" after Adolf has been executed and removed from the stage. A series of kings and knights from distant lands enter and challenge the champion just as they do Anika-Voin, each in turn boasting of his prowess. These include such characters as the Turkish knight (cf. King Mamai):

I am the Turkish champion,
From Turkey land I come,
I come to fight the King of England
And all his noble men; 2

or the Royal of Prussia King:

In comes I, the Royal of Prussia King,
Many a battle have I fought in England, Ireland,
Scotland and Spain,

1. Ibid., p. 263.
2. "The Lutterworth Christmas Play" in J.M. Manly, Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama (Boston 1897); Vol. I, p. 293.
Now I return to old England again. —

or the King of Egypt, Bold Slasher, the Black Prince of Paradise (cf. the Black Arab), and many others.

The champions join battle, exchanging abuses, each sure that he is invincible:—

King George: To battle, to battle to thee I call
To see which on the ground shall fall.

Turkish Knight: Battle to battle I thee play
To see which on the ground shall lay.  

Turkish Knight: Hold on, King George, thou talk'st very bold,
Like some other little men, I've been told.
Draw thy sword and fight, or draw thy purse and pay,
For satisfaction I will have from thee before thou goest away.

But one after another they are felled by King George just as King Mamai, the Black Arab and Zmeiulan are vanquished by Anika-Voin. It is perhaps somewhat far-fetched to see in the Zmeiulan an equivalent of the dragon slain by St. George and which is his main claim to fame and honour. But it is interesting to note that the Russians have their "dragon" too. The whole tone of this section of the drama reminds one forcibly of "Tsar Maximillian".

When King George has conquered all his enemies a Doctor is

3. Ibid., June 14, p. 437.
called in to cure the slain and wounded:—

**Doctor:** In comes I this noble doctor, 
Lately come from Spain, 
For I have come to cure 
Your two sons as has been slain.¹

or:—

**Doctor:** I've travelled through Italy, Spitaly, France and Spain, 
Ten times round the world and now return to old England again.²

(Compare with the Russian:—

"Я был в Италии, / Я и далее ...")

In dress the English Dr. Brown (Dr. Martin Dennis, Dr. Lamb, Dr. Ball, etc.) could be a brother to Russia's *lekary*, who in several versions (see, e.g., Volkov) incidentally, is said to come from England. In one variant he appears thus:—

The Doctor with a three-cornered piked hat, and 
es face all rudded and whitened, with spurticles /spectacles/ 
on top of his naeae.³

Chambers adds:—

The Doctor's "piked" hat of Cornwall has usually 
become a top hat, but his appearance remains professional, 
with black clothes, spectacles and a black bag.⁴

2. Ibid., p. 269: a version from Church Broughton, Derbyshire.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
In a Berkshire variant he appears similarly attired with black bag, box of pills or bottle of "reviving" mixture, a pair of pliers or sometimes a bladder on the end of a stick with which he hits anyone who comes too near. He reels off a list of the unlikely diseases he can cure:

The squally grubs, the molly grubs,
Tight looseness in the chest
And wind in the knee . . ."  

and boasts of his skill as a medical man:

I can cure the itch, the stitch, the palsy and the gout,
all the pains within and all the pains without. Bring me an old woman four score years and ten, if she has not a tooth in her head, I'll bring her round young again.  

Compare this with the assertions made by the Doctor in "Maximillian", such as:

"Умею лечить,
Умею тащить,
Умею летать,
Умею с белым светом разлучать . . ."

The English Doctor's methods seem to be as unconventional and his results as dubious as his Russian colleagues. Dr. Brown cures gout by drawing the patient's teeth, cures a magpie of the toothache by cutting off its head and throwing the body in a ditch - a worthy
sequel indeed to the remedies of the Russian doctor who proposes to cure an old man's headache by shaving his head to the scalp, taking off the skull, removing the brains and stuffing it instead with a mixture of wine and vodka, etc.

A comic scene follows the Doctor's entrance during which he attempts to revive his mortally wounded patients by the use of some special medicine ("pevelick weed with Jerusalem Balsam", "the Elecampane", "Golden Ester drops", etc.) or treatment. In a Berkshire variant, for example, he sprinkles two of the dead combatants with "Elecampane", muttering at the same time:

A drop on thy heart, a drop on thy skull,  
Arise, arise oh Turkish knight,  
And go to thy Turkey land to fight.  

A revival of the dead occurs frequently also in "Tsar Maximilian", "Lodka" and "Tsar Irod". In the Volkov variant of "Maximillian" there occurs the unusual circumstance of the Tsar himself being killed by Mamai. The English doctor (sic!) is called in to cure him:

"ДОКТОР: Подай живительных духов!"

(His assistant brings the potion.)

"ДОКТОР (points at Maximilian): Спрьшни, обрышни, на моров поставь и будет здрав!"

As the doctor's assistant scatters the drops on him Maximillian revives, exclaiming:

"Ох, как я уснул!" ¹

All the dead knights are similarly revived by the comic doctor and his assistant in the version of "Tron" described by Smirnitskii:—

"Рецепт очень простой: они приподнимают за плечи каждого из них, трясут, трясут, похлопывают рукой по голове и быстро поднимают. Вылеченные потягиваются словно очнувшись от сна, подходят к девице-Марсе и убивают." ²

The scene takes on a somewhat different tone in "Mashen'ka,"³ where it is the Ataman who magically destroys his ungrateful robbers simply by placing a curse on them. The resurrection is achieved by the joint efforts of a "spirit" who claps his hands and blows upon the corpses, followed by the monk who reads from a holy book and commands life to return to their bodies. This corresponds closely to a scene in the Symondsbury Mumming Play where the doctor blows on an old woman to revive her.⁴

The ludicrous composition of the medicines used by the doctor

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2. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
for his various cures also finds an echo in "Tsar Maximillian". Doctor Jack Vinney in one variant of "St. George" uses a mixture containing "one pennyworth of pigeon's milk, mixed with the blood of a dying donkey, well shaken before taking". This may be compared with the recipe prepared by the doctor in "Tsar Maximillian" (Myakutin):

"У меня есть лекарства: зайчье молоко, собачья сметана, тур-турской, мукорос морской..."

Even the actual physical appearance of the actors and their methods of presenting the play resemble those of "Maximillian". In many instances there are the same quasi-military uniforms liberally covered with decorations, pasteboard crowns, wooden swords and primitive make-up, although of course unique features can also be found, such as the tall, conical caps often worn by the English players and the ribbons and streamers which were often fastened to every available space on both hat and clothing.

While in London in 1964 I was shown a film of the Symondsbury Mumming Play at the English Folk Song and Dance Society. The film was made in 1951. In it the costumes of all the non-comic characters were in the military style with red, white or blue uniforms, the trousers having military stripes down the side of the leg. The warriors wore imitation helmets made of paper streamers. Their

jackets were decorated with rosettes and medals and they had a broad ribbon across their shoulder and chest. St. George, for instance, was in a white uniform with a red ribbon across the shoulder. His jacket was covered with medals and had epaulettes cut from black and red paper. He wore a tall hat, conical in shape and covered with red paper streamers. A red sash round his waist, a sword and long black boots completed his outfit. The similarity between this description and the costumes of "Tsar Maximillian" is not difficult to see.¹

Even the acting methods, the grouping of the characters on stage in a straight line or a semi-circle, from which each steps forward to declaim his part, the foot-stamping and sword-waving – all these remind one strongly of "Tsar Maximillian".²

It is interesting to compare the Russian folk-play with eye-witness accounts of the English one, such as that to be found in Thomas Hardy's The Return of the Native. Typical is the assiduous ornamentation of the costumes:–

The girls could never be brought to respect tradition in designing and decorating the armour; they insisted on attaching loops and bows of silk and velvet in any situation pleasing to their taste. Gorget, gusset, basinet, cuirass, gauntlet, sleeve, all alike in the view of these feminine eyes were practicable spaces whereon to sew scraps of fluttering colour.

¹ Infra, p. 525 ff.
² Infra, pp. 558, 564 ff.
After the duels between the knights the doctor came in to attend the wounded:

The Leech or Doctor preserved his character intact: his darker habiliments, peculiar hat, and the bottle of physic slung under his arm, could never be mistaken.

The performance of Eustacia, the heroine, vividly shows some of the actors' methods of presentation:

Eustacia then proceeded in her delivery, slapping the sword against the staff or lance at the minatory phrases, in the orthodox mumming manner, and strutted up and down.

The play ended with a chilling version of the resurrection scene:

They sang the plaintive chant which follows the play, during which all the dead men rise to their feet in a silent and awful manner, like the ghosts of Napoleon's soldiers in the Midnight Revue.

The rough and often crude humour of the comic scenes, the introduction of extraneous characters who have no real connection with the plot (such as Napoleon), the abundance of folk-songs, the interpolation of literary extracts to adorn the action (e.g. the piece from Addison's opera "Rosamund" in the Mummers' Play from Cornwall), the gay song and dance with which the performance usually ended and the quête (as in:

- And now we are done and must be gone,
  No longer will we stay here,
  But if you please, before we go,
  We'll taste your Christmas beer. 1

are also typical of "Tsar Maximilian" and other plays of the Russian folk-theatre repertoire.

Playlets, games and dances involving either duelling scenes or a resurrection (or both together) and characters similar to those occurring in "Tsar Maximilian" or "St. George" are of course common to the whole of European folk-lore. In England itself, quite separate from the "St. George" play, but similar to it in several respects, there are the traditional sword-dances or Morris dances. Elements common to "St. George" and "Maximilian" are to be found in several of the celebrated Basque dances, "Danse du Chef Mort", "Danse du Coffre", "Danse des épées", "Danse du Verre", etc. According to E.K. Chambers the sword-dance can be dated at least to the times of Tacitus. It was later adopted into the repertoire of the mediaeval minstrels of which our first records refer to 1350. He continues:

From that date onwards until quite recent years it crops up frequently, alike at Shrovetide, Christmas and other folk-festivals, and as an element in the revels at weddings, royal entries and the like. It is fairly widespread throughout Germany. It is found in Italy, where it is called the "mattaccino" and in Spain (matachin) and under this name or that of the "danse des bouffons" it was known both in France and in England at the Renaissance. 2

Scenes involving a ritual death with or without an actual battle and a subsequent resurrection by the Doctor are to be found in the spring agricultural rites of several European countries.

A.J.B. Wace's accounts of mumming plays in the Southern Balkans reveal the same familiar pattern. The scenes which he describes were performed in a number of different villages with local variations and by different ethnic groups including Bulgarians, Vlachs, Albanians and gypsies. An account sent by an eye-witness of scenes played by nomadic villagers from Samarina, the largest of the Vlach villages in Pindus, is particularly interesting since in it there occur not only the duel, the death, the doctor and the cure but also the fool who like the Russian ded gets in everyone's way and creates comic situations around the corpse:

You would see on one side a ring dance of brides and bridegrooms dancing to the hoarse notes of the pipe and the heavy beat of the drum. The old woman with her baby in her arms sat in the middle and rocked the child to sleep. The Punches (Kazag'ozü) who do all sorts of ridiculous tricks to raise a laugh and annoy the brides. The robber chief (or bridegrooms) would often get angry when they saw this and rushed to beat them; often they pretended to kill them and they would fall down dead. Then came the doctor's turn. He would come in with a paper of ashes, some garlic and an onion or two, and would begin his work. First he felt the pulse, then he listened at the soles of the feet to see if the heart was beating. He would rub the eyes with garlic or an onion. All the time the old woman was weeping at the dead man's head. Then

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another Punch would come, who, after looking at what the doctor was doing, and seeing that he was doing nothing would get to work himself. He would drag the dead man by the feet along the ground a little, hit him with a stick on the chest and indulge in other horseplay not infrequently obscene, at his expense. Then the dead man would jump to his feet again alive. 

The origins of all these plays and scenes are shrouded in mystery. Some scholars hold that the sword-dances and duels are a relic of ancient military practices, a sort of war cult, while others find in them an analogy to the spring rites where summer struggles with winter and the dying year is inevitably revived by the forces of spring. When comparing "Tsar Maximillian" with "St. George" and the sword-dances or the semi-ritual dramas of other countries one cannot speak in terms of derivation of the one from the other nor even of common origins, but it seems unquestionable that the Russian folk-play "Tsar Maximillian" must be considered as belonging to a dramatic-ritual tradition common to the whole of Europe.

1. A.J.B. Wace, op. cit., pp. 255 etc.
SECTION FIVE

THE FOLK-THEATRE AS DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT

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The folk-theatre, in one form or another, brought much pleasure to wide sections of the Russian people for several hundreds of years. One of the causes of its great popularity was undoubtedly the fact that it was a theatre of comedy in which humour and laughter were predominant, a theatre in which the people could find relaxation and shake off the cares of their difficult life.

The moods portrayed by the folk-actors, making the best of limited knowledge and means of expression, were as clear-cut and bold as their voices and gestures. Subtle gradations of character and emotion were foreign to them. Anger, tears, sympathy, laughter were predominant. Although within the framework of each play, particularly the more developed ones such as "Tsar Maximillian" and "Iodka", alternating moods were not only possible but encouraged for the sake of greater dramatic effect, it was unusual to find a combination of different aspects of serious and comic expression either in one particular character or within one and the same scene. The humorous action is played out on the whole by a set of stock comic "types" who do not themselves participate in the serious parts of the plays. Serious characters like Tsar Maximillian, Adolf, the Ataman, are in their turn rarely, if ever, the bearers of comedy whether in word or
action. Comic and serious characters do meet on common ground but only in specific circumstances (as in the funeral scenes in "Tsar Maximillian"), where each retains his own essential nature.

