

RECEPTION OF GERHART HAUPTMANN'S  
DRAMAS IN RUSSIA

BY R. FINDLAY

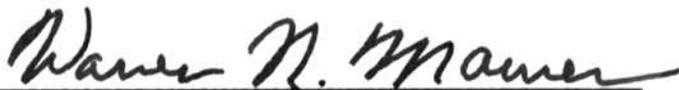
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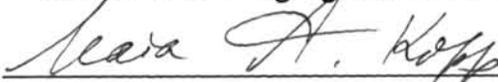
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Submitted to the Department of Germanic Languages  
and Literatures and the Faculty of the Graduate  
School of the University of Kansas in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
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Date Defended: January 15, 1997

MAY 18 1997

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### Abstract

The reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's dramas in nineteenth-century Russia began in 1889 with the Russian review of Vor Sonnenaufgang as performed in Germany. Hanneles Himmelfahrt was the first play by Hauptmann to be staged in Russia (1895), performed by the troupe of the St. Petersburg Theater of the Literary Arts Circle; the play ran quite successfully, largely due to its social content, which appealed to both the progressive and reactionary factions of the intelligentsia. Hannele, followed by Die versunkene Glocke and Michael Kramer, was the most successful of the six Hauptmann plays performed by the St. Petersburg company. By 1901, Novoe Vremia had proclaimed Hauptmann as Germany's leading dramatist. Despite the early gains for Hauptmann's dramatic works at the St. Petersburg Theater, where there were serious deficiencies in directing and stage technique, the prominence of Hauptmann's plays would have been unthinkable without the main vehicle which conveyed them, the Moscow Art Theater, without the significant artistic support from Anton Chekhov or the repertory inclinations of Nemirovich-Danchenko, and most of all, without the inestimable talents and favor of Russia's greatest actor-director, Konstantin Stanislavsky. Approximately 1905-06 both a literary trend away from Naturalism and, more importantly, political considerations worked to the detriment of continued popularity for Hauptmann's plays. Following the end of World War I, Russian interest in Hauptmann's works increased significantly, as Die Weber drew considerable attention for possible use in promoting political ends; Lenin himself directed that this play be performed on Soviet stages. Russian interest in Hauptmann's works declined noticeably in the late 1920s, largely due to the disfavor of Stalin's Commissar of Education Lunacharsky, who greatly admired Hauptmann, but now viewed the vacillations and symbolism of the author as negative. The early 1930s saw a culmination of attention to, and publication of, Hauptmann's dramas, but, overall, a lengthy loss of interest ensued thereafter due to political hostilities with Germany. Soviet scholarship and dramatic representation mainly concerned Die Weber and Vor Sonnenuntergang after the war. Post-Soviet Russia continues to hold Hauptmann in high regard, as indicated by its foremost institution of higher learning, Moscow State University.

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## Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of my dissertation committee members, Dr. Warren Maurer, Dr. Maia Kipp, and Dr. William Keel. I would also like to credit my Russian colleagues Dr. Vasilii Tolmachev (Moscow State Univ.), Dr. Iusuf Mamedov, and Ms. Galina Smirnova for their valuable information and research assistance. Finally, I must also express my gratitude to my daughters Katrina and Lisa, whose support helped me complete this project.

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## Introduction

Among the many writers of European literature, a significant number appear virtually unknown beyond their native soil, while a few, like Kafka, became better known abroad than at home. Then there are those of truly world renown--Goethe, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Hauptmann--whose works have struck a universal chord in the collective soul of mankind. Beyond the vast scholarship, critical articles, and essays in English on his monumental literary contributions, Gerhart Hauptmann's particular impact upon the international literary sphere becomes overwhelmingly apparent through the translation of his works into more than thirty languages, ranging from Bulgarian to Vietnamese.

The multitude of studies devoted to Gerhart Hauptmann attest to the interest and support this German writer has attracted as an appropriate subject, and his international renown is beyond question. Indeed, sources on Hauptmann's influence on non-Germanic cultures have become so prolific, that any effort to assess his import on a world-wide scale would prove hopelessly futile. It would seem, therefore, quite reasonable to explore Hauptmann's influence on a specific culture, assuming sufficient evidence of such an impact exists. Accordingly, as presented below, the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's dramas in Russia has proved both a viable and academically stimulating topic.

Cross-cultural ties between Germany and Russia had existed, of course, long before the arrival of Hauptmann. Indeed, among the current ethnic groups of Europe,

no two cultures have shared more political, historical, and intellectual interaction than the Germanic and Slavic peoples. Even before the Eastern Slavs chose, out of religious preference, the architecture, and faith of Greek Orthodoxy,--a full millennium before the influence of Gerhart Hauptmann,--these ancestors of the Russians invited the Varangians, or Vikings, to rule over their lands. Having established order and the foundation for expanded trade, however, Prince Riurik and his cohorts, owing to their small number and inter-marriages, soon sank into a Slavic sea.

Substantial Germanic influence came through the "window to the West" opened by Tsar Peter the Great, when hundreds of eighteenth-century German loan words and loan translations, many of a technical or military nature, came into the Russian language. Later in the century, the direct literary impact of Goethe's Werther took root in Russian Sentimentalism.<sup>1</sup> Through Nikolai Karamzin's Bednaia Liza [Poor Liza], the tragic waters of a lake near Berlin may have provoked numerous similar suicides in a lake near Moscow.

The nineteenth century witnessed a significant, increasingly philosophical German impact on Russia. Also well known are the writings of Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, who followed a previous wave of German idealism toward the East. Though Russian literature could not match the classical period of the West, the older and historically richer literature of Germany found a parallel in Russia as German Romanticism and the golden age of Pushkin simultaneously produced tales of fantasy and wonder in the early part of the century. Some decades later, Turgenev and Leo

Tolstoy would influence Hauptmann.

While limiting the study to Hauptmann's reception in a single culture makes the topic much more feasible, difficult decisions remain for any survey concerning such a prolific writer. Certainly Hauptmann as a novelist in his own right merits full recognition for more than twenty major prose works, including Bahnwärter Thiel, Fasching, Der Ketzer von Soana, Das Meerwunder, Der Narr in Christo Emanuel Quint, and others; though less important than his drama or prose, significant verse contributions such as "Das bunte Buch," "Hermannslied," and "Promethidenlos" number among Hauptmann's immense literary output. Nevertheless, drama is the genre of choice which deserves special emphasis in this study for two reasons: 1) it constitutes by far the major portion of Hauptmann's literary oeuvre; and 2) it serves as the principal vehicle through which Hauptmann's reception in Russia becomes apparent, first through the early staging of his naturalist dramas and the enthusiastic, innovative adaptations by the renowned director Stanislavsky, then by a long, if vacillating, tradition which has seen Hauptmann's plays performed into the 1980s and beyond.

Whatever influence Gerhart Hauptmann may have exerted on Russia, a reciprocal effect upon the German writer has been clearly established. The realism of both Dostoevsky and, especially, Tolstoy [The Power of Darkness] influenced Hauptmann's early works. Later ties with Gorky, the "Father of Soviet Literature," and Stanislavsky contributed toward the building of what Z. Vengerova termed "Hauptmanns russische

Seele."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Hauptmann's interest in Russian belles lettres is not unique among celebrated German writers; to cite just one example, Thomas Mann in his Letzte Aufsätze reveals exceptional interest in Anton Chekhov, whose extremely sober, critical, and doubting attitude toward himself,--termed "modesty" by Mann, led to Chekhov's underestimation in Western Europe for so many years.<sup>3</sup>

Hauptmann's reception in Russia has taken several forms. Beyond the most direct contact through the hundreds of performances of his plays on the Russian stage, the German writer's dramas have elicited Russian publication, reviews by individual critics, encyclopedic entries, and pedagogical exposure through university lectures. Indeed, one of the more unusual manifestations of this reception is Alexander Blok's play Neznakomka [The Strange Lady], in which Hauptmann himself is presented as a fictional stage character.<sup>4</sup>

About the time Hauptmann's works were first gaining recognition in Europe, the early 1890s also saw the first signs of the Russian Symbolist movement, part of a general cultural trend which influenced Russian art and letters at the turn of the century. Briefly described, the Russian Symbolists believed that the poet's personal vision of reality could be based in an ideal, supernatural world, and that through the use of symbols the writer could express the correspondence between visible and invisible realms. Influenced by France, they accepted Baudelaire's theory that the world is filled with "forests of symbols" and, like Nietzsche (Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik) and later Thomas Mann (Doktor Faustus), they attached

great significance to the affinity between creative writing and music.

Alexander Blok (1880-1921), the greatest of the Russian Symbolists, is best known for his poetry, but he also wrote a trilogy of lyrical dramas, originally in a manuscript entitled Tri videniia [Three Apparitions], completed in July 1907 and published in the journal Vesy. All three plays are based on themes and images from Blok's poetry and it is important to note that these plays reflect no idealistic or moral themes but rather address the experiences of an individual soul: doubt, passion, failure, and degradation. The three plays are linked by the unity of a basic type of character and his aspirations. The main character in the third play of the trilogy, the poet, shares the same illusory goal that the other protagonists in the first two plays have,-- he seeks a joyous, fulfilling life, but he misses his chance to realize this dream.

This third play, Neznakomka, has as its embodiment of a wonderful life a female figure who stands outside a pub while several rather intoxicated men inside converse idly and make reference to her. The character Hauptmann, who plays such a minor role that he is not even listed in the dramatis personae, has a mere three lines, all in the first scene and is one of only two characters who bear names,--all others are identified either by description or by profession (e.g., "a young man," "a drinking companion," "the poet," etc.). In Hauptmann's first speech, a young man rushes up to him and refers to a woman at the door; Hauptmann brushes off any possible importance she may have and favors continued banter and drinking. In his second speech, the same young man tells Hauptmann that the lady has been waiting for a long

time in freezing weather and that she is surely quite frozen, to which Hauptmann replies that if a woman connives with her temperament, there's nothing left for a man to do but spit in his mug--there are still things to be talked about and they should sit a bit longer. In his third and final speech Hauptmann exclaims that if the woman is gadding about, they (the men inside) will let her gad about while continuing to drink!

The character Hauptmann's speeches largely echo those of the poet, who has longer lines and is appropriately more descriptive in his observations of the woman. But all those inside the pub have missed the chance to lift the burden of a dreary life from their shoulders, for the strange lady is Blok's embodiment of eternal femininity (taken from the image of the woman-comet in some of Blok's previous verse). To understand why Blok chose Hauptmann for one of his characters, one must look beyond the play *per se*. Blok certainly did not intend to label Hauptmann a failure for the character's lost chance to perceive and have a better life; on the contrary, Hauptmann was regarded very highly and was extremely popular among the Russian symbolists. Obviously, Blok chose Hauptmann to represent a literary or artistic ideology here. Hauptmann had just moved away from Naturalism toward neo-romantic or symbolic writings at this time. Blok, commenting on his three lyrical dramas, writes:

All three [dramas] are united by a derisive tone which, perhaps, links them with romanticism, with that transcendental irony of which the romanticists

... speak . . . the strange lady [is] a star which fell from the sky and who has been transformed into a person only to disappear again, having abandoned the fools, the poet, and the astrologer.<sup>5</sup>

The character Hauptmann is a dreamer, a fool like all men, not seeing the rescuing, beautiful image for what it really is, yet Alexander Blok, through this characterization of Hauptmann, has honored the German writer and paid him great tribute.

Gerhart Hauptmann and his writings have received impressive scholarly attention. By far the best guide for research on Hauptmann, Sigfrid Hoefert's Internationale Bibliographie zum Werk Gerhart Hauptmanns, (2 vols. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1986), contains 11,625 entries. These listings, encompassing publications of Hauptmann's works and the thousands of scholarly books, articles, dissertations, stage reviews, and newspaper editorials written on them, span an entire century (1886-1986) and include sources in German and 29 other languages, including over 9,000 items in German and 201 in Russian. Hoefert's work constitutes the major source for research in this study.

In a more general sense, the topic itself, which concerns Hauptmann's reception by a foreign culture, is not without precedent. Indeed, one could easily choose to update Edith Cappel's "The Reception of Gerhart Hauptmann in the United States" (Diss. Columbia Univ., 1952). But of the many sources written specifically on the subject of Hauptmann's reception in Russia, the single, comprehensive work published on the topic to date is still Albert Kipa's Gerhart Hauptmann in Russia: 1889-1917.

Reception and Impact (Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1972. *Hamburger Philologische Studien* 31. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1974). Beyond Kipa's landmark source coverage of the topic to 1917, however, a totally different state of scholarship on Hauptmann's reception in Russia exists. Hoefert's bibliography includes a great number of articles, essays and reviews directly addressing this subject during the Soviet period (1917-91), while a lesser number of substantial books and dissertations (e.g., Gerhart Hauptmann und Leo Tolstoy; Rilke und Russland; Hauptmann und Chekhov) indirectly apply or skirt the topic. Yet, surprisingly, no comprehensive work on Hauptmann in Russia after 1917 (from the beginning of the Soviet period to date--79 years) has been written. This study, though largely restricted, for reasons of both feasibility and applicability, to the reception of Hauptmann's dramas there, is intended to help fill this void.

Structurally, almost all major research sources on the reception of Hauptmann's works have taken a chronological approach. With one reasonable exception, this study continues that tradition by accommodating three main historical divisions: 1) the pre-revolutionary period, 1889-1917; 2) the Soviet period, 1917-91; and 3) the post-Soviet period, 1991-96. Beyond the multitude of issues which individual critics raise, Hauptmann's evaluation by the Russian/Soviet government is addressed in a special section on the seven major officially-approved encyclopedic entries on the German writer. Since the most recent of these encyclopedic sources was published in 1970, this section appears after chapter two on the Soviet period. As expected, these sources

reveal wide divergence of approach and opinion, even within the same period.

One intriguing factor in the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's dramas in Russia is the consideration of how "purely Germanic" Hauptmann's plays were when they reached Russia, or, put another way, is it possible that prior Russian literary influence on Hauptmann somehow made these works more appealing, even more familiar to the Russians? From at least three reputable sources (one Russian, two German), the answer to this question is a resounding "yes!" Kipa touches on this topic (but does not expand on it) when he cites a Moscow daily newspaper's comments on a major Hauptmann play:

Einsame Menschen quivers with life, is rich in moods, and profound in thought; it is closer to a Russian audience than any of Hauptmann's other plays[,] for it is written under the obvious influence of Russian men of letters, an influence which Hauptmann himself admits.<sup>6</sup>

The key source on Hauptmann's knowledge of Russian literature (Vengerova's important article has already been cited) did not appear until 1962, written on the occasion of the centennial of Hauptmann's birth. Addressing Hauptmann's significance, Gerhard Dick writes:

Wenn sich am. 15. November 1962 zum hundersten Mal der Tag jährt, an dem ein hervorragender Vertreter der neueren deutschen Literatur das Licht

der Welt erblickte, so wird dieses Jubiläum nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern ebenso auch in vielen anderen Staaten festlich begangen werden. Nicht zuletzt wird man in der Sowjetunion dieses Tages gedenken, waren doch die Beziehungen Gerhart Hauptmanns zur russischen Geisteswelt eng und vielseitig: Von der russischen Literatur erhielt er wesentliche Anregungen für sein eigenes Schaffen, mit Schriftstellern und ihrem Wirken fühlte er sich stark verbunden, seine Werke--besonders die Dramen--waren in Russland wie auch in der Sowjetunion weit verbreitet und seinerzeit von grossem Einfluss.<sup>7</sup>

For Dick, Hauptmann's best works (Die Weber, Der Biberpelz, Fuhrmann Henschel, Rose Bernd) far surpass a dull copy of nature and are achievements of a middle-class, critical realism in the best sense which, in their support for the oppressed and exploited, are an artistically significant contribution to German national literature. Even at times in later works when Hauptmann overstepped the limits of realistic creativity and indulged in mystical symbolism, Dick asserts that one may perhaps look at his fantasy Hanneles Himmelfahrt, for example, not as a flight from reality, but must view it as an outcry from a deeply sensitive humanist. As for the question of Hauptmann's political motivation for writing certain works, a question which was very crucial for the Soviets, Dick takes a cautious approach:

Wenn Hauptmann gewiss nie ein Revolutionär war--dass seine Dramen, vor

allem 'Die Weber,' revolutionäre Wirkungen erzeugen konnten, steht auf einem anderen Blatt--so sollte man auch seine Widersprüche und politische Schwankungen nicht überwerten, sondern sein ehrliches Wollen, sein aktives Eintreten für die Notleidenden und den echten Humanismus seines Werkes in den Vordergrund stellen. Von diesem Standpunkt aus wird Hauptmann auch weitgehend von sowjetischer Seite eingeschätzt.<sup>8</sup>

Dick notes that Hauptmann's acquaintance with Russian literature dates from the time of his stay in Zurich, and that this period was of great significance for Hauptmann's artistic development and his turning to realism. First he became acquainted with the works of Turgenev, then Dostoevsky, and finally Leo Tolstoy. A simultaneous dual Russian influence on Hauptmann occurred during the beginning of the writer's dramatic creativity when, still strongly influenced by Dostoevsky, Hauptmann came under the powerful effect wrought by L. Tolstoy. Hauptmann himself chose to make this explicitly known once again shortly before his death:

Meine literarischen Wurzeln gehen zurück auf Tolstoi: Ich würde das nie leugnen. Mein Drama 'Vor Sonnenaufgang' ist befruchtet von 'Macht der Finsternis.' Die besondere Art kühner Tragik ist daher. Reichtum literarischer Werke in deutschen Übersetzungen erfüllte unsere ganze Epoche. Die Keime, die bei uns aufgingen, stammten zum grössten Teil aus russischem Boden.<sup>9</sup>

Another passage confirms the same compelling force upon Hauptmann:

Und als ich die 'Macht der Finsternis' von Leo Tolstoi gelesen hatte, erkannte ich den Mann, der im Bodenständigen dort begonnen, womit ich nach langsam gewonnener Meisterschaft im Alter aufhören wollte. Und wie man eine Statue, die auf dem Kopfe steht, auf die Füße stellt, so war es mir klar, dass ich mit der Scholle und ihren Produkten sogleich mein Werk beginnen müsse, statt im Alter es zu vollenden.<sup>10</sup>

An extended description of Gerhart Hauptmann's biography is unnecessary for the purposes of this study. Indeed, many details about his background emerge from the various encyclopedic entries included in chapter three. Nevertheless, a few basic facts about his life and literary career, especially as they relate to his reception in Russia, seem appropriate.

Gerhart Hauptman was born November 15, 1862, in Ober-Salzbrunn, Silesia, the son of a hotelier. The hotel Zur Krone, which hosted many guests of various nationalities and social levels (including a tsarina, Ivan Turgenev, and other Russian nobility), provided young Gerhart with ample opportunity to observe human nature and thereby formed a basis for future literary character types. He attended a Realschule in Breslau but disliked it intensely; he also became dissatisfied with agricultural training on his uncle's farm, which he abandoned to enroll in a Breslau art academy where he studied sculpture. He spent the winter semester 1882-83 at Jena

University, where he came under the influence of Ernst Haeckel. His marriage to Marie Thienemann in 1885 has been termed a turning point in Hauptmann's life, since her wealth made him independent. They settled near Berlin in Erkner, where Hauptmann soon began to write. Hauptmann's first literary work was written in the 1880's, but he became famous with the appearance of the drama Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889, Russian translation, 1901), which portrays the decline of a bourgeois family. Soon afterwards Hauptmann became the leading representative of German Naturalism.

The author acknowledges the great number of articles, reviews, critical essays, and other works which bear upon the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann in Russia, and in no way claims to have reviewed or even acknowledged all of these sources. The works which have been reviewed or cited, however, are representative of available criticism on Hauptmann for the time period in which such sources appeared.

Though comparisons between sources may occur, no attempt has been made to evaluate the individual Russian sources (general characterizations or notation of tone excepted). Apart from Russian surnames (e.g., "Tolstoy", not "Tolstoi" or "Tolstoj"), the Library of Congress transliteration has been used to render Russian-English transliterations. All translations from Russian and German are the author's own, except where noted.

## Chapter One The Pre-Revolutionary Period

The period before the Russian Revolution of 1917 constitutes the most significant period of the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's works in Russia, not only because it contains the earliest accounts of Russia's discovery of Hauptmann, but, more importantly, because this period marks his greatest influence and a basis which provided the enormous impetus for the popularity of Hauptmann's works, especially drama, to the present day. Basically, there were four key elements which combined to bring about the German writer's success in this early period: 1) Hauptmann's increasing literary fame and the establishment of his international reputation; 2) the aid of the great Russian writer Anton Chekhov; 3) the Moscow Art Theater, under the eminent leadership of Stanislavsky and Nemirov-Danchenko, which served as the major vehicle for Hauptmann's early fame in Russia; and 4) an enthusiastic, receptive Russian intelligentsia which recognized Hauptmann's merit.

### Emerging Prominence

Although there is no need to enhance the brief sketch of Gerhart Hauptmann's personal life presented in the introduction, a closer look at the literary aspects of the German writer's development will help explicate the establishment of his international reputation and appeal to the Russians. Already at the Realschule am Zwinger, despite barely managing his studies in a stringent, authoritative social environment,

Hauptmann did enjoy his early acquaintance with several German writers, including Adalbert von Chamisso, Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Hölderlin, and Novalis. Even more significant for his early aspirations toward arts and letters was the visit to Breslau by the Meiningen theater troupe (1876-77), which performed plays by Shakespeare, Schiller, and Kleist. These stagings, together with a group of friends influenced by the Pan-Germanic works of Felix Dahn and Wilhelm Jordan, inspired Hauptmann's first literary activity during this time--some poems and dramatic fragments--Frithiofs Brautwerbung [Frithiof's Courtship (1879)], Konradin, Athalarich, and a verse-drama "Hermannslied" [Lay of Hermann (1880)]. The Utopian ideals which Hauptmann and his circle of friends embraced augmented his intellectual development and increased his social sensitivity; several of these friends (A. Plötz, H. E. Schmidt, F. Simon) later became models for literary characters in Hauptmann's works.<sup>1</sup> To celebrate the occasion of the marriage of his brother George to Adele Thienemann, Hauptmann wrote his Liebesfrühling [Spring of Love], his first complete work to be published, even if privately.

Shortly before his matriculation at the University of Jena in the fall of 1882, Hauptmann wrote a drama entitled Germanen und Römer [Germanic Tribes and Romans], based upon Hermann-material and dictated to an unemployed gym teacher; F. Heuser's research on this work indicates that it was especially characteristic of Hauptmann's early writings, and Heuser describes the young Hauptmann as "an astonishingly promising young man."<sup>2</sup> Following a Mediterranean cruise funded by

his fiancée Marie Thienemann but shortened by a serious bout with typhus, Hauptmann's interest in sculpture, renewed by the works of Michelangelo, paled as his short stay in Rome as a sculptor proved unsuccessful. At this point Hauptmann moved decidedly toward literature, and utilized the experiences of his Mediterranean trip for his epic "Promethidenlos" [The Fate of the Children of Prometheus] and also wrote a book of poetry, "Das bunte Buch" [The Varicolored Book]. It was also during this time that Hauptmann became interested in Ibsen and studied acting. In the fall of 1885, Hauptmann came into contact with the literary group known as Jüngstdeutschland, with a membership which included Wilhelm Bölsche and Bruno Wille, located in Friedrichshagen, and about this time he also agreed to present a paper before the literary society Durch on the then barely known Georg Büchner, who later directly influenced some Hauptmann plays.<sup>3</sup>

Having moved to the suburb of Erkner, away from the noisier environs of Berlin, Hauptmann found the pleasant natural surroundings and joys of family life conducive to writing.<sup>4</sup> In 1887 he wrote two successful novellas, Fasching and Bahnwärter Thiel, before the naturalistic play which achieved for him wide recognition, Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889). Though Hauptmann's dramas play a far greater role in his Russian reception than do his substantial prose and lesser quantity of verse, Bahnwärter Thiel was the first prose work by Hauptmann to be translated into Russian (1894). At this point, his literary biography merits discussion only as it affects the reception of his works in Russia.