In view of the centralised nature of the comedy in the folk-plays it is not surprising that comedy of character should be one of its main features. Most obvious among the bearers of comedy is of course the ubiquitous shut or fool, the old gravedigger or ded who turns up in most of the plays of the folk-theatre repertoire. Not only his appearance but also his words and actions and his whole manner and bearing were such as to evoke storms of laughter from his audiences:

"On глуховатый и глуповатый, подслеповатый и говорит, чмокая беззубным ртом, отчаяно мепеляя." ¹

In every way he attempts to underline this image of grotesque decrepitude and senility. His particular brand of humour was of the coarsest and most vulgar kind and his jokes and comic remarks were studded with obscenities. A typical picture of the sort of amusement provided by the antics of the old clown can be found in Vinogradov's 1st variant of "Tsar Maximillian". He enters to "bury" the corpse of Adolf:-

"Он идёт, сгорбившись и опираясь на палку; кряхтит, охает и издаёт неприличные звуки при помощи спрятанного

¹. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
As he leaves after the job is done and throughout his several appearances in the play he conducts himself in like fashion, e.g.:—

"Старик, покряхтывая, почёсываясь и издавая звуки, уходит." 2

In this respect the gravedigger is not in any way unusual, but observes the pattern followed in varying degrees by fools from the times of the ancient classical theatre through the mediaeval jesters to Shakespeare's day and beyond. The obscenities of the comic in the Anglo-German theatre, which was popular for a time in Russia in the eighteenth century, resemble those of the ded and the language and humour of many of the popular interludes and comedies of the eighteenth century were on much the same level. 3

A particularly good characterisation of the old man (or rather the two old men, for in this text the task of removing the dead bodies is divided between Mokei and his friend Patrakei) occurs in variant No. 1 of "Tsar Maxmillian" in Onchukov's northern anthology. Here the reader will find not only the usual pretence of deafness 4

2. Ibid., p. 31.
3. See e.g. P. N. Tikhanov, op. cit., and V. N. Perets, Pamyatniki rusakoi dramy epokhi Petra Velikogo.
4. See supra p. 388; infra p. 498.
and stupidity which characterises the play between the old man and Tsar Maximillian or the doctor in other versions but also the development of a relationship between the two comic characters as they compare memories of war service, consider what action to take over the tsar's commands, help each other to answer the doctor's questions, compare finds as they loot Adolf's body and so on.

Although the old gravedigger was in many ways repulsive and although the laughter he provoked was largely at his own expense he still remained basically a character sympathetic to the audience. His disrespectful mockery of "Tsar Maximillian", the anti-hero, for instance, endeared him to them. Of quite another nature is the Jew who is both a comic figure and the butt for national and religious prejudices. His odd appearance, old-fashioned traditional Jewish garments, his accent, his religious observances are all the subject of mockery and cruel laughter. Not all humour in the folk-theatre was of such an innocent nature as that produced by the old gravedigger but could be the result of ignorance and intolerance as well.

Although humour was, as has been pointed out, usually centred upon one or two characters reappearing in set situations there are to be seen in the folk-theatre repertoire some instances where one comedian is constantly present on stage, mimicking the serious characters and generally interfering in the action rather like the Vice of the European mediaeval drama. Such a rôle is filled by the devil in the Myakutin variant of "Tsar Maximillian" and the Jew in
the variant "Tsar Maximillian", (Romanov). In the former, for example, the devil keeps getting in the Tsar’s way as he goes to sit on the throne, pretends to be a horse and throws the old gravedigger off his back, interrupts during the measuring of Adolf’s body and generally creates confusion. In the latter text the Jew mimics and distorts the words of characters like Maximillian himself, as in:

"Царь: — Скороход-маршал, 
Явись перед троном своего монарха!

Дядя (перебивая): — Сковородный в масле, 
Иди к монаху!"

and comments sarcastically upon both words and deeds of the Tsar and the other warriors. Acting as a mocking shadow he introduces a frivolous note to the usually serious scenes of Adolf’s trial and execution and the duels between the champions.

However, although there was ample opportunity for improvisation and the exploitation of individual wit and talent the framework of the comic scenes in which such characters usually appeared remained fairly constant. Among such situations were the measuring of corpses for a coffin, which could lead to a number of odd and humorous "incidents" as in "Tsar Maximillian", Berkov 2, where the "corpse" unexpectedly retaliates to the ungentle treatment of the gravedigger:

Another is the scene in which Petrushka or the Cossack buys from the gypsy and attempts to ride a broken-down old nag which is either so weak that it collapses under his weight or deliberately throws him off at a command from its previous owner; or there is "the sounding of the patient" by the doctor, which gives a chance for much poking and prodding and unexpected tricks, not always of an entirely innocent nature, from both the actors involved. The portrayal of drunkenness, including such features as the clumsy gait, the muddled speech and the tendency of the drunkard to burst into song, was also popular. The chief culprit in this matter was usually the doctor's assistant (the fel'dsher).  

It is necessary also to include among the predictable humorous scenes of any folk-play in the repertoire the brawls and unjustifiable attacks in which many characters became involved. The old gravedigger

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. p. 236
quarrels with his old woman and their differences are resolved by an exchange of blows; Maximillian constantly threatens the skorokhod and the Ataman his esaul with a thrashing for insubordination. The Jew and the gypsy rarely escape without a kick or a cuff at least. Both Petrushka and the Cossack were ready to fly into a rage at the least provocation and anyone who crossed them was liable to be set upon.¹

For some measure of success in such examples of slapstick comedy as I have described above little more than high spirits and energy was required. However, for some of the other methods of comedy in the folk-plays a certain amount of real talent was necessary. For instance, apart from the use of appearance, behaviour and ridiculous situations, many linguistic methods were used for humorous purposes. Among the most common of these was the device known as oslyshka (mishearing), which may be the result of "deafness" or a deliberate or unconscious misunderstanding. The humour of the situation results from a character's repetition of a given passage in which he substitutes for an original word or phrase homonyms which sound roughly the same but which completely alter the meaning of the utterance. "Mishearing" can be found in all the folk-plays and between many of the characters including "serious" ones such as Adolf mocking his father or the esaul his Ataman, but it is mainly exploited

¹ Supra pp. 230ff., 262ff.
by comic characters such as the old ded or Afon'ka and the starosta. Two main divisions may be seen within the device. On the one hand the humorous distorted statement proceeds directly from the original straightforward one. For example, we find in Onchukov's 1st variant of "Tsar Maximillian" the following dialogue between the two grave-diggers who have been summoned to bury Adolf's body, and the Skorokhod:

"Скород: - Васька старик, к царю.
1. старики: - К какому косарю?
Скор.: - Да не к косарю, к царю.
1. ст.: - Скажи что дома нету. Сегодня праздник. Мы загуляли.
Скор.: - Василий Иванович, к царю за наградой.
1. ст.: - Ага-га, как пришло турго, да и Василий Иванович. А за каким виноградом?
Скор.: - Да, не за виноградом, а за наградой!
1. ст. (к второму старику): - Можей!
2. ст.: - А что, Патракей?
1. ст.: - Пойдём к царю.
2. ст.: - Зачем?
1. ст.: - За наградой.
2. ст.: - За каким виноградом? Теперь вина, виноград не растёт."¹

¹. Сурина, р.309.
In Vinogradov's 2nd variant of "Tsar Maximillian" the old man's "deafness" is so bad that the Tsar has to repeat his command five times:

"Ц.М.: - ... убері, брат, пожалуйста.
Ц.М.: - Я тебе говорю: убрать!
Ст.: - Обираю, батюшка, обираю ... Вот, нашол махорки осьмушку, да некальнова на понимку.
Ц.М.: - Я тебе говорю: зарывай!
Ст.: - Засипать? ... Ну счас и засипать буду.
Ц.М.: - Я тебе говорю: захавывай!
Ст.: - Да я и то закавывая, чего кричешь-то.
Ц.М.: - Я тебе говорю, старый чорт, зарой!
Ст.: - Зарыть, - так бы давно и бал.

The situation can be developed in a variety of different ways in order to increase the comic effect. In Gruzinskii's version of "Tsar Maximillian", for instance, the gravedigger finally reveals that he is not as deaf as he at first pretends:

"СкороХОд: - Старик, к царю!
Старик: - Я дрова колю.
Скор.: - Старик пожалуй на бал!

On the other hand we find examples where the original statement has a humorous or satirical tone. This statement, which is not properly heard by the person to whom it is addressed, is then repeated in a more acceptable and decorous form which still, however, sounds like the original. This order is found usually, although not exclusively, in the dialogue between the barin and his servant or starosta. Note the following:

"Афонька: - Твои хороши, барин, сгорели. ....

Барин: - А тя огонь заливал?

А.: - В окошко солому совал.

Е.: - Что-о-о?

А.: - Водой заливал, барин.

Е.: - Скажи, Афонька, толст ли я?

А.: - Как супороса свинья.

Е.: - Как-как?

А.: - Как все господа.

... ... ... ... ... ...

B.: - Афоника, скажи-ка мне, красен ли я?
A.: - Красен, как гусиний нос на морозе.
B.: - Как-как?
A.: - Как маков цвет в огороде. . . . "1

...-

"барин: - А как, староста, у моих крестьян хорош ли урожай хлеба?
Староста: - Хорош, барин батюшка.
B.: - А как?
Ст.: - Да колос от колоса -
Не слишком человеческого голоса.
B.: - Как, как?
Ст.: - колос на колосе -
Не протащим человеческого волоса." 2

In fact it is in these dialogues in particular that a whole range of humorous linguistic devices appears, not all of which occur elsewhere in the folk-theatre. Three such devices may be described under the general headings of paradox, hyperbole and climax. In the first of these the comic effect is produced by the answer to a question taking a totally different form from that which the person

asking it (and presumably the audience) has been led to expect by preceding statements or events. Laughter is created here by the unexpected, e.g.:--

"Варию: -. . . . Поди-ко, наши крестьяне на многих лошадях и на паниную выезжает?
Староста: - Порато на многих.
Б.: - А как на многих?
Ст.: - Всей деревней на одной сохе и то на козе."
or:-

"Б.: -. . . . А что же они из лесу делают?
Ст.: - Домы строят.
Б.: - Поди-ко большие?
Ст.: - Порато большие, боерин-батышко.
Б.: - А как большие?
Ст.: - А собаки бегат, в оконечко глядят." 1
or:-

"Царь Макс.: -. . . . . А каково у ваших крестьян рогатого скота?
Ст.: - Много, на дворе не умещается.
Ц.М.: - Как много?
Ст.: - Петух да Курица.
Ц.М.: - А медной посуды каково?

"ВАРИН: - Нет ли у вас особой комнаты для моих вещей, которых у меня сроду не бывало.
ХОЗЯЙН: - Есть самое лучшее, петербургские, в которых собаки спят."^1

Hyperbole, at least with humorous overtones, occurs most often in the Starosta's answers to his master's enquiries about the condition of his peasants and property. Both the first humorous statement and the following "correction" are exaggerated, the first negatively and the second positively so that neither gives a true picture of the prevailing state of affairs. Thus, in reply to a question about the ploughing of the land we have the conflicting answers firstly that one man ploughs while twenty watch and secondly that a hundred ploughs set out for the field each day; or, in reply to a question about the harvest, we hear firstly that the distance between the sheaves is a three-day ride and secondly that there is no room to pass between them; or, in answer to questions about the laying qualities of the hens:

"Староста: - А вот как: у нас была одна курица, да три года на ей были не сажали; собрались мужики, понёс в лес, вырубили шест сажен шесть, двое наставляют, трое пехают, как тут и яйцо!

Барин: - Что ты болтаешь, ни чорт не поймешь?

Ст. - Каждая курица по два яйца в день несет."

The use of climax for comical effect usually occurs in a relation of incidents or misfortunes suffered by the barin's relatives, animals or property during his absence. The servant or starosta begins by telling him of the least important of these and finishes up with the most tragic and disastrous. Thus in many variants the first event is the discovery of the barin's broken pen-knife. This in turn, it transpires, had been used to skin the barin's favourite horse which itself had died while drawing the heavy carriage containing the corpse of the barin's mother. She had been killed when she jumped off a balcony of the barin's house as it and his stud farm with it were being burnt to the ground. In this way the real tragedies are reduced to the level of trivialities since all the barin's anger and dismay have been wasted on the less important ones, while the audience's laughter increases with each new revelation.

Other humorous linguistic devices do occur in the folk-plays but

less frequently than those mentioned above. Quite popular is a deliberate literal interpretation of the speaker's words or of a metaphorical expression. In one variant of "Lodka" there are several such instances in a dialogue between an officer trying to find out who is the village elder and the starosta who prevaricates, either deliberately or through his own stupidity:

"Офицер: - А кто же у вас был за старшаго?
Староста: - За старшаго был наш дедушка, ему сот два года, все миряне почитали, да и нас то почитают по вашей милости.

Офицер: - Кто у вас был за больного?

Староста: - За больного был у нас Ванюка, Андрюхин сын, более его у нас во всём селе нет."

A very similar conversation takes place between Napoleon and an obtuse old peasant in Malinka's "Zhivoi verter", and in Onchukov's 2nd variant of "Tsar Maximillian", Maksimko chooses to interpret the expression "of high rank" in his own way with somewhat ludicrous results:

"Царь Макс.: - Какой это человек ходит? Больной ли чин?"

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An occasional pun creeps into the text; e.g.:

"Максимиллан — сажусь на трон, но никто меня не тронет.";  
and also a phenomenon common in the English mumming plays, christened "topsy-turvy humour" by the celebrated English folklorist J.R. Tiddy.  
In it the two halves of various statements are twisted so that each becomes paired with something quite ridiculous, as in:-

"Декарь: — Что делаешь?  
Степка: — Куриц дом, коров на яйца сажаю."  
Although it occurs rarely in the folk-plays this type of joke was well

3. Ibid., p. 16.
known to humorous fairy-tales and nebylitsy, as in:

"Ещё овца в гнезде яйца садит,
Ещё курица под оском траву сенет..." 1

Foreign accents and speech defects were also a source of amusement in the folk-theatre. Petrushka pokes fun at the inability of the German to speak Russian and the Jew's odd accent provides yet another reason for ridiculing him.

Although we nowadays may find little that is really amusing in these texts, nevertheless it cannot be denied that in the comic scenes a free rein was given to the development of individual wit, talent and imagination and that simple audiences much enjoyed watching them.

Although the history and content of the Russian folk-theatre have been discussed at some length in this study, little has been said of the people - actors, producers, costume-makers and their large following of helpers, without whose constant enthusiasm and active participation the plays themselves would long ago have disappeared and been forgotten.

One of the major exponents of the folk-theatre among the people of Russia was of course the peasantry, who had gained such valuable experience in the dramatic art from the Khorovods, the processional maskings and the methods of the ritual drama in general. Such knowledge was used in the expansion of the dramatic repertoire of the countryside leading to such developments as the addition of new themes to the Khorovods, the incorporation of new characters into the seasonal games and eventually to the growth of a lively dramatic instinct among the peasantry, eager not only to preserve the aesthetic heritage of the past but also to create itself and assimilate new ideas from a variety of sources.

Most popular in the peasant repertoire of this later epoch were the plays "Barin" and "Lodka", both of which reflect in varying degrees
specific aspects of the way of life, the attitudes and fate of the
pre-revolutionary Russian peasant.

Although the peasantry was the originator and, for centuries,
the sole bearer of embryonic dramatic forms in Russia, such features
as the beginning of a literary theatrical tradition with Simeon
Polotskii and the school drama in Moscow in the latter half of the
seventeenth century, the expansion of urban civilisation in the
eighteenth century, the growth of secular literature and a correspond¬
ing increase in the reading public all had a profound effect not only
upon the content of the folk-theatre but upon the composition of both
audience and actors. Among the immediate results of these changes
were the development of an urban folk-literature and the interchange
of methods, ideas and repertoire between the old theatrical traditions
of the country and the new ideas of the towns. On the one hand, for
example, the repertoire of the school theatres was brought to the
peasants by wandering students performing dramatic scenes to earn a
little extra cash during the vacations, while on the other hand
students brought up in the country took their early theatrical tastes
to the seminaries where folk-plays were often performed in leisure
hours. Exactly the same process is to be seen among the soldier-
actors (of whom more will be said) ¹ whose repertoire reflects both
the peasant background from which many were recruited and the urban

¹. Infra pp. 511, 525, 565. etc.
democratic theatre with which many of them had the opportunity to familiarise themselves later. This hybrid repertoire was then reintroduced to the peasant population by soldiers billeted in country villages or by retired soldiers eager to perpetuate the amusements of their army days. Thus the cycle of mutual influence was completed.

The significance of the appearance of the Urban Democratic theatre is two-fold. Firstly, it indicates the existence of a lively interest in amateur theatricals on the part of the urban proletariat and artisan classes, and secondly, it provided the first opportunity for such people to become acquainted with the repertoires of the literary stage. The audiences and actors of these theatres, the artisans, factory workers, clerks, students, domestic servants, small shop-keepers and such-like were essentially also those of the urban folk-theatre.

Apart from the peasantry and the urban proletariat there was a third and extremely important centre for the folk-theatre — the army. Speaking of the folk-theatre in Russia after watching a performance of the little-known play, "Kedril Obzhora", by his fellow-prisoners while in exile in Siberia, Dostoevsky said that folk-plays would be found

"... у солдат, фабричных, в фабричных городах, и даже по некоторым бедным городкам у мещан. Сохранились тоже они по деревням и по губернским городам между дворнями"
One has only to glance at the list of actors for the many variants of "Tsar Maximillion" or at the accounts of eye-witnesses to see how well Dostoevsky's judgement fits the folk-play "Tsar Maximillion". Kallash's first version is accompanied by a note to the effect that the troupe of actors performing the play were all apprentice or working lads aged between 12 and 20 years. In the variant of "Tsar Maximillian from Kovel" the reader is again informed that the actors were lads from artisan families.

The rôle of the military in the Russian folk-theatre, however, far exceeds that of the urban artisans. Various sources indicate that one of the most popular amusements of the soldiers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the staging of plays. Many variants of the folk-plays, in particular "Tsar Maximillian", appear to owe their existence or their appearance in a particular village or town in some way to the army (or in some cases, the navy). One of

Vinogradov's texts\(^1\) came indirectly through the grandfather of its then present owner, when he returned from his naval service. Another text also collected by Vinogradov\(^2\) was copied in 1904 from a non-commissioned officer of the 139th Morshansk infantry regiment where the play was regularly performed. The two texts of "Maximillian" and "Shaika Razboinikov" published by Berkov are part of the Arens MS collection of naval plays and songs.\(^3\) Several of the men who were able to give Onchukov information about "Tsar Maximillian" and other folk-plays during his expedition in North Russia said that they or some other soldier had learned it while on military service and brought the text back to their villages.\(^4\) The peasant actor Churkin telling how he took part in "Maximillian" and "Kak frantsuz Moskvu bral" said of his fellow-actors:

"Все были солдаты — молодцы ребята . . . ."\(^5\)

Although it is now impossible to determine the place of origin of any

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4. A version of "Tsar Maximillian" was brought to the "settlement" (posad) of Nenoks by Prokopii Sergeevich Skrebtsov after his return from military service in Kronstadt in 1877. Similarly a version of "Shaika razboinikov" was brought to the village of Nizhmozero by a young peasant after military service in the Far East (see N.E. Onchukov, Narodnaya drama na severe, pp. 215-17).
5. T.M. Akimova, op. cit.
one of the folk-plays or to trace its path from one town or region to the next, there can be no doubt that the immense area over which such plays had spread by the end of the nineteenth century was largely due to the nomadic existence of the Russian soldier and his love of acting.

Upon retirement it seems that old soldiers still used to enjoy taking part in amateur productions and by teaching the lads of the places where they settled all they knew about the plays continued to further the knowledge and enjoyment of the folk-theatre among the people.

The fact that "Tsar Maximillian" was the favourite play of the military repertoire has left its mark in more ways than one upon it. The abundance of battle scenes and the important rôle of the Skorokhod-fel'd'marshal are typical of many plays of the eighteenth century, yet in "Tsar Maximillian" they tend in many variants to dominate the whole action. Additional, quite superfluous characters often appear to have a military bias, for example the drunken fel'd'sher who on occasions accompanies the doctor, or the Cossack and the Hussar who swell the list of warriors in some versions where their military rôle is particularly underlined:

"H. M.: - ... Праведи мне гусарика молодца.
Гусар: (подходит) - Здравия желаем вашем императорскому величеству.
Ц.М.: — Гусар, где ты по сё время пропадал?
Гусар: — За Уралами стоял, ваше царство защищал." 1

The Cossack in the same version is also a servant of the crown and
has nothing in common with the braggart of the verten.

In the section on the rôle of songs in the folk-play it was
seen that a large number of these are popular soldier songs 2 —
such as:

"Все татары взыбунтовались . . . "
"Поле чистое турецкое . . . "
"Под войной, под войной, о́фшерик молодой . . . "
"Под ракитою зелёной . . . "
"Русский царь собрал дружину . . . "

etc. These are accompanied by songs of a nationalistic-military
nature such as those referring to the 1812 campaign, e.g.:

"Торжествует вся наша Россия . . . "
or: "Ездил, ездил русский царь,"

which soldier producers would be more likely to introduce to the text
whether from purely patriotic feelings or reasons of policy than the
ordinary layman. Although the text of "Maximillian" cannot be said
to have a military bias there are to be found among the variety of
constituent elements traces of military influence or knowledge of

2. Supra, p. 398.
military terminology and expressions. These can be seen for instance in the exchanges between Tsar Maximilian or the Skorokhod-feld'marshal on the one hand and Adolf or the pages or warriors on the other. Of such a kind is the speech between the Skorokhod and Adolf and the rest of the cast in Kostin's variant:

"Адольф: - (входит) - Здраво, Братьцы!
Все: - Здравия желаём, ваше императорское высочество!
Царь: - (выходит) - Здорово дети!
Все: - Здравия желаём, ваше императорское величество!
Царь: - Хорошо, дети!
Все: - Ради стараться, в.и.в." ¹

Odd references to the military (or naval) way of life are scattered through the many variants of the play. These are particularly numerous in Onshukov's first version of "Tsar Maximilian" where the connections with the Baltic fleet and the military experience of the actors (and presumably the original audience) are quite clear. The conversation between the two old sailors is one such example. Here there is the use of naval jargon,² description of the ships upon which they have served and reminiscences of the Crimean campaign. Significant too is the choice of two naval (or military) words:

"ноготь" : "перлена (перлён) ",

2. Supra, p.338.
in the humorous "deaf" scenes:—

"2. Старик: — Он велит убрать это тело, да за то будет погодные платить.

.............

2. Старик: — Да не по городу водить, а погодные платить.
1. Старик: — Да куда мне с погонами; у меня свои три и новые в ранце лежат." ¹

Later the two old men search Adolf's body for booty:—

"1. Старик: — ... А ты что нашёл, старый чорт?
2. Старик: — Я нашёл ордена.
1. Старик: — Какие тут перлень, что он завозил что ли их куда?" ²

In the same play the Doctor obtusely misunderstands Maximillian's offer of high naval rank as a reward for his services:—

"Ц. М.: — Доктор, ты очень искусно лечишь, не знаю я, чем тебя наградить. Я тебя пожалую чином адмирала.
Доктор: — Сам ты помирай.
Ц. М.: — Ну, не адмирала, да полковника.
Док.: — Сам ты будь покойник.
Ц. М.: — Да пропорщик.

2. Ibid., p. 28.
Moreover, as will be seen later, much of the action, movement and gesture is based upon military customs and techniques so that many variants of "Maximillian" are pervaded with a predominantly martial atmosphere.

The troupes of enthusiastic amateur actors, whether peasants, soldiers, sailors or factory workers, would begin preparations for their annual performances well in advance, gathering together anything up to two months before Christmas for rehearsals. These would take place in their spare time, the performers hiding away in barns and outhouses so as to keep the preparations secret. It was possible for those in the towns to hold rehearsals at their place of work during the meal-break. In fact, if their boss or foreman was sufficiently interested, an empty room might be put at their disposal. The whole troupe consisted not only of the actors but also of a number of assistants who helped to get the costumes ready while the actors were learning or practising their parts. During the actual performances these helpers often used to take a hand with musical accompaniments, "noises off" and choir participation. It was not customary for women to take part in any of the plays and therefore

1. Ibid.
2. Infra, pp.565, 567, 569. etc.
3. There was not always one actor to each part, for there were not always enough willing players. For instance in Abramov's version of/...
female roles were played by youths, as can be seen from the remarks to many of the texts. In the Abramov variant of "Tsar Maximillian" there is, for example, a young girl (devitsa): -

"Переодетый мальчик с ясными чертами лица"; 1 in "Ataman" 2 we are told that the part of Maria was usually taken by a male actor; in one of the variants of "Tsar Irod", Rachel is described as: -

"хлопец одетый в женское платье с тряпочной куклой в руках". 3

Apparently this custom eventually had a detrimental effect upon acting standards. The young men themselves were unwilling to undertake female parts since this often made them a laughing-stock among their friends and a target for offensive remarks. As a result, rather than allow the performance to disintegrate, the female roles were given to anyone willing to take them on. These actors were often quite unsuited to the task and inevitably

.... of "Tsar Maximillian" the "Cossack" plays the rôle of the "Doctor" as well, the only apparent difference being that for the latter rôle he left his whip behind.

2. N.V. Drizen, op. cit., p. 281.
3. I. Eremin, op. cit.
lowered the standard of the acting.  

Usually the actors were young men and youths rather than older men and most of the extant descriptions, texts and recollections of the plays seem to underline this fact. For instance in Abramov's experience:

"водить царя" один из наиболее любимых светочных развлечений "паробков"; the young actors in Kallash's first text were aged between twelve and twenty; the old soldier in Akimova's text felt himself to be odd man out because of his age; in the two variants of "Tsar Irod" noted down by V.A. Moshkov in the winter of 1896/97 (Volynak government) the players were respectively youths of eighteen to twenty and boys of thirteen to fourteen. The carrying of the "star" and the singing of Christmas carols to go with it was left for even younger children. However, older men did on occasions take part especially in those roles which required experience and an air of authority or a particularly "aged" appearance, such as Tsar Maximillian, Tsar Irod, the executioner, the Ataman and of course the "old men" who appear in

3. I. Eremin, op. cit.
4. In some parts of Russia, but particularly in White Russia and the Ukraine an ornamental star made by the children themselves and lit up inside with a candle was carried round the village to an accompaniment of carol singing. A description of this procession in White Russia will be found in the appendix.
various guises.

Once a large enough group had been collected the producer came to the fore and began to direct the course of the rehearsals. He was often the traditional bearer of the title rôle in "Tsar Maximillian" or he might be the person owning the only copy of the texts or the one to whom they had been transmitted through the oral tradition, or he might simply be an older actor with long years of experience in folk-plays. Lashchilin has a word of praise for these producers: they were "experienced men, wonderful connoisseurs of folk-song and tale, masters and creators of folk-poetry, who taught the members of their collective their art, their methods and ability to arouse the feelings of their audience. But their task did not stop there. Being talented people they were able to show each actor how to create and perform each individual rôle and character."¹

The part of producer was indeed a responsible one for he had to know all the parts by heart and be able to act as prompter if required. One of the well-known producers of "Tsar Maximillian" in the nineties of the last century, Panov, a factory worker from Yaroslavl, included in his duties the distribution of parts, acting the part of the Tsar, writing out the text for each actor, showing

them how to act, how to stand, which words to stress and so forth.\(^1\) R.M. Volkov\(^2\) also indicates that in texts which included songs it was the task of the producer to teach them also. Performances of "Tsar Maximillian" in Novgorod-Seversk were thus led for a considerable period by the conductor of the local church choir.