## A Receptive Base and First Impressions

Any discussion of Gerhart Hauptmann's impact on Russia must begin from a historical perspective, that is, from the main currents of Russian thought and culture as specifically determined by the Russian intelligentsia and its forerunners. Throughout its lengthy history, Russia has repeatedly proven itself adaptive, whether it accepted something foreign with little change, or merged the import with native elements and put a Russian stamp on it (prime examples of this process include religion and the alphabet). Often, the very question of how "purely Russian" to keep an idea or cultural tradition created schisms and conflict, the prime example of which was the schism between Slavophiles and Westernizers, which became the most prominent phenomenon in nineteenth-century Russian intellectual life. Particularly since the time of Peter the Great, Russia has chosen to take "the best from the West," whether it be a superior military weapon or technique, popular contemporary philosophy, dress, or artistic approach.

Until the nineteenth century, the majority of Russian peasantry had neither the means nor opportunity to appreciate the arts and literature. Russia's greatest tsar, Peter the Great, did succeed in Europeanizing the thin upper crust of Russian society, mostly nobility, from whence came the country's poets, writers, artists, and literary beneficiaries of belles lettres for about a century and a half. Then in Russia toward the middle of the century, though to a far lesser extent than in Germany, the industrial

age gave rise to greater educational opportunities for the masses, and young students, intellectuals, and others, under the watchful eye of tsarist authorities, began to form literary societies, and a new, enthusiastic vehicle for literature emerged. One should note here that, undoubtedly, the circumstance of traditional government censorship certainly curtailed publications and even discussion on politics, thus giving all the more emphasis toward literature. In comparison with West European countries in the pre-World War I period, Russia had a narrow reading circle. But this narrow circle read passionately, which also explains the significant literature in translation, which originated along with the Russian original literature. A. Lunacharsky writes:

One can probably say that Russian translation literature in its accomplishments is one of the best in Europe. Not only was all noteworthy old, acknowledged literature which had already crystallized immediately translated and published, but so was almost everything interesting which the new literature brought. English, French, German literature, as well as Italian, Spanish, and particularly Scandanavian (especially Norwegian) constantly drew the attention of the translators, prompted by reader interest. Many foreign writers became almost like Russia's own . . . . Among these recognized writers of the Russian spirit of the last two hundred years before WWI, Hauptmann has held one of the prime positions.<sup>5</sup>

Over a decade before Gerhart Hauptmann's plays took their virtually permanent place on the Russian stage, the first Russian theatrical critiques of his plays performed in Germany paved the way for greater recognition in Russia. The earliest known review (December, 1889) appeared in the fourth issue of Artist, a monthly artistic journal published in Moscow. Largely negative, the review of Vor Sonnenaufgang cites the author's "bad taste" and "lack of artistic talent."<sup>6</sup> Kipa correctly points out that there is little evidence to suggest that the reviewer read or even saw the play, and that his comments seem to echo the conservative German press's negative view of the play. Later issues of Artist in 1891-92 reviewed Die Weber more objectively and even briefly sketched Hauptmann's biography, as the German writer was gaining popularity.<sup>7</sup>

One of the more significant Russian commentators on Hauptmann before his plays appeared in Russia was the journalist Petr Boborykin, a well-educated minor writer himself, who had obtained an 1892 German version of Vor Sonnenaufgang. In the summer of 1893, deemed Hauptmann's "Erfolgjahr" by Hans Daiber,<sup>8</sup> Boborykin attended a performance of this play in Berlin. Kipa notes that Boborykin had also read Georg Brandes' assessment of Hauptmann in Menschen und Werke, in which traces of Ibsen's Ghosts and Tolstoy's The Power of Darkness were found in Vor Sonnenaufgang. Despite sharing intentions to disseminate similar beliefs, Tolstoy, in Boborykin's opinion, comes out more favorably than Hauptmann, for the Russian writer enhances his play's artistic aspects and does not irritate his audience.<sup>9</sup>

Interestingly, based on comments indicating Tolstoy's predilection for only peasants on stage (rejection of all urban culture) versus Hauptmann's use of university-educated intellectuals to promulgate his social ideas, Hauptmann, despite the different genre, would seem closer to the characters of Dostoevsky, whose protagonists were all from the city.

Apart from comments in the first encyclopedic entries on Hauptmann beginning in 1892 (see Chapter Three), other Russian critics began to acknowledge Hauptmann's merit well before his plays became a staple in the Russian theater at the turn of the century. L. Shepelevich, who praises Hauptmann's daring imagination, character portrayal, and treatment of social issues, also extols the German writer's rendition of dialect. This same critic views Helene in Vor Sonnenaufgang as a weak character, mainly because of her hysterical behavior, and, consistently, agrees with Loth's refusal to jeopardize his future progeny by matrimony into an alcoholic family. Shepelevich, however, cannot accept the forfeit of human life as philosophically justified, and denounces the play as a "total artistic failure" in his conclusion.<sup>10</sup>

Though Russia was not the first country beyond Germany's borders to stage a Hauptmann drama (Hannele appeared in New York in April 1894), and while Hauptmann's growing international acclaim was now beyond question, the year 1895 marked a significant advance in his Russian recognition,--the appearance of a Hauptmann play on a Russian stage. Before any discussion of this notable event, however, one should examine the status of the Russian theater at the end of the

nineteenth century.

### The Russian Theater

Owing to its vast territory and constant expansion, even into the nineteenth century the urban element in Russia, as compared with Western Europe, was relatively small; indeed, at the time of Russia's first performance of a Hauptmann play there were still only twenty-five Russian cities containing more than 25,000 inhabitants.<sup>11</sup> Through his Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow,<sup>12</sup> Alexander Radishchev (1749-1802), who studied at the University of Leipzig and was a disciple of Voltaire, Holbach, and Rousseau, had already added literary prominence to Russia's two cities which have been capitals, and, as was the case in most European capitals, these cities became cultural centers for the arts, including theater.

To be sure, prior to the inception of the Moscow Art Theater there had been significant, if limited, contributions to the Russian theater. Denis Fonvizin (1744-92), adhering to the model of French satire, yet less inspired by Moliere than by the Danish dramatist Holberg, was the greatest Russian playwright of the eighteenth century, while the works of Alexander Griboedov (1795-1829), Nikolai Gogol (1809-52), and Alexander Ostrovsky (1823-86)<sup>13</sup> mark the highpoints of nineteenth-century drama until the time of Chekhov. Of all these writers, only Ostrovsky was a dramatist by profession. Aside from him, the most significant Russian plays have been written

by novelists, poets, and others for whom drama was a lesser part of their literary work or an avocation. Hence in Russia before the Moscow Art Theater, more than in other countries, "the history of the drama has been merely a part of the history of literature in general. Dramatists wrote according to their own inclinations, not at the behest of theatrical managers, and were comparatively little influenced by traditions of stage technique."<sup>14</sup>

Until 1882, imperial theaters in St. Petersburg and Moscow played host to nineteenth-century Russian drama. Even after a decree which ended the state theater's control over drama, these theaters continued to wield great influence, particularly in the choice of repertoire.<sup>15</sup> "Take your models from life" and "Always keep nature in your sights"<sup>16</sup> were the dictums of Mikhail Shchepkin (1788-1863), who adapted the tradition of Russian literary realism to the Russian theater. Poliakova notes that of all the state theaters, it was the Malyi (still in existence today) which appeared most prominent:

The Malyi's influence was so profound, so lasting because it helped the novice escape from the shadow of his idols while fully absorbing their aesthetic principles, their goals, their concept of the creative act, which was so well expressed by Gogol, who saw the theater as a pulpit 'from which much good may be communicated to the world,' whose influence on public opinion ought to be devoted to the crusade against the injustice of the

status quo, ought to defend absolute good and human equality by ruthlessly exposing existing inequalities. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Malyi's productions upheld the principle that a dramatic canon, realistic in form and content, should be harnessed to the service--and the bettering--of society.<sup>17</sup>