Eventually the leader would get down to the business of dividing the roles. This was not done haphazardly. The most important role in "Tsar Maximillian" was of course that of the Tsar himself and this role as I said was often taken by the producer. But in some districts the speaking parts for both Tsar Maximillian and Adolf were handed down in oral tradition from father to son, each generation having the right to play the part irrespective of talent. The hereditary holders of these parts had the right also to alter the text, to combine scenes, add or omit according to their inclinations; in other words, to exercise a licence not normally permitted by the strict rules of folk-tradition. As far as the other actors are concerned we learn that it was sometimes difficult to find enough suitable people because of the often considerable demands upon them. Actors were required not only to be able to learn and declaim their part but also, in many cases, to have a good singing voice. According

\(^1\) E.V. Pomerantseva, Pesni i skazki yaroslavskoi oblasti (Yaroslavl 1958).

\(^2\) R.M. Volkov, op. cit., p. 326.
to Abramov, the best actors were considered those who could sing well, had a loud voice and

"... умеет молодцевато выступить перед публикой".

Lashchilin, in his notes to the text of "Ataman Churkin", also states that from the candidates were picked those with good singing voices because this text contained many songs. The Skorokhod-fal'd'marshal had an exacting task, filling as he did one of the longest and most responsible parts in "Tsar Maximilian", and therefore particular care had to be taken in choosing a suitable candidate:

"Скороход обыкновенно бывает какой-либо щустрый, бойкий на словах и на деле парень который, как говорится, за словом в карман не полезет." 3

There were of course also physical conditions. The pages, for instance, were played by young boys, female parts by boys, particularly those with attractive faces. Age, height and physique were all determining factors. Adolf the martyr is usually played by a youth (18-20) of slender and delicate build to underline his innocence and helplessness. Tsar Maximilian also had an individual appearance; the following descriptions all indicate a similar physical type:

1. I.S. Abramov, op. cit., p. 2.
2. V. Golovachev and B. Lashchilin, Narodnyi teatr na Donu.
3. I.B., "Tsar Maximilian v Kovle".
Descriptions of Brambeus, the executioner, show that he is usually portrayed by a very tall, strongly-built man:

"высокого роста, с бородой, лицом грозный, речь громкая, резкая." 1

"высокий, толстый мужчина лет 40, с бородой, грозного вида." 2

"высокий, красивый, статный парень." 3

The parts of the various knights and warriors were usually played, understandably, by tall men, for example:

"Чёрный Араб — самый высокий парень." 5

In Vinogradov's 1st variant of "Tsar Maximillian" the Arab, Zmiulan and Mars are all tall. In "Tsar Maximillian", Berkov 2, the character known as the Ispolinskii рыцарь is young and tall.

Among the better-organised and well-established groups it was not unusual to hire a room and charge a small admission fee, the proceeds of which were then split among the actors as a reward for their enthusiasm and hard work. However, it was much more usual for

3. "Tsar Maximilllan", Abramov, p. 5. The Tsar in this text was, however, played by a youth and not an older man as was more usual.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
the bands of mummers to be entertained at the expense of their hosts in the kitchens of the local landowners or merchants or in the cottages of the wealthier peasants:

"Им за это платили, понили вином, брагой, вообще у кого что было." ¹

The generosity of appreciative audiences was such that many of the actors scarcely had time to sober up from one day to the next.

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¹ I.A. Mokhirev, "Vyatsko-polyanskii variant narodnoi dramy Ernak," Uchenye zapiski kirov. gos. ped. inst. (Department of Literature), No. 20 (Kirov 1965), p. 251.
CHAPTER XVII

COSTUME AND THE USE OF MAKE-UP IN THE FOLK-PLAYS

I have already discussed in the relevant chapters the types of costume and make-up used both in the dramatic rituals\(^1\) and in scenes such as "Pakhomushka"\(^2\) where the connection with ritual is very strong. Within the repertoire of the folk-theatre proper, although the traditions of the rituals are by no means entirely forgotten, the general approach to the subject is quite different. I should therefore like now to examine the use of costume in the more important plays of this repertoire, with particular reference to "Tsar Maximillian", but including also "Lodka", "Barin", "Kak frantsuz Moskvu bral", and "Mavrukh".

As one examines the various types of costume which appear in each of these plays several distinct patterns begin to emerge of which one of the most striking is the military bias which dominates plays like "Tsar Maximillian", "Kak frantsuz Moskvu bral" and "Mavrukh", (all of which belong to the repertoire of the soldier theatre), and whose influence is clearly felt in other plays such as "Tsar Irod".\(^3\)

For performances of these plays it was not unusual for the soldier

\(^{1}\) Supra., p.87ff.
\(^{2}\) Supra., p.175.
\(^{3}\) Supra., pp.247-8
or other actors to borrow any military uniforms they could lay their hands on to which they would later add the various specific features of dress which distinguished one character from another. Abramov, for instance, tells of costumes for his variant of "Tsar Maximillian" hired from retired army men living in the district:

"Наряды играющих представляют порядочную смесь, начиная с формы какого-нибудь майора времён Очаковских и покорень Крыма и ожигивая пёстрым одеянием отставного драгуна." ¹

The troupe described by Kallash also wore borrowed uniforms. The Skorokhod-fel'damarsal is dressed thus:—

"На нём солдатский или офицерский мундир, сообразно с тем, какой удалось достать артистам . . ." ²

But elaborate uniforms were not always easy to find and, as with the other costumes, the folk-actors were content for the most part to make their own. A wide variety of materials, anything that came to hand, was used in the construction of the costumes for the folk-plays — odd pieces of wood:—

"В руках деревянный крест на палке," ³ "сабля деревянная;" ⁴

¹ I. S. Abramov, op. cit., p. 2.  
² "Tsar Maximillian", Kallash, p. 6.  
³ "Mavruk"; in N. E. Onchukov, Severnye narodnye dramy, p. 134.  
cardboard:-

"Каска делается из картона", 1 "на мундире погоны или висячие эполеты подлинны или сделанные из картона, цветной бумаги и щумки," 2 "асаул берёт картонную трубку;" 3 pieces of coloured materials:-

"Каска шьётся с материи черной;" 4

and pieces of sheepskin for beards and moustaches; straw:-

"На плечах погоны из соломы," 5 "входит казак и Рахиль с ребёнком, сделанным из соломы," 6 "на плечах соломенные эполеты;" 7

strands of flax:-

"... длинные изо льна волосы;" 8
gold and silver tinsel:-

-----------------------------------------------------------------------
"Скрипетр — палка облицованная султаном золотом с султаньной звездой на верхушке и держава — шар облицованный султаном золотом;" 1

"... корона из железа и виззолочена;" 2

coloured paper:—

"корона из бумаги или из бересты с разными фигурами из цветной и золотой бумаги;" 3 "он подложен широким кушаком, облицован золоченой бумагой; через левое плечо повешена цветная бумажная орденская лента, а через правое-шапка на портупее облицованной золотой бумагой;" 4

"на голове картонные шестиугольные короны, облицоване золотой бумагой." 5

Among other materials used in the manufacture of costumes for the folk-theatre were bits of tin, leather, animal fur, oilecloth, and various types of bark.

Once the basic military uniform essential to "Tsar Maximillian" and other plays of the soldier repertoire had been borrowed or

5. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
improvised a variety of decorations and elaboration, ribbons, belts, sashes, medals, crosses and epaulettes, were added in order to distinguish ranks and characters. By studying eye-witness accounts, old photographs and the remarks to the various extant texts one can build up a general picture of the appearance of the main characters. Tsar Maximillian himself wears a military uniform often approximating to that of a general, decorated with straw epaulettes, trousers with a broad stripe down the side, knee-boots and, inevitably, a broad military sash of blue or, less frequently, red or green material worn across the left shoulder. Like all the "warriors" he carries a sword. His royal position is marked by the abundance of medals, crosses, rosettes and stars with which the breast of his jacket is decorated and of course by his tinsel crown. Compare the following descriptions:—

(1) "Одевает одежду сирот о военной с висящими погонами, на штанах генеральские ломпасы, через плечо голубая лента, потом есть и корона из железа и визолочена, ещё имеет шапку, потом ещё есть ордена, делают своеручно с золотой бумаги." ¹

(2) "А я был одет во все царское, в мундир и на плечах были кисточки, а на штанах были, на груди была голубая лента, и вся грудь была увенчана орденами, крестиками и

¹. "Tsar Maximillian", Abramov, pp. 5-6.
In one of Kallash's texts there is a description of how the crown was made:

"Впоследствии ему приносят корону такого вида: обруч, охватывающий голову; в нему приделаны вверху две полосы наверст, правильно изогнутые. Наверху или на лбу короны иногда находится звезда."  

Towards the beginning of this play Maximillian is invested with the royal regalia, the sceptre and orb, a description of which can be seen on page 7 of the text.

The royal attributes were symbolic of regal power and authority and the portrayal of the King in the folk-theatre was not complete without them. In the variants of "Maximillian" where the Tsar was forced to take on his challengers in person the crown and regalia were often laid upon the throne as a sign that the rights of the monarch were in question and the victor invested himself with the regalia of the vanquished to show that a change of leadership had been effected. The symbolic importance of the crown and regalia was also recognised by the Russian school theatre and the Anglo-German theatre as well, where coronation scenes analogous to those in "Tsar Maximillian" also

1. T.M. Akimova, op. cit.
also took place: such a scene can be found in "Akt o Kaleandre i Neonilde":—

"Надлежит цесарю Атиргрио сидеть на троне в порфире и в короне, в руках имеет скринетр . . . "¹

Very rarely is any attempt made to dress Maximillian in a historical garb more suited to his rôle in the play as a pagan persecutor. A small move in this direction may be seen in the reference to be found in the Berkov No. 1 variant to Maximillian being dressed in the "garb of the ancient tsars", but in the actual description of the costume the only unusual note comes in his one archaic piece of clothing, the "Kamzol".² A flowing cloak was, however, often used to add authenticity to his regal appearance.

The other king who figures in "Tsar Maximillian", Mamai of the Golden Horde, differs from his antagonist basically in his crown and regalia, although his general appearance tends to be more exotic with an oriental flavour as in the Kallash No. 1 variant:—

"В противоположном углу сидит король Мамай, одетый, как Максимилиан, но в зубчатой короне (обручик, отделанный вверху зубчиками) с полумесяцем на ней . . .

¹. "Akt o Kaleandre i Neonilde", in V.N. Perets, Pamiatniki russkoi drama, p. 7.
The royal prince Adolf also wears military dress, but rather that of an officer than of a general, complete with sword or sabre. He differs from his father mainly in the lack of a crown (although not always) instead of which he is provided with a military hat or helmet made from gilded cardboard. His costume is not so elaborate and he wears fewer decorations. An essential feature of his "dress", the heavy chains which are a part of his punishment, are added later in the play.

The Skorokhod-fel'd'marshal's costume is basically similar to that of his master and the royal prince except that his medals are fewer in number and he wears a red sash rather than the blue one associated with the Tsar.

It is interesting to compare the costume of the royal personages as presented in "Tsar Maximillian" and "Tsar Irod" respectively, for whereas in the former play historical costume is very rare, in the religious drama there is a definite hesitation between the traditions of the vertep which gave the original impulse to its creation and the traditions of the soldier theatre which had a very strong influence upon it. Thus Tsar Irod in one variant may be dressed much like

Maximillian:

"В солдатском мундире, поверх которого накинута красная мантия, он подпоясан широким кушаком, оклеенным золоченой бумагой, через левое плечно повешана цветная бумажная орденская лента, а через правое - пашка на португес обклеенной золотой бумагой, на голове картонная корона, обклеенная золоченой бумагой, на руках белые перчатки." ¹

In another variant the three kings are clothed quite differently and resemble their predecessors of the vertep:-

"Они в белых, чистых сорочках, "гарно"вышитых подпоясанные широкими цветными поясами; две широких ленты обхватывают на крест грудь, как орар диакона; на груди иконы с изображением рождественского вертепа, на голове картонные шестизубчатые короны, оклеенные золотой бумагой, украшенные серебряными звездами и крестами ... "²

The Emperor Napoleon, on the other hand, who appears from time to time in the Russian folk-plays was not depicted in either of the ways mentioned above. As a real historical character of what was to

¹. I. Eremin, op. cit., p. 233.
². A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
the folk-actor the none too distant past, his actual appearance was widely known even if only through the caricature portraits of folk-pictures and cartoons contemporary to the 1812 campaign. In the plays he therefore retains the costume with which we usually connect his pictorial image:—

"... в белых штанах, ботфортах, мундире и треугольке." ¹

All the warriors who take part in the duel scenes in the second half of "Tsar Maximillian" wear military uniform. The chief of these, Anika-Voin, retains the epaulettes, sash, etc. of the royal characters but is, like the knightly enemies he defeats, without military decorations. He usually carries both a sword and a spear. Among the other knights who take part in the duels the Hussar and the Black Arab tend to be the most striking, the former by a certain amount of extravagance in the colour and style of his costume, ² and the latter by the fact that he is all in black:—

"Пиджак, через правое плечо красная лента, сбоку сабля, на голове черная шапка; лицо замарено сажей или на нём черная кисейка." ³

Herod's bodyguard in "Tsar Irod" and the officers who bear the

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2. See e.g. "Tsar Maximillian", Berkov, No. 2.
coffin in "Mavrukh" are all dressed in ordinary military uniforms.

The predominantly military note in the costumes of these characters is a further proof that the plays in which they appear had become a part of a specifically military theatrical tradition within the wider range of the folk-theatre itself, a tradition where high rank and royalty is identified, no matter to what period it belongs, with the full dress uniforms of the Tsar or Prince acting in their military capacity and warriors or knights with the style of dress familiar and contemporary to the soldier actors themselves. This is particularly significant when we consider that these conventions persisted even when the plays were being performed neither in the garrison nor by a military troupe.

In the popular folk-play "Lodka" which was not essentially a part of the military theatrical repertoire the traditional costume of the actors in the serious part of the drama is quite different. All the robbers, including the Ataman and the Bsaul, are almost invariably dressed in scarlet shirts with broad belts or sashes behind which they stick their weapons:

"Есаул был в красную длинную рубашку, запоясанную черным кушаком; в сапогах -- ёрки широкие, синие, напущенные на желтые сапоги - нчиги. На голове - чалма."

"Ataman ... в красной рубашке, на голове шапка, сабля
деревянная, на груди медали, усы и борода ... " 1

The weapons which they carry are many and varied on the principle
that the more the robber is able to produce the more ferocious and
realistic his appearance. The Ataman in "Mashen'ka" has a formidable
array:

"На пее револьвер висит на шпуре, за пояском замкнут
пистолет и кинжал, с боку висит шпага ... " 2

and the Esaul from "Drama o Ermake" likewise:

"На нём - воинские доспехи, меч, лук, стрелы, в
руках плетка, цит, шапка; за пояском - пистолет." 3

The military influence is not totally absent from "Lodka", for
in some cases the play was extremely popular in areas settled by the
Cossack regiment as in the Don region and the Urals. In these
Cossack texts there is a tendency to make use of aspects of Cossack
military dress. For example the robbers in Golovachev and Lashchilin's
"Ataman Burya" were dressed in Cossack chekmny trimmed with
silver lace:

"... мундрии с погонами, пароварами с лампасами и

2. V. Dobrovol'skii, op. cit., p117.
Similarly, the Ataman in the 2nd text given in the collection "Dorevolyutionnyi fol'klor na Urale" is dressed thus:

"В красной рубахе, в пиджаке с полковничьими эполетами с кистями (уральской казачьей дивизии), шапка с красным верхом, в виде треугольника, перекинут на бок с серебряной кистью на конце верха."  

But on the whole the semi-romantic, semi-historical popular image of the early robber-heroes was not fixed to any specific military tradition.

The dress of the Ataman and the Esaul was distinguished from the rest by being more elaborate and often richly ornamented with braid and silver and gold lace, like the Ataman in Sipovskii's "Iodka":

"В красной рубашке, чёрной поддевке, черной шляпе, ... поддевка и шляпа богато украшены золотой бумагой."

The characters and costumes discussed above form two quite separate but internally coordinated groups, in the one case the warriors and the royal characters, in the other the robbers and their leaders. Within the groups only small variations are made to distinguish one member from another, but characters not belonging to the group are dressed quite differently.

1. V. Golovachev and B. Lashchilin, op. cit.
2. V.P. Biryukov, op. cit., p. 47.
3. In P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII-XX v. p. 143
Characters outside the group fall into two main categories:

(a) those who belong specifically to the "plot" of each play (such as Preklonskii the captured girl or the rich landowner in "Lodka");

(b) stock, peripatetic characters whose role is not fixed in any one play and who belong jointly to all or most of the genres of the folk-theatre (such as the gravedigger and his old woman, the Jew, the parodied ecclesiastical characters, the doctor, etc.).

The former are usually "serious" characters while the latter, since they belong to the humorous interlude scenes, are mainly comic. Many of the incidental characters in the first category do not receive any kind of special costume but appear in more or less everyday clothing. Such is the girl captured by the robbers in "Lodka":

"Переодетый парень, в юбке и платье, кисея на лице," ¹

or Preklonskii, whose impoverished state is, however, underlined by ragged garments. Rachel in "Tsar Irod" is dressed as an ordinary Russian or Ukrainian peasant woman as in the vertep prototype:

"Хлопец, одетый в женское платье с тряпочной куклой в руках," ² "Выходит актёр, одетый в женский, малорусский костюм, прижимая к груди ребёнка, свернутого из тряпок." ³

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3. Ibid.
Even the goddess Venus who appears frequently as one of Tsar Maximillan's challengers is not exotically dressed as one might have expected. Played, like the other female characters, by a boy in female clothing, she wears peasant dress, sometimes holiday finery or a costume slightly more elaborate than ordinary everyday garb. In the film variant of "Tsar Maximillian" which I saw in 1963 she had on a long white dress with a tweed jacket over it and a scarf on her head. The old woman who sometimes accompanied Marko, the gravedigger, was also dressed in peasant style, e.g.:

"В пестрядинном сарафане и во всём старушечьем уборе, как по-крестьянски ходит, на голове кичка." ¹

There are, however, other incidental characters whose rôle in the play is to fulfil some particular professional function. These are immediately recognisable from their appearance which underlines their respective callings. The court executioner and the smith who chains Adolf are obvious examples of this type of costume. The dress of Brambeus is quite striking and very distinctive. In it red is the predominant colour. He usually wears red clothing of some sort -- a red shirt, a jacket with patches of red somewhere upon it, red trousers or a red hood or cap (kolpak). In one case, among the variants known to me, his arms are painted red. ² Sometimes he also wears a

2. See infra, p540.
black mask. Traces of the military theme from the warriors can be
detected now and again in his dress. High boots may be worn, or a
military cap. Like them he carries a sword, usually in addition to
some other weapon such as a spear. Note, for example, the following
description:

"Брамбеус — в чёрной маске, с чёрным племом на голове,
с чёрными перьями на плече, в вассуемых руках, вы-
крашенных в красную краску, обнажённая сабля, одет он в
красную рубашку." ¹

The smith is always identified by his hammer, long apron and
various other signs of his trade:

"Одет по-мужиши, в рубахе, в лаптях, без шапки, при
фартуке, весь в уголье;"² "Кузнец при фартуке, с клещами
в одной руке, с молотком в другой."³

This method of identifying characters is similar to that used
in the school theatre which was largely based upon a tradition of
symbols. According to the principles of the Jesuit theoretician of
this school, Francisco Lang, each character had to have his proper
costume, each being distinguished from the other by some symbol which

indicated his rank, profession, etc. Thus, soldiers were differentiated by their swords and spears, workmen by their hammers and tools, peasants by their agricultural implements.\(^1\)

Symbolic representation of character is by no means limited to the serious parts of the folk-drama but can also be found in the humorous scenes. Characters like the Doctor, the Barin and, to a certain extent, the rich landowner of "Lodka", all received this sort of treatment. The actual clothing of the Doctor varies from one text to another. Some of the costumes, for instance, were intended to look particularly German since this character was often supposed to have come from Germany, e.g.:

"Одет на "немецкий лад", шляпа, узкий, белый китель, узкие штаны, на ногах чулки и башмаки, в руках ящик, трубка и молоток ... "^2\]

But the essential ingredients of the costume were to be found in the various properties connected with the Doctor, in particular his spectacles:

"А кто на нос очки наденет и доктора представляет,"^3

\(^2\) "Shaika razboinikov", Biryukov, No. 2.
medicine bag and a variety of medical instruments, clyster pipe, hammer, bottles and phials of medicine, etc. Typical are the following:

"Доктор Ульф — в белом кителе, в очках, в руках сумка или саквоjak," 1 "В коротком пиджаке, брюки на выпуск, на голове котелок, длинный нос, и длинные изо льна волосы, в одной руке тросточка, в другой пузырёк с лекарством." 2

Although the barin is presented in more or less everyday clothes he is always made clearly recognisable by several features, the most typical of which is his general stoutness and fat stomach. Among the other attributes which are constantly associated with the barin are a walking-stick, a straw hat, umbrella or a pipe. A good example can be seen in Berkov's variant of "Barin":

"В красной рубахе и пиджаке; на плечах соломенные эполеты; на голове соломенная шляпа с вырезанными фигурками из бумаги; в руках трость, украшенная фигурками из бумаги." 3

The scenes in which the barin is a central figure are of course satirical in content and this affects the physical appearance of the

3. P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama, p. 46.
characters as well as the dialogue. One of the features of satire is the exaggeration or distortion of reality and this is what is seen in the barin scenes where the fatness of the master and the exceptionally ragged appearance of the servant are deliberately emphasized as in the "Komediya ot Aleshke malom i barine golom":

"Алёшка Малый облачался в изорванный донельзя понитох, снимал сапоги, и босой с растрепанными волосами, изображал барского наёмного слугу ... "

A similar effect was obtained in the parody funeral and wedding scenes of which there are several among the variants of "Tsar Maximillian". As in the similar scenes in "Pakhomushka", the priest was dressed approximately as in real life, complete with various attributes of his calling, holy books, cross, censer, etc., but the strange manner in which these were made created a comically grotesque effect rather than a realistic one.

The costumes of Markushka the gravedigger and of Death and the Devil respectively fall again into separate categories. Markushka's dress is basically that of an old Russian peasant:

"В кафтане, волосы и борода длинные, с толстой палкой

2. Ibid.
But his true nature is revealed by constantly recurring features, namely the sheepskin coat which he wears inside out and his humped back connecting him with the ritual fool of Russian and other European agricultural ceremonies:

"Старик Марко гробокопатель, в полуплубке на верх шерстью, на спине горб, в старенькой шляпе, в руках рохок табак нюхать, и наляка, сам в маске." 3 "Дедушка — гробокопатель — с длинной ключковатой бородой, в полуплубке овчиной наруку, сгорбленный, с налякой в руке." 4

Devils appear rarely in the folk-theatre outside the verstep. When they do they are represented as black, hairy creatures with horns:

"Одет в всё обтянутое чёрное, на руках черные перчатки, лицо вымазано сажей, на голове шапка с черным мехом, вывороченным наруку." 5

Although their occasional appearance in plays like "Mashen'ka", "Tsar Maximillian" and "Lodka" is probably the result of borrowing from the vertepl there is in their appearance an element too of ritual origins, to be seen particularly in the copious use of soot for the blacking of faces and hands and the wearing of fur or sheepskin turned inside out.

Death in all the folk-plays closely resembles the figure in the vertepl. As in the puppet-theatre, the figure is invariably feminine, is dressed from head to foot in white (a sheet or nightgown) and carries a scythe.

In certain cases make-up of one sort or another was used in order to further enhance the appearance of the actors, to emphasise character and type, to heighten an already grotesque effect. We know for instance that where long hair or a beard were considered an embellishment to a character these could be simply made from strands of flax or tow or any other suitable material. Such treatment was often given to the "ecclesiastical" characters whose long hair was a necessary part of their appearance, or characters who are intended to look old like the gravedigger or even, on occasions, the starosta in "Barin". Thus the starosta who appears in several variant of "Lodka" has a beard made from flax. The Jew usually has a beard and even Tsar Maximillian for whom a beard was essentially a sign of age and dignity sported one on occasions, e.g.

2. Ibid.
Clearly some actors were prepared to go to considerable lengths in order to produce the desired effect, as a description of the making of a wig for the "Doctor" shows. The doctor in this case was to be shown as bald. First of all a piece of leather of the requisite size was found, soaked and then stretched over a heavy, rounded weight to give it the shape of a head. Hair of a bright, gingery colour taken from a dog was then attached to the leather and the wig was complete.

Eyebrows were darkened and whiskers drawn in with burnt cork. The Black Arab in addition to his black costume frequently had his face blackened with soot. Cheek colour could be heightened by using dye from red-coloured paper.

All these points, crude as they may seem, are a further illustration of the care taken by the folk-actors over producing an effective, satisfying and, to a certain extent, realistic appearance, in spite of their lack of means and the limitation of materials available.

I have previously pointed out some of the main characteristics of the costume and the general visual presentation of ritual and ritual

1. A.I. Sobolevskii, Introduction to N.N. Vinogradov, Narodnaya drama Tsar Maximilian, etc.
3. Supra pp. 87-8, 109-110 etc.
drama. In the plays of the folk-theatre proper, although ritual elements are not entirely absent, the overall effect bears little resemblance to that of the ritual. In the ritual the emphasis was upon the outcome of the action and the action itself was important only insofar as the outcome depended upon its correct and efficient functioning. This naturally influenced the visual side of the performance, including the "dress" of the "actors", animate or inanimate. These were significant not in themselves, as individuals, but as the bearers of an idea, a symbol, and therefore they were presented in such a way that only, or at least mainly, those features essential in the given circumstances were included. The aim and consequently the processes of the folk-plays were quite different. In the folk-theatre the action is itself the important feature along with the portrayal of the characters and the development and interplay of their relationships. Each character and his rôle within the play has to be made explicit. However, it is quite clear that within the scope of such plays as have been under observation psychological analysis, although advanced by comparison with the ritual, does not progress beyond a rudimentary level. In the absence of both a highly developed plot and deep characterisation, one of the simplest methods of presenting characters and their function is by means of costume, which must necessarily be both striking and immediately recognisable. In other words, some form of visual entertainment is
necessary which can act at the same time as a pivot upon which to fix the attention of the audience during the often amorphous collection of characters and repetitive action typical of such plays as "Lodka" or "Tsar Maximillian". It is for precisely the same reason that the characters announce their name, title and position during their opening monologue.

The costume of the Russian folk-actors does, on the whole, fulfill this function, since each of the main characters is dressed in a way which distinguishes him once and for all from any of the others. In fact one of the most striking features of the costume in the folk-theatre is the diversity of types and methods of costuming to be found not only between different plays but even within the framework of a single text, such as the mixture of military influences, symbolism, attempts at historical accuracy and remnants of ritual masking to be found in "Tsar Maximilian". In fact, few of the characters in the folk-plays belong to the same dramatic or literary tradition but are drawn from a wide range of different sources, from the ritual ded to the historical Napoleon, from well-known ethnographical types to fictional heroes from popular literature, from sixteenth- or eighteenth-century brigands to characters in the style of nineteenth-century sentimental romances. All of these retain the dress of the group or type to which they belong and there is little or no attempt to rationalise the diversity. All exist together according to the peculiar form of logic typical of the folk-theatre. Even within one of these
distinct groups of characters variety and a refusal to follow the unified pattern generally accepted in the literary theatre can be observed. Thus, for example, Maximillan, Adolf and the knights are all recognisably of one group, set apart from other members of the cast. All wear pseudo-military uniforms. This is in itself a unity. But the unity proceeds no further and uniforms representing not only different regiments but also widely different historical periods are found together. The important factor in the recognition of these characters was simply "military" without any more specific definition.