The Malyi offered an education in stagecraft, aesthetics, and ethics. This was an open education, offered without obligation, and therefore often and eagerly accepted. But the Malyi was also especially significant because it contained the seeds for the future Russian theater. Young Konstantin Stanislavsky, later to become an actor par excellence himself and to play major roles in several Hauptmann plays, faithfully attended the Malyi and took notes after every performance. His tutelage toward an acting career proceeded from the extreme admiration and imitation of the Malyi's great Pavlo (Aleksandr Pavlovich) Lensky. Concerning the entire Malyi experience for Stanislavsky, Poliakova writes:

He [Stanislavsky] would remember the entire Malyi troupe as a perfect, living source of learning that he chose to tap and to which he owed so much . . . an inherent and precociously developed clarity of vision was one of Stanislavsky's fundamental and defining characteristics. It enabled him to mimic other actors with ease: their gestures and inflections engraved themselves on his memory--unlike those wretched Latin verbs--and found

a ready outlet.<sup>18</sup>

Yet all was not well with the Malyi and with Russian theater in general. After Shchepkin, despite the brilliant efforts of Ostrovsky, the training of actors declined noticeably, contributing to the deterioration of the artistry as more and more untalented and unsuited amateurs invaded the Russian stage.<sup>19</sup> A star system of acting, administrative incompetency, poor set designs, stock, and costuming, the absence of directorial concept, the predominance of vaudeville in the repertoire of this late nineteenth-century theater all accounted for a pitifully inadequate level of theatrical culture in Russia at this time. Certainly there were those concerned with these theatrical deficiencies, but they did little to remedy the situation. Kipa notes:

By 1897 Russian theater had lost its former artistic significance and meaningful relationship to art. The speeches made that year at the First All-Russian Conference of Theater People in Moscow vividly echoed this pitiable state of the Russian theater. Yet, while correctly diagnosing the disease, the conference failed to take meaningful remedial measures. Thus Russian theater became an art turned cold in the mold of routine.<sup>20</sup>

Preceding the total overhaul of the Russian theater by the innovative, successful measures implemented by the Moscow Art Theater, certain private amateur theaters, including the St. Petersburg Literary Arts Circle Theater, which did not fall under the

control of the Imperial Theater's administration, experienced limited success through changes in repertoire or direction, but this could not forestall the profound reorganization of the Russian theater which occurred in 1898.

### A Hauptmann Play in Russia

In April 1895 the St. Petersburg Literary Arts Circle Theater, intent on staging notable foreign works on the Russian stage, performed Gerhart Hauptmann's Hannele. While the theater's proximity to the West (in comparison to Moscow's geographical location) may have augmented the decision toward the bold repertoire, which also included Tolstoy, Ibsen, Sudermann, Maeterlinck, and Bjornson, such a radical change was still somewhat premature so that, despite the enthusiastic efforts of Suvorin in Novoe Vremia, the initial gains of the theater could not be sustained. Even the decision to stage Hannele was not without controversy; Karpov cites initial concerns over the play's theatrical quality, gloomy topic, poor structure, and potential lack of appeal regarding its subject.<sup>21</sup> Even Stanislavsky's idol Lensky, imported from Moscow to direct Hannele, doubted the play's dramatic qualities and had considerable difficulty in preparing the mostly inexperienced actors for this unconventional drama. Citing accolades from the actors themselves who saw a rare opportunity to act in such an original drama, and elevating the character of Hannele, whose kind heart and imagination would send the audience home in a good mood, Suvorin, on the day of

Hannele's premiere, displayed a huge announcement of the play on Novoe Vremia's front page and hoped for the best.<sup>22</sup>

If Hannele confused or worried those of the Literary Arts Circle in charge of its production, the public's reaction and interest regarding the play mollified the doubters. Whether out of curiosity over rumors of a possible censorship ban, the effectiveness of Suvorin's advertisement, pure literary interest, or a combination of these reasons, public response was overwhelming. Despite negative reviews by Novoe Vremia's journalistic rivals, Syn Otechestva and Grazhdanin, Hannele's run in St. Petersburg proved highly successful:

The [Literary Arts] Circle's directors, encouraged by the production's popularity and resultant financial rewards, scheduled additional performances which were often sold out within twenty-four hours. Between 11 April and 5 May the Circle staged Hannele ten times; Novoe Vremia dutifully reported the ever growing triumphs. In a grand gesture, no doubt calculated for maximum effect, the Circle's directors scheduled the final performance of Hannele on 5 May as a benefit for the St. Petersburg Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Indigent Children.<sup>23</sup>

An excellent article on Hannele's maiden run in St. Petersburg is that by the prominent critic Nikolai K. Mikhailovskiy. Entitled "P'esa Gauptmana Gannele" [Hauptmann's Play Hannele], the work is particularly significant not only for its own

assessment of Hauptmann's play, but also because it evaluates the contemporary reviews of Hannele by three other Russian sources. This article, which appeared in the first volume of an anthology of Russian literary criticism under the title Otkliki [Echoes] takes a cautious and notably objective approach, assessing the play and its impact per se, that is, beyond any consideration for whatever political or social status to which its producers may be linked:

In St. Petersburg there exists a society under the name "The Capital Literary-Artistic Circle." Whether it has existed for long and what it does in general, I do not know. But recently it made a lot of conversation about itself over the performance of Hauptmann's play Hannele on the stage of the Panevskii Theater. This play evoked divergent opinions in Petersburg press reviews which had rarely differed: some praised it as fervently as others reproved it. This speaks in favor of the play . . . In any case it is good that the contemporaries are disturbed and agitated, for even a storm in a teacup, however it may appear at times, is better than a stagnant swamp. As regards Hannele, the passions of the St. Petersburg contemporaries flared up to such a point that, for example, Novoe Vremia [New Times], in a quick-tempered manner objecting to the quick-tempered words of Son of the Fatherland," wrote, 'Involuntarily the lines of Pushkin are recalled: 'What kind of Fatherland's son is he?' etc. This, perhaps, is

justified as a rendered opinion on the matter, but, nevertheless, it attests to the extreme ardor over the matter. If Novoe Vremia had been appropriately frank, instead of 'etc.' it would have said: 'It's simply the opinion of the editor Mr. Dobrodeev,' and this would have been correct.<sup>24</sup>

Mikhailovsky presents an accurate account of the local journalistic report for Hannele; Novoe Vremia took Hannele under its own special protection, and Grazhdanin [The Citizen] and Birzhevyia Vedomosti [Stock-Exchange News] sided with Novoe Vremia. The critic notes "they [the three supporting periodicals] found the play excellent, both as an artistic production and as a religious-moral exhortation. Opponents sharply denied its artistic values and found it guilty of blasphemy." Mikhailovsky also points out that knowledge of the play's content, while absolutely necessary, is not enough; one must have seen it to evaluate it properly" (p. 100). On this point he does praise the theatrical responsibility and integrity of the "Petersburg Circle": "When matters come to aesthetics, reading journals, attending theaters, exhibitions, concerts,--nearly the whole circle has seen Hannele. During the days of its performance, each time the theater was packed" (p. 100). Accordingly, Mikhailovsky takes special care to reiterate to his readers that Hannele is a work which is exclusively for the stage, and neither a cursory review of its contents nor the printed text can yield an understanding of the impression produced by a performance.

The author of the article asserts an important distinction between what Novoe

Vremia interprets concerning the effect of Hannele's appearance and what actually occurred on stage. He takes issue with the journal's statement that "the appearance of the girl immediately stops the dispute among the poverty-stricken, and the heart of the spectator recognizes that in this den of thieves, beyond the walls of which a storm rages, became warm, that the Lord, friend of all the unfortunate, though unseen, is among them" (p. 100). Mikhailovsky maintains that the appearance of Hannele not only did not "immediately stop" the dispute, but did not stop it at all. Although there is actually no argument on stage at this moment, the quarreling does not stop but continues behind the scene in the wings, toward which the bickering Hanke and Hete are moving even before Hannele's appearance; meanwhile the old man Pleschke and the old woman Tulpe, who get along with each other completely, remain on stage. When Hete and Hanke return, the presence of the girl does not prevent them from swearing at one another, they carry on disgracefully and, finally, cause the lumberjack Seidel to threaten them with "a couple of slaps in the face." After this, time and again there reoccurs the matter of persuading them not to make a sensation in view of the sufferings of the girl.