Such disparities and diversities are a significant part of a wider phenomenon typical of the folk-theatre, that is, the strange mixture of realism with an adherence to purely arbitrary conventions. It is pure convention for instance that the Tsar, Prince and knights should be dressed in pseudo-military uniforms which reflect neither the period to which the action properly belongs nor even, in the case of actors from peasant or urban proletariat communities (and only approximately in the case of military actors) the garb of contemporary society. Yet within the convention every attention is paid to detail and accuracy. If by the convention Maximillan was to resemble a Russian general then it was the task of the folk-producers to make him as resplendent a general as possible and much effort and ingenuity was spent on the creation of his uniform and decorations. To be true to an accepted convention is after all a form of realism.
However, at this juncture another point enters in, for the often illogical juxtaposition of different types of costumes may be regarded as a direct result of the aims of the folk-producer which were not those of the modern producer. As far as its characters and their presentation were concerned the folk-theatre was not specifically interested in logic, realism or attention to purely historical accuracy but rather in recognition and identification. A modern director may go to a great deal of trouble when presenting a historical play to make his costumes accurate, often down to the minutest detail. This may afford his audience and himself, educated to such methods, with visual, aesthetic and intellectual pleasure. The folk-plays "Iodka", "Tsar Maximillian", "Kak frantsuz Moskvu bral" and "Mavrukh" are all, in the sense that they depict characters and events from the past, "historical", but the main intention behind the presentation of the characters remains essentially ease of recognition, which may have nothing at all to do with the characters' relative historical place.

Subtlety is not one of the characteristics of the folk-theatre. Distinctions are clearly drawn - highborn or rich versus poor or peasant, good versus bad, comic versus serious or tragic. Each character must be known at a glance for what he represents and the desire to avoid mistaken identity often leads to exaggeration. Thus in some variants Tsar Maximillian's uniform is decorated with an absurd quantity of decorations of all kinds, while the Ataman is armed to the teeth with every conceivable type of weapon.
The necessity for immediate recognisability of the characters and for the strict adherence to the convention of dress and behaviour to which each belonged was in part a result of the retention of audience participation which had been an integral feature of the ritual drama. One of the major differences between the literary and the folk-theatre is the reactions of their respective audiences. Even in the nineteenth century the folk-audience felt an obligation not merely to watch but to participate in the drama. The audience identified itself with the plot and characters, condemned Maximilliam, pitied Adolf, laughed with Afon'ka at the barin. It was one of the pleasures of the show to be able to recognise old friends or old enemies whose appearance followed an unchanging pattern, and to enter with them once more the strange world of the drama where reality and fantasy met.

The folk-theatre on the one hand set its characters apart from the audience by the use of various conventions, distortions and exaggerations. But at the same time the basis of the costumes was usually familiar either because it was borrowed from everyday life, like the soldier uniforms, or the costumes of the barin, Afon'ka and the gravedigger, or relied upon commonly accepted symbols and principles.

Through the use of costume and other means the Russian folk-

2. Infra, p. 575 ff.
actors contrived to achieve a strange balance between historical and contemporary events, creating an environment and a time scale which was neither completely real nor totally fictional.
CHAPTER XVIII

THE ARTISTIC METHODS OF THE FOLK-ACTORS

In the previous chapters I have tried to give some idea not only of the sort of people who were accustomed to participate in the amateur performances of folk-plays but also of the manner in which they were dressed for the various roles and the way in which these costumes were prepared. The next task is to discover, if possible, the conditions under which the actors were required to play and the various methods used by them in the declamation of their speeches and the presentation of the characters they were called upon to portray. This subject has been largely ignored by folklorists and theatrical historians and a representative picture can only be built up by careful examination of the texts themselves. Most of the material thus obtained relates specifically to "Tsar Maximillian", the texts of which tend to contain more relevant information in the form of brief remarks and footnotes than the other folk-plays.

There has been a general tendency among scholars and others to express surprise at the immense popularity enjoyed by such plays as "Tsar Maximilliah" and to regard both the content and the manner of presenting them as naive, dull and completely lifeless. Thus, Sergei Aksakov, describing a soldier performance in the 1850s, remarks
that the doctor and his assistant were "the only animated characters in the whole performance". A typical assessment of "Tsar Maximillian" came too from Professor Veselovskii who expressed himself puzzled not only as to the origins of this "apparently negligible comedy" but even more as to its popularity throughout the length and breadth of Russia.

This view of the artistic talents of the folk-actors requires considerable modification for, as I hope to show, the apparently primitive acting methods of these people were by no means entirely due, as is usually inferred, to ignorance, stupidity and lack of taste. After all one should not forget that most of the extant texts of the folk-plays belong to a period dating from the middle of the nineteenth century, that most of these do not come from very remote, outlying regions and that, moreover, the traditions of the literary theatre had for long been an established and integrated feature of Russian cultural life, not only in the big towns but in the provinces as well.

There were many theatres not only to cater for the tastes of the intelligentsia and upper and middle classes but also, from the first quarter of the nineteenth century onwards, a swift development


3. In the 18th century there was, of course, the Urban Democratic Theatre; see supra, p.
of theatres designed for the entertainment of the "masses", in Moscow and Petersburg and in provincial centres. Many of these theatres, functioning principally at the times of the major holidays, in particular Shrovetide and Easter, made an important contribution to the stimulation of interest in and enjoyment of the stage among the ordinary people, and, in general, to the history of popular drama. Among the best known of them may be cited the balagan theatres of Leman, Legat and Wagner in Petersburg during the 1830s, Malafeev's theatre on Admiralty Square in the 1880s or Alekseev-Yakovlev's popular theatre "Razvlechenie i pol'za" (1880-1897) on the Field of Mars. Later, towards the end of the century, there was the foundation of people's theatres with an educational and enlightening function such as the "Vasileostrov Theatre" for workers (1887).

The traditions of the legitimate stage were well within the reach of many people during the course of the nineteenth century and folk-actors could not have remained entirely ignorant of them. What does seem surprising is the fact that the methods of the folk-theatre managed both to present and to maintain, in spite of influences from outside sources a surprising degree of homogeneity which is still in evidence even in the latest records including the 1962 film version of "Tsar Maximillian" from the Gorky oblast'.

Much in the folk-drama depended upon the imagination of the audience and methods of presentation were largely influenced by the
limitations imposed by the amateur and seasonal nature of the companies' activities. The conditions under which they performed did not permit of much in the way of refinement whether of movement, gesture, speech or general delivery. Clearly no theatrical building or proper stage was available for the folk-actors. The nature of the space upon which they were invited to perform could vary not only from year to year but from day to day or performance to performance. The better organised and prosperous troupes might manage to hire a barn, an outhouse or a room specially for the occasion, but most had to be content with the kitchen of one of the large houses in the area, whether this belonged to the local landlord, a wealthy merchant or one of the more well-to-do peasants. If no room could be provided a suitable space had to be cleared in the open air. In the summer, of course, this was the rule rather than the exception. The itinerant and purely temporary nature of the troupe had an undoubted effect upon the character of the performance. Cumbersome scenery, backcloths and stage props were obviously out of the question for a small band, travelling from house to house, often to outlying districts and in the depths of a Russian winter, uncertain moreover of the size and appearance of their next stage. Even a curtain would be an unnecessary encumbrance. The only large piece of equipment really needed on stage in any of the folk-plays was Tsar Maximilian's or Tsar Herod's "throne" and this could if necessary be constructed on the spot from one or two chairs placed together. The throne might then be suitably
decorated to convey a more realistic impression as in one description from the play "Tron" where a tall chair is embellished by a heightened back made from pieces of stick covered over with a strip of cloth and decorated with gold paper. ¹

Properties too were kept to the absolute minimum, and apart from some objects like the swords for "Tsar Maximillian" which were specially made, were confined to things which were small and easily carried or which could be borrowed immediately before the performance, such as a snuff-box for the gravedigger, a walking-stick and box of pills for the doctor, a hammer for the smith, a straw hat for the barin, etc., etc.

As there were no wings the normal methods of exit and entry of players could not be observed. We find therefore that the players evolved various means of their own for grouping themselves on stage and for arranging their exits and entries. This latter presented little difficulty when performances were taking place in a room where either a corridor or another separate room opening off the first was available. In such cases the actors simply entered and left when required from one to the other. Audiences were seated on benches placed round the walls of the room. Other ways of arranging the actors, whether indoors or outdoors, also existed. It was possible,

¹. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
for instance, for them simply to stand among or alongside the audience and to emerge from the crowd when called to the centre of the acting area. However, even taking into consideration the small amount of available evidence on the subject, it seems clear that two main methods of organisation were used. According to the first of these, actors were arranged in two straight lines on either side of the main area of the action. In "Tsar Maximillian" this would be the royal throne with the Tsar placed in a central position. Each actor would step forward from one or other of the two lines to declaim his speech before the Tsar and then return to the line when he had finished. Typical of this sort of arrangement is the Abramov variant of Tsar Maximillian:

"Все вынимают сабли из ножен и становятся правильными рядами; вперёд выступает царский сын Адольф . . . " ,

and the scenes from "Лодка" which preface Volkov's variant of "Tsar Maximillian":

"Между двумя шеренгами вояков ходит воин . . . "

This also happened in the 1962 film version of "Tsar Maximillian" where the action took place between two lines of actors. According to the second method the actors formed a circle or a semi-circle.


around Maximillian and the throne, or the Ataman, and stepped from the periphery to the centre in order to deliver their lines. Note for instance:

"Все участники представления выходят на середину избы и образуют круг, в середине которого становятся друг против друга Атаман и Эсаул," ¹

or:

"Участники представления образуют посреди избы свободный полукруг, на середину которого выходят посол . . . " ²

Once the action had begun there was little movement of any specific nature about the stage, probably for two main reasons. In the first place, the simple nature of the plot made it unnecessary for more than two or three people at most to be present on stage at the same time and their dealings with each other were simple and direct; with the addresses rarely involving more than the two people immediately concerned. Secondly, the stage being empty of all decoration and equipment, even the most conventional, actions on the part of the actor were restricted to the bare essentials. Those which do remain are usually very stylised and can be found throughout the folk-theatre.

Dialogue was uncommon and the actor, delivering his speech from the

¹. "Lodka", Berkov, p. 144.
centre of the "stage" would address himself either towards the object of his words or else in the direction of the audience. Apart from this somewhat static approach to dramatic delivery it was also very common for the actors to declaim their parts while walking back and forth across, up and down or even round the acting space. In fact, in view of the number of references to such movements to be found in the remarks to the folk-plays, it would seem that this was the most popular method of execution. It occurs in the following examples:

"Nadew "рыцарское платье", Врамбес ходит взад и вперёд перед Максимилианом и поёт. . . ."

"Доктор вынимает из ножен шпагу и говорит, расхаживая взад и вперёд. . . ."

"Гусарин вынимает шпагу и расхаживая взад и вперёд говорит. . . ." 1

or:—

"Адольф удаляется тихим шагом, и ходя взад — вперёд по комнате, поёт. . . ."

"Встаёт с трона и, пройдясь раза два по комнате, говорит. . . ."

"Проходит несколько раз по комнате, а затем говорит. . . ." 2

These are only a few of innumerable such examples. Occasionally there is a more detailed description such as that in the Myakutin text of "Tsar Maximillian" where Maximillian, as he declaims about his royal power, takes up a stance with his right leg slightly forward and waves his revolver in the air, presumably to add force to his words.

Most of the movements and gestures to be found in the folk-plays, except in the comic scenes, are of a very stylised nature. They are repeated again and again and are orientated towards the expression of specific ideas or emotions. In the following pages I have attempted to present some of those which recur most frequently.

Kneeling, either upon one or both knees, was a constant feature of "Tron", "Lodka" and "Tsar Maximillian", particularly the latter, where Adolf kneels before his father, the warriors before Anika, Anika before Death and so on. Going down on both knees with outstretched hands is invariably a plea for mercy, used in cases where death or punishment is imminent. Adolf's speeches to his father are therefore largely pronounced from a kneeling position, e.g.:

"АДОЛЬФ:- Приходит, становится на одно колено и говорит ... "

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"Входит Адольф, сопровождаемый двумя воинами, подходит к трону и становится на колени . . . "  

In "Mashen'ka" and "Lodka" the heroine pleads with the robbers on her knees, in the "Zhivoi vertep" it is Rachel who kneels in the hope of saving her child. Kneeling on one knee only can also be a mark of respect or acceptance of subordination before the Tsar or any other superior or leader. Thus the Roman ambassador bends one knee before Maximillian, and Anika-Voin does likewise in several variants, to quote but two examples. Alternatively, falling on one knee may be a token of defeat and is particularly in evidence during the duel scenes between the warriors in "Tsar Maximillian":-

"Оба сходятся. После второго удара Аники-воина Змуклан становится на одно колено . . . "

A similar device can be found in the English folk-theatre where the defeated warriors retreat to the back of the "stage" where they wait balanced upon one knee for the end of the performance.