For Mikhailovsky, the interpretation of the consequences of Hannele's appearance is no trifling matter here, and at this point one begins to see his true, carefully-conceived opinion emerging--that Hauptmann's Hannele is beyond a doubt an excellent work of art, but that the St. Petersburg production of this play has missed the mark at several key points. The producers have Hannele's appearance

harmonizing the situation inside the house, while outside strong gusts of wind shake the edifice and frozen snow knocks against the window panes. But, in a most revealing remark, Mikhailovsky notes, "In such a way, that worldly background in which the first appearance of Hannele is depicted, in fact departs from the clearly-expressed intentions of Hauptmann . . . generally speaking, Hauptmann's play is much more realistic than the critics in favor of it think" (p. 101).

Having agreed with Suvorin's protest against criticism of "radiant elements of a system of Christian beliefs" as blasphemy, while the appearance of devils on the theatrical stage is possible, Mikhailovsky reaffirms Novoe Vremia's special support for Hauptmann's play and sheds more light on its support by the two other journals. After some hesitation, Grazhdanin sided with Novoe Vremia when Prince Meshchersky, relying on the words of "authoritative and believing people," proclaimed the play completely moral and deserving of encouragement. And Birzhevyia Vedomosti wrote, "Hauptmann's play is a genuine hymn of faith. In our troubled times of too little belief, such plays can hardly be understood in their pure sense of the propagation of good and of love for one's fellow man" (p. 104). Mikhailovsky then interrupts his review of the local journals by inserting his own interpretation of Hannele as performed on the St. Petersburg stage:

Without a moment's hesitation, I will say that Hauptmann's play is an excellent, highly artistic work, offering, among other things, good food for

thought and for the heart of the spectator; the spectator, but not the reader. It must be seen on stage and, preferably, seen in a better performance than that which is being rendered at the Panevskii Theater. The second act makes a far less powerful impression than is apparently possible. Perhaps this results, in part, from a certain one-sidedness of talent (in any case exceptional) of the actress who has played the leading role, but these heavy, coarse, pasteboard angel wings and other accessories [used for] the fantastic part of the play certainly leaves an anti-artistic impression which dampens the enthusiasm. All these [inappropriate] stage props are too meager, heavy, coarse, and insipid compared to the intent of the author. While recognizing the high merits of Hannele, I cannot agree with the opinions on it expressed up to now by [even] those critics favoring it. It seems to me that it (the criticism) does not at all faithfully interpret Hauptmann's artistic method, which determines the meaning of the whole play. (p. 104)

The author of this article also chooses to disagree with part of the play's evaluation by the April 16 (1895) issue of Novoe Vremia. Mikhailovsky does not challenge Mr. Zhitel's view that the first performance of Hannele produced quite an unusual and disturbing impression on the audience, that some found it difficult to comprehend and that the spectators were divided in their opinion of the play--many

finding it aesthetically displeasing or terrible, and that, in any case, providing an extraordinary measure of over-all excitement, or contrarily, alarm. But this critic's next statement that "both the contented and discontented could not resist the power of the fascinating impression produced by the mystical play" and (in the same issue) Mr. Sigma's interpretation of Hannele as a "symbolic and mystical drama" are judgments which Mikhailovsky finds unacceptable. Indeed, Sigma contrasts Hauptmann's youth spent among country people, his preparation for a possible agricultural occupation, and the German author's understanding the life of rural regions--all true, with "coming in contact with the external and the living, every minute seeing angels, demons, and apparitions." Thus, the question of whether elements of mysticism exist in Hannele is of extreme importance to Mikhailovsky, who leaves little doubt over his stand on the issue:

Disregarding any traits [of Hauptmann] tied to the life of the [rural] people in these words, I think that Hauptmann himself would be very surprised by such an identification of his views with that which is said and done in Hannele. I do not know Hauptmann's biography, but one can say with certainty that the author of Die Weber in any case would not depart from such a view, for example, that souls which have died would eat 'roast meat,' drink 'golden wine,' etc. But even these are not symbols. I dare to assert that in Hauptmann's play there is absolutely neither [any] symbolism

nor mysticism, that [Hannele] can serve as a model of the purest and most refined realism in its distinctive form.(p. 105)

Mikhailovsky by no means downplays the role of the fantastic in Hannele. For him the fantastic and real elements are distributed in this drama quite clearly and do not encroach on one another at all, forming neither "those chimeric combinations of truth and fantasy of the possible and impossible which comprise the essential elements of mysticism" nor "those internally insipid, though sometimes also externally clear, obscurities by which symbolism exists" (105). In Hauptmann's play everything is vitally simple, vitally integral, and there is nothing left to guess work. To Mikhailovsky, a mistake like the "blasphemy" of the critics is like that of the brutal abuses contained in the play; these mistaken critics do not differentiate between that which the spectator himself spontaneously views and that which for the author is, in reality, only apparent to the heroine. Mikhailovsky explains:

With regard to the first act . . . there are no doubts; the ghosts of the step-father and the mother are indisputably apparitions, closely tied exclusively to the personal life of the unhappy Hannele, and there is nothing here about the author's world-view. But the entire second act, rousing misunderstandings and arguments, in all its finest details there is only artistic development, so to speak, and unfolding of the elements from the first act. In this gradual and detailed development, the brilliant talent of the

author and his artistic penetration into the character of Hannele emerge. Considering this development of the play, one is amazed not only at the foolishness of those abusive critics who thrust onto this same author naive, coarse details, such as the roast meat and golden wine, by which the hunger and thirst of the residents of paradise are satisfied, etc. . . . But one cannot attach any symbolic meaning to these details, for the simple reason that the whole second act right up to the smallest prefix, sharply reminding us of the beginning of the play, is a series of Hannele's visions, fully explained by all her past and, therefore, by her fatally ill condition. (p.106)

In his noteworthy analysis, Mikhailovsky comments that from "people who are close to the true meaning of the play" he hears two objections: 1) that it is improbable that the delirium of a fourteen year-old girl who has seen and knows little of life would take the shape of such a consistently complete and complex picture; and 2) that it is somewhat unbelievable that such a meek, kind girl would rave over suicide,--if only from the benefit of escape from an extremely cruel tormentor, her stepfather. Mikhailovsky responds that if all this were really incredible, then, for those who recognize the artistic merit of the play as a whole, this would mean that Hauptmann made this or that particular blunder, leaving no mark at all on the design of the play itself. But for Mikhailovsky there is nothing unbelievable, unexpected, or arbitrary; the fantasy of the author blends in the closest way with the fantasy of this exhausted,

agitated girl, and does not suggest from itself a single superfluous feature.

This Russian article pays Hauptmann considerable tribute by comparing his play to L. Tolstoy's autobiographical prose work Detstvo i Otrochestvo (Childhood and Adolescence). Both works concern young people who have suffered abysmally. Comparing the impressions of Hannele's pitiful state of mind with Tolstoy's passage about the vindictive dreams of the narrator concerning Saint Jerome, who dreams of killing his offender, the commentator writes:

Increase, then, the intensity of the vindictive dreams as many times as the offenses and misfortunes exceeded the offenses and misfortunes suffered by the little hero of Detstvo i Otrochestvo, add to this yet another element of burning delirium, and one is amazed at the artistic moderation of Hauptmann. (p. 106)

Further explicating his view of Hannele's raving, the critic puts the girl's madness into perspective; all details of the play, even the smallest, are distinguished by artistic unity, and as a result the general image of Hannele's delirium does not suffer at all from excessive complexity--as if no complexity were allowed to apply in particular to the personal ravings of a fourteen year-old girl.

Before presenting his conclusion, Mikhailovsky takes yet another opportunity to criticize the physical shortcomings of the stage props and costumes. Having described Hannele as half-starving, beaten, and walking around in rags, the critic mentions her

nickname of "Rag Princess," derisively applied by ridiculing schoolmates. So she does walk in rags, except, unfortunately, at the Panevskii Theater, which has over-dressed her by far.