Equally rooted in convention was the scene of Adolf's execution or Anika's death or the killing in battle of the champions. The

2. See e.g. "Tsar Maximillian", Berkov, Russkii fol'klor, p.348.
execution was carried out not behind the scenes, with an accompanying speech to describe the fate of the victim, as was usual in the School theatre, but in full view of the audience. Unlike the Anglo-German theatre, however, the folk-actors made no attempt to give the scene an appearance of reality by the use of such subtleties as bladders of blood hidden beneath the clothing. Instead, the execution and the other deaths were presented in symbolic fashion using any one of a number of possible methods. In some cases the sword would be swung several times over Adol'f's head, whereupon he would fall to the ground and cover his head over with his arms in order to show that he had been executed. In the Myakutin variant of "Tsar Maximillian" both Adol'f and Anika are dispatched in this way. Another method can be seen in one version of "Tsar Irod", where Death kills Herod by touching him lightly on the neck with his scythe. Another conventional method of "executing" or destroying an enemy was for the victor to lift the victim's cap from his head on the point of his sword. This action is very interesting, coming as it does from a purely folklore tradition. It can be observed in the Kostin variant of "Tsar Maximillian":

"Они сходятся, и Аника побивает Мамая и снимает с него шапку . . . "

1. I. Eremin, op. cit.
Adol'f met his end in like fashion in the film version from the Gorky oblast'. The device was also known in the Czech folk-theatre.

Although some attempts were made by folk-actors to convey various emotions by means of vocal inflection and facial expression this was never developed to any great degree. Emphasis and point was often given to speeches, particularly those of a belligerent nature by the traditional actions of furious sword-waving and foot-stamping which accompanied them. This can be clearly seen, for example, in the following instances:

"Атаман (топает ногою и кричит громко): - Эсаул!

Эсаул (точно также топает ногою и кричит в ответ):
- Атаман!" 1

and:

"... (при этом посол топает ногою 1 раз, делает прием саблей и ожидает ответа.)

Царь: - Прочь, дерзкий посол.

Посол (также топая ногою и взмахивая саблей, говорит):
- О варвар, убийца! Кровопроливец!" 2

When a character rushed on stage wildly flourishing a weapon of some sort this was accepted as a sign of extreme displeasure and

was usually the preface to a challenge and duel as is the case here:

"Медленными шагами, как бы гуляя, выходит богиня.
После её первой речи, как бешенный, размахивая обнажённой шашкой, выскакивает Марц ... . ";

"Поклонившись Царю Максимилиану, он быстро поворачивается к рыцарю Марцу и, вытацивая шашку, начинает её размахивать и топать ногами, наступая на Марца ... . ";

"Обращается к Змумилану, грозно на него наступая и размахивая над его головой шашкой ... . ";

Stamping the feet on its own may be used simply to add a note of authority or to stress an important speech. Thus the actor playing the part of Adol'f in the film version of "Maximillian" employed it during the scene of his farewell to the world, facing one by one the four corners of the globe with his sword raised in military salute and giving an emphatic stamp of the feet at each turn.

The sword, on the whole, played a considerable part in the traditional actions of the plays and this is one of the many indications of the strong military atmosphere which surrounds some of them. It was customary for those appearing before the Tsar to unsheathe the sword and perform a military salute and then, after the address, to

return it to the scabbard, as in:—

"Скоробох быстро появляется, шага за три перед царем становится на одно колено, вынимает саблю, салютует и вонзает её в землю с левой стороны, продолжая держаться за неё рукой . . . . встаёт, вкладывает саблю в ножны и уходит." 1

"С двух сторон появляются два Пажа, быстро подходят к самому трону, делают "на караул" обнажёнными шапками, и говорят поочередно . . . . делают "налево кругом", вкладывают шапки в ножны и идут за короной . . . ." 2

and:

"Царь Максимильян обнажает шапку и, делая "на караул", говорит . . . . Вкладывает шапку в ножны и садится." 3

There are even texts where these gestures, so much an integral part of the action, have, by parody and distortion, become incorporated into the comic scenes as well. The old gravedigger of Vinogradov's 1st variant, for instance, hobbles in coughing and spluttering and, saluting with his crutch, makes fun of a device intended to add importance and dignity to the serious members of the cast. 3

In the English folk-plays, actors often tried to place greater emphasis on their speeches by banging heavily upon the ground with their swords. This can also be seen in their Russian counterparts. In the "Tsar Maximillian"—Romanov text Anika beats three times upon the floor with his spear as he issues his challenge to the world at large, and in the variant "Tsar Maximillian"—Berkov No. 1, the knight known as the "Ispolinskii rytsar" beats the floor with the blunt end of his spear, presumably to attract attention before he begins his address to the Tsar.

The sword is also predominant in several more important actions, namely, in the protection of the Tsar from his enemies, in the carrying out of the dead and in the delivery of the royal regalia. When Maximillian or Herod is threatened by the approach of a possible enemy his loyal guards form a barrier of crossed swords in front of him. In the Myakutin variant of "Tsar Maximillian" as the Skorokhod-fol'd'marshal rushes onstage the pages in alarm form a barrier over the Tsar's head. As he makes his way to the Tsar the Skorokhod has to break their blades apart with his own. Similar episodes can also be found in other texts.

One of the most spectacular moments in "Tsar Maximillian" consists of the bearing in of the royal regalia, the crown, the sceptre and the orb. One receives the impression from all the variants that this is a scene which was well organised and planned to gain the best effect. The following description is taken from the variant "Tsar Maximillian" - Berkov No. 1 and it shows signs of careful thought and a sense of dignity appropriate to such an occasion which helps to refute the casual dismissal of the folk-actors as primitive and naive:

"Расторгаются двери избы, два царедворца на золотых подносях несут корону царскую, скипетр, державу, золотую саблю и пр. За ними идёт свита, несколько воинов с обнажёнными саблями на плечо. Все поют: - Мы к царю, царю идём... Воины заходят и поровну становятся вокруг царского трона, держа всё время сабли на плечо. Царедворцы подходят к самому трону, становятся на колени перед Максимилианом и протягивают ему подносы с наскими регалиями... Царедворцы снимают с него военную фуражку, медали и простую саблю, надевают корону, ордена, дают в руки скипетр и державу, кладут прежние уборы на подносы и уходят, низко кланяясь. Свита всё время стоит около трона." ¹

In some cases there is more emphasis on the military aspect of the occasion, the regalia being borne in upon the warriors' swords.¹

As one proceeds with an examination of the action in "Tsar Maximillian", and to a lesser extent in the other plays, one becomes increasingly aware that most of the limited movement about the stage is of a predominantly military nature. Apart from the above-mentioned examples the list can be extended with many more examples drawn from the traditions and disciplines of a soldier's life. In many variants² Adol'f, after his refusal to give in to his father, is removed in disgrace under military escort. It is common, too, both in "Tsar Maximillian" and in "Lodka", for the warriors killed in combat to be borne off-stage upon the crossed swords of their companions-in-arms. In such a way in the text in Berkov, Russkii fol'klor, the fallen Anika is carried out to the accompaniment of a funeral song.³ Maximillian and Herod are generally provided with a military bodyguard; Anika is offered a military triumph for having saved Anton-grad.

One should not forget either the numerous warlike battle scenes which are so much a part of Maximillian and to some extent of "Tron" and "Lodka". Of the construction of these, on the whole, little can be ascertained except that each duel was usually divided into three

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1. See e.g. "Tsar Maximillian", Abramov and Onchukov No. 2.
2. See e.g. "Tsar Maximillian", Volkov, Berkov No. 1, Myakutin.
encounters typified by a great deal of sword-waving and slashing. The only eye-witness account of these duels that I have at my disposal is a fairly detailed one from Smirnitskii's variant of "Tron", from the Kherson government:—

"Происходит сражение. Бойцы, заложив левую руку за спину, становятся в позу, напоминающую первую фехтовальную фразу. Правые ноги почти перпендикулярны левым, голова повернута на полугрупа по направлению "сабли", "сабля" поднята полусогнутой рукой на высоте глаз; затем они делают движение, напоминающее выпад, два три удара саблями и тот, кто должен быть убит, выпускает из рук "саблю" и падает к ногам противника, но опасностно им прикалывается."

If the actions of the actors show a certain lack of subtlety, the same can also be said of their manner of speech, a feature which it held in common with the Urban Democratic Theatre as well as the Anglo-German theatre. The remark to be found in one text, that "all those taking part in the performance try to speak as loudly as possible and almost shout their lines", 2 may be said to be typical. In addition it should be noted that the voices of the actors tended to

1. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
lack the natural inflections and acquired through much repetition a strangely monotonous intonation, faster than normal speech and with a rising and falling tone reminiscent of a chant. This was the general impression that I myself also received when listening to the tapes which accompanied the film version of "Maximillian". This "monotony" was, however, not as rigidly adhered to as one is often led to believe and actors did attempt to introduce a variety of tone and expression into their speeches. From the description of the dramatis personae in the text "Tsar Maximillian"—Berkov No. 1, one can see that in this version at least a certain amount of care was taken over the actors' voices. Each character was given an appropriate voice. Thus one can find among other characteristics that "Tsar Maximillian" delivers his speeches in a loud, brusque voice, that Adol'f on the other hand has a quiet voice and Anika a solid, dependable voice; Brambeus's speech is slow and deep and Death speaks in a firm tone, taking care not to rush the words. However, this attention to detail in one of the most sophisticated versions of "Tsar Maximillian" is certainly an exception and attempts to differentiate between the speech of the characters were generally of a much broader nature.

In texts such as "Tsar Maximillian"—Berkov No. 1 there are

many examples of individual actors trying to offer a range of emotions through their voice and manner of presentation... The Skorokhod delivers a speech, panting and out of breath after rushing to answer the Tsar's summons, Maximillian, angry with his son, speaks to him in a threatening manner, Adol'f's farewell song is sung in a sorrowful tone, Adol'f in chains, weak and scarcely able to move after his spell in prison, speaks to his father in a quiet, pitiful voice.

These are not isolated instances but can be found in varying degrees in many of the plays of the folk-theatre. In spite of the comments of educated eye-witnesses it is clear that many of the actors did make every effort to convey the main characteristics of the heroes they were portraying. Adol'f not only speaks in quiet subdued tones, he also stays on his knees as a token of weakness and humility, sings melancholy ballads, tries to appear exhausted after his term of imprisonment, holds back when the guard comes to take him away. In contrast, Maximillan shouts, brandishes his sword or sceptre, frowns and tries to look fierce and angry, a figure of power and authority. The same is true to a greater or lesser degree for all the other characters of the folk-repertoire. But it is important when assessing the folk-actors to remember that the methods they used to achieve their ends were those acceptable to themselves and to the majority of their audiences and that these would not necessarily appeal to or be understood by observers used to the quite different conventions of the literary stage.
It is difficult to decide whether or not the folk-plays had to rely purely upon the talents of individual actors, the costumes, the traditional techniques of the acting methods and the entertainment potentials contained within the actual text, or whether some further embellishments in the form of light and sound effects were also added. Material on this subject is scarce and the difficulties of arranging anything unusual or original of this kind under primitive conditions probably discouraged much effort in this direction by the folk-actors. Nevertheless there are several indications that some troupes at least made use of any special talents discovered among their members. The opening lines of the Arab’s first monologue in “Tsar Maximillian” or “Tron” usually contain the words:—

“Харом пылам”,

and in one case at least there is evidence that these words were interpreted literally. In the text "Tsar Maximillian"—Romanov, the Arab, with his face smeared with soot, comes on stage and produces a startling effect by sending a spray of paraffin from his mouth over a lighted candle, which of course sends a spout of flame through the room.\(^1\) In "Tron", too, similar effects were used. In one variant the three Wise Men enter bearing lit candles. While they are singing the Christmas hymn:—

“Гряде звезда чудна,”

\(^1\) "Tsar Maximillian", Romanov, p. 281.
the candles are made to flicker like stars by the simple expedient of opening a nearby door at the appropriate moment and causing a draught. When the hymn was over the candles were blown out. Sound effects when required were usually provided off-stage by various members of the audience, who were always keen to participate in the action.

It seems quite clear that if intelligent eye-witnesses were inclined to think of "Tsar Maximillian" and the other folk-plays as being stiff and lifeless, it was not predominantly because the actors were insufficiently talented to make the action seem free and lively, but because they were following a code of conventional acting methods which simply did not lend itself to natural, realistic movement or behaviour on stage. The folk-plays convey this impression not by accident but by design and in order to understand the folk-actors properly it is as necessary to understand the rules according to which they operate as it is for the proper enjoyment of any cultural activity belonging to an age or an environment with which we are unfamiliar.

1. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
In the preceding section I have tried to explain why the sustained interest of the ordinary people in the folk-theatre was not as astonishing as it may at first sight appear. However, one of the main factors contributing to their enjoyment of this form of entertainment has not yet been mentioned. This lies in the special relationship that existed between the audience and the actors on the stage. The audiences of the folk-theatre were not passive spectators but active participators. In a variety of ways they helped to create the performances they watched and this in itself was a strong antidote to boredom. The audience was never cut off from the players, either in the physical or the spiritual sense. Personal contact was made right at the beginning with the entrance of the actors when they greeted their host and asked his permission for the play to begin. It was maintained throughout the performance right up to the end when the actors again made a direct approach to the people who had been watching them in order to receive some remuneration from them. Once the show was over they did not retreat into back-stage anonymity but mingled once again with the audience from among whose number they had originally emerged, to enjoy with them their share of the festive
cheer. The gay songs and dances with which the performance of many folk-plays ended were also a part of the communal activity where the entertainment and the entertainers all joined in with equal enthusiasm. In this respect the folk-theatre may be said to represent a stage half-way between ritual and the literary theatre. In the ritual proper there is no division between actor and audience. It is more a question of larger and smaller roles, for if only a few men are seen to have an obviously active role each person present is to some degree an actor in the drama; by his very presence in the integrated and select group he is committed to total involvement. In the games which developed from ritual and in folk-plays where the ritual element is still very strong, such as "Pakhomushka", the division into more and less active groups is already quite marked. It is even more so in the more sophisticated examples of the folk-repertoire. Some of the shorter folk-plays and scenes, like "Pakhomushka", the game "Barin" or the central and basic scenes of "Łodka", could be staged more or less impromptu in the course of an informal gathering. In such cases the actors are only briefly and tenuously detached from their audience and it is probable that both were only tentatively aware of the difference. With plays like "Tsar Maximilian", however, requiring long and careful preparation of the speeches, acting techniques and costumes the actors did make themselves into a distinct and separate body, united among themselves by long rehearsals and cut off from the rest of the community both by the need

2. Supra, pp. 177-8.
to preserve secrecy and by their own semi-professional nature.

The development of drama from ritual is in a way the history of its division into two distinct bodies - the players and the audience. Nevertheless, in the Russian folk-theatre the split is by no means complete and it is this feature which brings it closer to the ritual on the one hand and which distinguishes it from the literary theatre on the other.¹

The Russian folk-actors were not separated from their audience but were often literally surrounded by them and on occasions, during the comic scenes, actually mingled with them. They were usually personally acquainted with those watching, being from the same village community, the same regiment or from the staff of the same factory and the text of the plays was as familiar to those off-stage as it was to those on it. Consequently, the job of prompter was usually quite superfluous, for if any actor ever forgot his lines or became confused there was always someone ready to supply the missing words or to interrupt with corrections or even to enter the acting area with suggestions for improvement. One of the integral features of the majority of the folk-plays, the choir, which played an important part in both emphasising and altering the general mood of the action, was often simply composed of members of the audience who were, in any case,

¹ In this respect various innovatory movements within the theatre in this century provide an interesting point of comparison.
always free to join in, particularly with the humorous songs. Although, naturally, all the important roles in the plays were assigned long before performances began it was not unusual for non-speaking parts or those which required little or no action or talent to be filled on the spot by non-acting volunteers.

The basic character of each audience itself was a factor of considerable importance, for the sort of people who composed it, their mood, their tastes, likes and dislikes could determine the very nature of each individual performance. Thus, some of the comic scenes might be omitted in certain areas in deference to the presence of religious or national minorities in the audience. Others again which could be played before a predominantly male audience might not be included when women were present. The satirical elements to be found in plays like "Lodka" and "Barin" or the parodies on church services scattered throughout the repertoire and completely banned in some regions, had to be kept neutral and inoffensive when the presence of ecclesiastical or civil authorities was known or suspected. Members of the audience or others known to them could be mentioned in the comic scenes and made a laughing stock because of some personal peculiarity, vice or failing. Hostile reactions from those who found themselves in such a position were known to end performances abruptly on an unhappy note for the mockers. The actors therefore had to be keenly tuned to the audience and its reactions. In fact, the folk-play, particularly the comic scenes, was largely dependent for its
success upon a delicate balance of interaction between audience and actor. Comedy was not static and fixed within the bounds of a particular part but improvised and in a state of development. The comic sounded his audience, roused them to retaliate and they in their turn, by their own quips and witticisms, sparked off new sallies from the actor. Without a receptive audience to use as a sort of verbal trampoline his art was flat and uninteresting. If a particular audience was unforthcoming and refused to react appropriately to the play the troupe might well give only a skeleton performance, leaving a reserve of scenes for a more appreciative one.

In the literary theatre (with the exception of the experimental theatre) the acting body is a homogeneous group with little or no direct links with the audience. The interplay is almost exclusively between the members of the group. In the folk-theatre, however, the position is quite the reverse, for the link between each actor and the rest of the company is often, for various reasons, quite tenuous. Among these one might mention the lack of connection between the comic and serious scenes and characters, the lack of dialogue and the episodic nature of many of the scenes like the duels in "Maximillian", where the champions are quite independent of one another. On the other hand, links with the audience are strong. The actors addressed their lines not to some invisible and intangible abstraction but to live people whom they knew and could see. The actor, upon entering
the stage greets his public. In Malinka's "Zhivoi vertep", for instance, characters like Napoleon and the Cossack bowed to the public before beginning to speak their part, and then introduced themselves. The actors' opening lines are never for the benefit of his fellow-actors but for those watching. Thus Maximillian would address his audience:

"Здравствуйте, почтенные господа!

Бот я прибыл из Англии к вам сюда.

А какого вы меня признаете? Или же за короля прусского,

Или же за принца хранцузского? . . . "

Anika in "Tsar Maximillian" Vinogradov No. 1 enters, salutes the Tsar and then, turning towards the audience, announces:

"Я есть Аника воин,

Великий кровопроливец . . . ";

the doctor does likewise with the lines:

"Я есть лекарь,

Искусственный аптекарь, . . . "

In "Tsar Maximillian"—Vinogradov No. 4, the Skorokhod begins:

"Здравствуйте, почтенные господа!

The actors declaiming their lines often faced not in the direction of the person to whom the remarks were addressed but towards the audience itself. The audience could not fail to become emotionally involved as the actor was constantly referring to it for an opinion or to evoke a definite response. When Tsar Maximillian, attacked by Mamai, exclaims:

"Смотрите, господа:
Залетела ворона у чужих хороши
Да и креча,"

he is inviting the audience to share his astonishment and annoyance. The executioner, having just killed Adol'f, turns to the audience as if to enlist their sympathy and to show how repentant he is:

"Эх, друзья,
Так нельзя!
Кого я забыл,
Или лучше сказать, забыл -
Можно назвать братом родным."
Although, as has been seen, the "serious" characters did address the audience, it was through the comic ones that real contact was established. The spectators were certainly intended to tremble with Adol'f and the maiden kidnapped by the robbers and to condemn righteously the wicked deeds of Napoleon, Herod and Maximillian; but, at the same time, a certain degree of aloofness remained. With the comic characters, however, there was no barrier at all and the audience greeted them as old friends on a common footing. It is relevant here to remember that the popularity of the puppet-play "Petrushka" lay precisely in the establishment of this unconstrained rapport between the entertainer and the entertained.  

In the folk-theatre there were no footlights, no artificial barriers and just as the audience was free to enter the acting area so the actors were free to mingle with the audience. When writing of the church parodies I remarked how spectators placed near the "priest" stood the risk of being splashed with the unpleasant contents of the censer and being choked with its reeking smoke. The discomfiture and startled laughter of certain members of the audience constituted half the humour of the play. Similarly, the executioner in "Tsar Maximillian"—Onchukov, No. 23 on being given a glass of "vodka" invited the audience to share it by splashing the contents over them.  

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1. Supra, p.258.
2. Supra, p.156
In "Tsar Maximillian"—Berkov No. 2, 1 Tsar Maximillian orders his soldiers to find an imaginary devil and they carry out his order by creating havoc among the spectators:—

"Идут в толпу и начинают разыскивать беса: залезают в карманы, стаскивают у баб платки, пользуясь случаем, заглядывают под подолы. Начинается визг, руанье, поднимается суматоха, а иногда, если искальщики окажутся слишком деревенными на руку — и свалка ..."

In the version of "Tron" described by Smirnitskii the author tells how the serious half of the performance was often followed by comic exchanges between the public and a character known as the "cook":—

"Здравствуйте всепочтеннейшие господа! Будем пить, гулять и веселиться; а вы скорей в круговую садитесь! Настало мирное время, наши бои все кончились, музыка будет играть и мы будем гулять." 2

A great deal of the humour in the folk-theatre was based upon irony of situation. In other words, the audience in league with the comic is, in common with him, aware of the true circumstances of the situation and is therefore able to laugh with him at the expense of a third party. The enjoyment derived from scenes based upon oslyshka or "mishearing", in which the gravedigger (and even, on

2. A. Smirnitskii, op. cit.
occasions, Adol'f) mocks the Tsar, Afon'ka the Bazin, and the old peasant Napoleon, was largely a result of this sort of collusion.

The folk-audiences reacted in a lively and often unpredictable way towards the plays in the repertoire. The actors did not expect, desire or receive a uniform opinion. The main aim was to stimulate and hold interest. The audience was intended to talk back to the actors, to discuss the performances amongst themselves, to comment upon the talents and appearance of the actors. A silent audience meant that the play was a failure. In this respect the folk-theatre differs quite considerably from the literary theatre where the actor does not expect to share his stage or his rôle with the spectators. In Shcheglov's article on the popular theatre he described with amusement some of the comments overheard in an audience at one of the People's Theatres in Petersburg towards the end of the nineteenth century. These remarks indicate the same sense of personal involvement as among the spectators at the village plays:

" — Хромой хорошо играет"; " — Старуха похоже сердится!"; " — Мениху браво! очень браво."¹

In the folk-theatre a balance was kept between total identification with the characters and passive indifference. Unfamiliar with the quite different conventions of the literary stage such audiences

¹ I. Shcheglov, Narodni teatr (SPb. 1898), p. 15.
were often at a loss how to behave. From some of the remarks mentioned by Shcheglov and Filipov in their respective articles on the People's Theatres it is clear that for many the illusion of reality was total. In one of the plays on village life some members of the audience, according to Shcheglov, identified the scene with either their own or neighbouring villages; in another, some people persisted in referring to one of the characters as Mari'ya Ivanovna and not as Tat'yan' Nikolaevna, as she was known in the play, because she was very like someone they knew at home. Filipov tells of simple audiences thrown into confusion when the dramatic illusion to which they had completely succumbed was abruptly broken at the end of the spectacle by the appearance of the actors to take the curtain calls. The more serious consequences of a similar effect are seen in an anecdote of Tairov recollected by P.G. Bogatyrev which tells of a performance of "Othello" during which an enraged member of the audience shot the actor playing Iago, for his treachery.

1. Ibid., pp. 26 and 39.
2. VI. Filipov, Zadachi narodnogo teatra i ego proshloe v Rossi (M. 1913), p. 5-6.
CONCLUSION

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It is clear that the Russian folk-theatre is composed of a number of different elements each of which has its own characteristic features yet all of which are basically united by their dramatic nature. These separate elements, the rituals, the puppet theatre, "Tsar Maximillian" and others, have all been studied at one time or another, some in depth, others only superficially and with a variety of aims in view. But little attempt has been made to regard them as facets of a many-sided and well-developed dramatic tradition, as parts of an integrated whole. Moreover, the attitude of folklorists and theatrical historians towards the folk-plays has often been orientated by essentially non-dramatic considerations. Satirical and other non-ritual playlets were approached from a sociological point of view as documents revealing political, social and historical attitudes. The rituals, in particular, were studied largely for what they revealed of the beliefs and superstitions of the people. One of my main aims in this study has been therefore to present a unified picture of the folk-theatre as a specifically dramatic phenomenon seen in evolution from its simplest ritual beginnings to the theatrically more sophisticated types of drama like "Tsar Maximillian". While not neglecting the "non-dramatic" aspects of the plays, I have tried to examine them also as pieces of dramatic literature intended
to be acted, watched and heard. The extent and nature of the
dramatic scope of the ritual itself has likewise been brought into
focus.

Partly as a result of the fragmentary nature of the study of
the folk-theatre an unbalanced and often negative picture of its
role and merits was formed. In order to counteract this impression
an attempt has been made here in the first four sections, by analysing
the various branches of the theatre individually as well as collec-
tively, to reveal the wide diversity of themes, characters, moods
and methods of creating dramatic spectacle to be found in it.
Part of the negative attitudes of many scholars towards the folk-
plays can also be accounted for by their application of invalid
criteria to the subject of their research. In order to give a
fair assessment it is necessary to judge not by the rules and
conventions of other types of folk-literature or other types of
drama but by those governing the intentions of the folk-actors and
producers themselves. To my knowledge little work has been done
on this aspect of the folk-theatre and the last section of my thesis
has therefore been devoted to this task. A detailed examination
of the texts has revealed that the folk-plays and the methods of
presenting them to the public are neither as haphazard nor as sterile
as has been supposed but follow a well-developed and clearly definable
dramatic pattern of their own.

The detailed examination in the first four sections, of characters,
scenes and other component parts of the major folk-plays has also been designed to uncover to a certain extent their internal development. Although each of the games and dramas has been shown to belong to a specific socio-historical background they are also constantly evolving through the addition of new characters and scenes from a wide variety of sources, by the fusion of dramatic elements hitherto separate and by many other means. I have tried to demonstrate, as, for example, in the chapter on the use of folk-songs in the folk-plays, the creative purposes to which the actor could put the materials at his disposal.

In any study of the Russian folk-theatre "Tsar Maximilian" must occupy an important position. Before proceeding to a study of the play itself I began by reviewing and rendering more coherent the many contradictory opinions as to the time and nature of its origin. A survey of the various types of theatre known in Russia from the end of the seventeenth up to the mid-eighteenth century and a comparison of the texts of the folk-plays with examples of school-plays and adaptations of the knightly tales made it possible to fix more accurately "Tsar Maximilian"'s place in the development of the Russian theatre in general. In the following chapters on the folk-elements in the play it was nevertheless demonstrated that in spite of its clear associations with the early eighteenth-century literary stage "Tsar Maximilian" is an integral part of a folk-theatrical tradition. It was in fact seen to form an interesting

link between the theatres of oral and written literature. In this play too another important link was discovered between the folk-theatre of Russia and that of the rest of Europe. Close parallels between the Russian texts and the St. George plays of England as well as the mumming plays of other countries reveal a strong continuity of oral tradition. As far as I know these connections have not been examined before.

Through such comparisons and, more particularly, by an analysis of the evolutionary processes at work within the folk-theatre in the sections on Ritual Drama it has been seen not as an isolated phenomenon but as a microcosm of the birth and growth of dramatic impulses in general.

The Russian folk-theatre, however, should not be regarded merely as a subject for scholarly research. It is a part of Russian folk-culture, bound up with periods of high festivity and despair alike. I have tried to show how the dramatic instincts of the people were related to their daily existence, to the beginning and ending of life, to hope for future happiness and prosperity both for the community at large and for the family at home.
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5. BERKOV, P.N. (ed.) (abbrev. 'Tsar Maximillian', Berkov 1):—
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7. BIRYUKOV, V.P. (comp.) (abbrev. 'Tsar Maximillian', Biryukov):—
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1. This text is the same as No. 21.

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24. VINOGRADOV, N.N. (abbrev."Tsar Maximillian", Vinogradov 4):—
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(Warsaw 1912), 324-336.