The author ends his substantial investigation with some further details of Hannele's delirium: the poor girl "was lost for a moment in the fascination of beautiful flights of fancy," but in reality she died as she had lived--hungry, cold, alone, and in rags. Not a single wound inflicted upon her by life was healed and will not be healed. Neither the deep sores of insults and assaults suffered from her drunken, cruel step-father, nor the abrasions of Minna's and Grete's ridicules. Left unheard are the tender, kind words. A small preface to the second act, where Hannele appears in rags on a hard bed, and there is no one near her except the nurse and doctor certifying her death, smashes all these "beautiful fantasies." Mikhailovsky concludes:

The artistic beauty of Hauptmann's play depends on its penetration into the very depths of the naive soul of the girl--even the rivalry with Grete and Minna over trifles is not forgotten. . . .And a touching feeling, which overcomes many spectators, should coincide not with the sphere of "beautiful fantasies", which remain such as inventions, but with the "existing calamities" . . . which also remain disasters. Hauptmann himself is evidently of the same opinion. He did not want to raise joy for us, but

to show Hannele's grief, and, together with her, the grief of many other girls and boys and young people and old people. (p. 111)

That Hannele was the jewel of the Circle's repertoire is beyond question. When the Theater of the Literary Arts Circle began its first official season later that fall (September, 1895) with Ostrovsky's Groza [The Thunderstorm], followed by Ibsen's A Doll's House, Ostrovsky's Trudovoi Khleb [Bread Which Is Earned], and Pisemsky's Samoupravtsy [Self-Law Enforcers], a promising season seemed at hand. But reviews which were less than enthusiastic (even Novoe Vremia was critical) ensued, audiences stayed home, and a financial crisis developed for the theater. Karpov, the new director, added Hannele, whose opening performance played to a full house. One might well ask what it was that made Hannele so successful. It is difficult to say whether Karpov's innovations--new actors, better lighting, musical background--were of more than incidental importance.<sup>25</sup> It appears far more likely, based on substantial supporting commentary from reviewers, that Hannele's good fortune arose from a combination of two elements: the great appeal of Hannele's innocent, sympathetic character, and the play's unique treatment of her death. In his aforementioned august endorsement of Hannele for its premiere, Suvorin, praising Hannele's warm, ingenuous character, perhaps rekindled an element of compassion shared by Russians of a kindred spirit, especially since the literary age of Russian sentimentalism in the second half of the eighteenth century. Secondly, it is

Hauptmann's singular treatment of death which astonished and set many an audience in awe in Russia and elsewhere. Hannele's premiere in St. Petersburg evoked a great outpouring of sympathy for the heroine, including numerous instances of both suppressed and open weeping, especially as she was put in the casket. Of all the Russian sources which have treated Hannele, the key source which best explains the death scene's appeal to the Russian audience is that by the journal Severnyi Vestnik:

We often witness death on stage, but never does it produce such an impression as Hannele's death. Sometimes death on the stage creates no impression, sometimes a sad, nerve-racking one; sometimes it evokes pity for the loss of an embodiment of goodness or youth, but never does one have to experience such horror in the theater as in Hannele, to face staged death almost as reality. This occurs because Hauptmann portrays death neither as a superficial disappearance from life . . . nor as an agony of the soul--that, which the dying Hannele experiences herself. We do not witness a physical death at all. Only for a moment are we shown the lifeless body.

But despite the brevity of the appearance of Hannele's corpse, the realistic effect of such an end produced a staggering jolt upon the Russian audience. Certainly it would be naive to think that at least some of the spectators who attended the play, especially after its premiere performance, were not morbid curiosity seekers. The great majority

of the theater-goers, however, were more than likely the cultured elite, representatives of Russian intellectual society who realized that this thought-provoking drama reflected a darker side of the actual milieu, and that in reality there were many such Hanneles suffering similar treatment who were not fabrications of Hauptmann. The reviewer goes on to note further the realistic impact of the play:

Hannele compels the audience to forget that this is no more than a theatrical presentation. The theater disappears somewhere, and the sensitive spectator feels as if he were in a temple wherein he is imbued with reverence which excludes vain thoughts about amusement, pleasure, about the actors, their performance and the latter's approbation. Miss Ozerova was a fascinating Hannele, and other secondary performers also almost blended with the characters they portrayed. Such is the illusion created by the play. Hauptmann has deviated from the pattern inherited by contemporary drama, from classical tragedy, and has approached the mystery plays of the Middle Ages. Is this aspiration to return to a forgotten creation of Christian culture which has been replaced by pagan art for better or for worse? It may be neither. If for a person . . . "not of this world" [such works] lack significance, then in the average person, in whom sublime feelings are dormant, they awaken these feelings and have the effect of a thunderstorm on sultry air.<sup>26</sup>

Thus one can see that for a certain period of time Hannele gained exalted status for Hauptmann in the world of Russian theater, and that the German playwright now held a broader base of popularity which would augment interest in his new plays, such as Die versunkene Glocke.

#### Continued Exposure in St. Petersburg

Other Hauptmann plays staged by the Theater of the Literary Arts Circle were Die versunkene Glocke (performed in 1897), Das Friedensfest (1899), Michael Kramer (1901), Der arme Heinrich (1903), and Rose Bernd (1904).<sup>27</sup> None of these plays were received as well as Hannele in its premiere season, although Die versunkene Glocke fared better than the others among the various critical reviews. In fact it was the luster of Hannele's success and the considerable curiosity over its controversy which carried over to Die versunkene Glocke, which, following its premiere in November, 1897, continued to play in St. Petersburg for three years. Reviews of the premiere of Die versunkene Glocke include one report that the fairy-tale drama even surpassed its debut in Berlin; lauding its originality and profound conception, the anonymous critic acclaims the real-life quality of the fairy-tale creatures who interact with the human being. Hauptmann's creatures are so familiar to the spectators that it seems as if the German author himself had been among them, seen and spoken to them, and loved the most charming of the water sprites, Rautendelein.<sup>28</sup>

Renamed Bol'nye Liudi [Ill People], Das Friedensfest premiered on the stage of the Theater of the Literary Arts Circle in January 1899. Although the Russian version of the play deleted much of the third act, it drew excellent reviews. Termed "a brilliant achievement" . . . a depressing depiction of family relations [presented] with surprising uniformity and clarity," Teatr i Iskusstvo thought the single flaw of the Russian adaptation was the episode which should have been omitted in which Dr. Scholz's nervous disposition is too exaggerated. And once again, Hauptmann's success with this play lay mainly in his ability to convey common truth and universality, to project shared experiences (here largely psychological) which the Russian audiences recognized at once. "Just like my children!" and "Oh God, I have witnessed similar occurrences in more than one family" were phrases heard from the audience by the critic himself.<sup>29</sup>

Novoe Vremia, referring to the "new play by Germany's leading dramatist," ranked Michael Kramer, which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1901, as Hauptmann's best play after Die versunkene Glocke. Though the play was apparently miscast with actors diverging from Hauptmann's intended characters, and in spite of a shortage of rehearsals, the ideas contained in the play greatly impressed the reviewers, who found it "perhaps the most powerful and original recent work [by Hauptmann], whose philosophical posit is obvious to anyone." The drama was viewed as "a call to reject worldly things and embrace the divine" and to attain the eternal bliss accessible to all.<sup>30</sup>

The last two plays by Hauptmann to be produced by the Literary Arts Circle were Der arme Heinrich, premiering in December 1903, and Rose Bernd, in September 1904. Though it elicited only modest interest from the public, Der arme Heinrich fared somewhat better in the press; the anonymous critic for Novoe Vremia considered the play "a genuine fairy-tale for adults" with a theme which advocates social integration through the reduction of class distinctions. But the reviewer did criticize the portrayal of Heinrich (played by Glagolin), which seemed too passionate and impulsive for a peaceful, unfortunate knight.<sup>31</sup>

As in the case of previous Hauptmann plays on this St. Petersburg stage, critics for the same two periodicals, Teatr i Iskusstvo and Novoe Vremia, appraised the premiere performance of Rose Bernd. The anonymous critic (identified only by "Kh") for Teatr i Iskusstvo considers the play quite praiseworthy; the reviewer comments on the reasons for Rose's act of infanticide and acclaims Hauptmann's immense creative talent for characterization:

Rose is in despair [over her forced illicit relationship with Streckmann]. Shame for herself, pity for her strict pious father, who believes in her without limit, and compassion for her betrothed compels her to go to Streckmann, and so she sacrifices herself to coarse violence. The burden becomes even fouler. . . .In a true and lasting attachment to Keil, who has already decided to marry her soon, she hopes to find an escape from her

bad behavior with Flamm. But unexpectedly out of the mouth of her father flies the sentence: 'She carries on with everybody.' The result [of this declaration] uncovered everything--everything is destroyed and nothing left inside. . . . Then, in a fit of irreparable grief, bordering on madness, Rose kills her own child. Who led her to the wild murder? Was it not those who saw nothing in her exhausted but pure soul? The spectator views the play with great interest. Hauptmann's talent is evident in the radiant vitality of his characters. A typical character, for example, would be the good-natured, superbly frivolous Flamm, with his characteristic whistle at the moment of his declaration of love to his wife. Or the generous and intelligent Aunt Flamm, who has lost through illness the poignancy of feelings! And the impudent Christoph, for whom nothing exists besides wine and women. All these animate characters appear in the truthful, life-like performance of the naturalistic drama, of which Hauptmann is the great master.<sup>32</sup>

The commentator for *Teatr i Iskusstvo* appears to follow a pattern set by many Russian critics associated with the appraisal of Hauptmann's plays performed in Russia. They credit the outstanding talent of the playwright but find some of the Russian actors lacking in their execution of Hauptmann's challenging roles. But usually suggestions are also at hand. Here, the young actress Volkhovskaia, though

obviously sincere, needs more lucidity and simplicity in her leading role as Rose; her problems are technically correctable, but she must take care not to break simple and powerful moods into pieces through excessive intonation. Mr. Miachin played the role of Keil excellently and consistently from beginning to end with simple, non-manufactured warmth and great penetration. According to the commentator, Mr. Mikhailov, like Ms. Volkhovskaia, through some superfluous details and aspirations, was prevented from redering the image whose main beauty is simplicity. The critic has one additional remark: "It might not hurt to change Rose Bernd's costume in the fourth act, when she makes her appearance to Flamm. Perhaps the dress is typical, but it's ugly."<sup>33</sup>

The other reviewer of Rose Bernd, Iurii Beliaev (Novoe Vremia), thought the play dreary and callous, remarking that the action is encircled with complications and the repetition of the same elucidations. According to the critic, Hauptmann is ruthless with his heroine, leading her through a series of ordeals, subjecting her to a cross-examination, and dismissing her in a "worn-out, but of course not 'finished off' state." Beliaev asserts that Hauptmann's former naturalism has reached a greater degree of crassness here, particularly through the use of superfluous naturalistic devices. Indeed, the critic would seem to view Hauptmann as bordering on machination: "Why this savage reprisal against Rose, when her predicament is obvious? General indifference prevails toward her. If a life is destined to follow such a hopeless path, it should be terminated, at least on stage. Convinced of a needless, overly-graphic depiction of the

heroine's misfortune on the part of the playwright, Beliaev theorizes that excessive torture in the name of truth is hardly required by the artistic demands of the drama, and that, clearly, truth is not better served in this instance, since Rose's actual predicament remains unresolved.<sup>34</sup> The critic then challenges Hauptmann's approach:

The redeeming message of the play, the liberation of a woman, who has become a mother, from society's prejudices, has no need of direct and indirect approaches such as are taken here [in Rose Bernd]. The situation speaks for itself. Moreover, in openly challenging prejudices it should not be forgotten, that the main weapon against them is patience. Hauptmann lacks that patience. He worries, searches out one situation after another, often narrows his perspective or uninterestingly sketches it in the dialogues.<sup>35</sup>

Once again, Beliaev brings up a comparison between Tolstoy and Hauptmann. In his comparative analysis he acknowledges a similar, uncompromising attitude on the authors' part toward their respective protagonists, but draws a sharp distinction between the differing bases for approach of the "conclusive preacher" Tolstoy and the "mystic, egotistical" Hauptmann:

Tolstoy's Nikita places his trust for the future in God in whom he, Akim, and Tolstoy himself believe. Rose Bernd has nothing of the kind. Her

defender, Hauptmann, who moralizes throughout the play at times with some kind of ministerial, protestant tendentiousness, abandons her to the power of blind fate at the most crucial moment.<sup>36</sup>

Generally speaking, Hauptmann's early plays gained an important Russian foothold in St. Petersburg, and although the renditions of his plays by St. Petersburg companies did not reach the artistic level attained later by Stanislavsky's productions of Hauptmann in Moscow, they established the German writer's theatrical reputation in Russia and became a springboard for future Russian performances of his dramas.

Before moving to Moscow, the other pole of Russian artistic culture, a brief look at two examples of performances of Hauptmann plays in the provinces will both add depth to an understanding of Hauptmann's reception in Russia, and present research on material generally less emphasized. Although the provincial theater companies could not hope to compete, on an overall basis, with the financial resources, attendance levels, and artistic standard of the troupes in St. Petersburg and Moscow, they played an important role in the familiarization of Hauptmann's plays among the Russian populace outside the two central cultural centers. Moreover, Stanislavsky's opening of the Moscow Art Theater profoundly affected the provincial theaters, as the great director would invite the most promising student-actors from these distant regions to train with him in Moscow, from whence they were certain to return home with the seeds of greater artistic faculties.

## The Provinces

Known as Gorky (for the "Father of Soviet Literature") during the Soviet period, the city of Nizhnyi-Novgorod is located approximately 300 miles to the northeast of Moscow. In the fall of 1901, the city's main drama theater staged a series of benefit performances, including two plays by Moliere (Le Misanthrope and Don Juan) and Gerhart Hauptmann's five-act Vor Sonnenaufgang. Staged during the week of November 9, the drama, which benefitted from months of rehearsal, drew high marks from the press:

The [play's] performance was brilliant. The smallest details were not overlooked. The scenery and costumes were correct, and an appropriate, daily-life character was given to the play. A similar performance would require not only much work, but also a deep comprehension of the theme and artistic taste. After the second and fourth acts, and at the conclusion of the play, K. P. Nezlobin was called back more than ten times.<sup>37</sup>

The reviewer is particularly impressed by Belogrodsky's performance in the role of Loth, whose "stringent conviction sacrifices his feelings." The critic, however, may appear somewhat naive in his opinion that acting a part which requires a cold attitude and straightforwardness will likely be to the detriment of one's theatrical success.

Following the "Bloody Sunday Revolt" in St. Petersburg in 1905, tensions

heightened and censorship of the arts, especially drama, became a serious issue. Based in St. Petersburg, Teatr i Iskusstvo, rejecting any delicate balance between objective yet constrained reporting and a pro-revolutionary stance certain to attract the censors, began to take on a pro-worker if not anti-government character. One report on the happenings at the city theater in Vilnius (Lithuania), down the coast from St. Petersburg, offers interesting commentary on the prevailing political atmosphere and the effect of a Hauptmann play.

One critic, identified only as "Ia," indicates that prior to a new repertoire which included Tkachi [Die Weber], social unrest had also found its way into the theater. The morning of October 14, 1906, during rehearsal, the electricity was cut off due to the beginning of a general political strike. The well-organized local parties, known as the Bunda and the Social Democrat Workers' Party, had initiated the strike, but it was non-violent and proceeded in a constructive, even friendly manner. At the city theater in Vilnius, volunteers as well as non-volunteers struck, since there was no electricity. The actors, however, wanted to continue their rehearsals, by the light of kerosene lamps if necessary. Thus, F. F. Vronchenko-Levitsky, into whose hands the theater had recently passed, found himself in the role of entrepreneur.<sup>38</sup>

Expecting a quick end to the strike, Levitsky was not particularly depressed for the first few days; the rehearsals continued, and the actors attended them faithfully. Several times during this period Levitsky let it be known that nothing was bothering him, and that the theater was receiving everything it needed in spite of the strike. But

the strike dragged on, actors started borrowing from Levitsky in roubles and half-roubles, the director-entrepreneur's good humor disappeared, and the situation in general worsened. This, then, was the background preceding the staging of Hauptmann's Tkachi.

Matters could have gone worse. Fortunately the theater drew a representative of the Theater Commission who was moderate in his approach. A. Stankevich established a "cordial relationship" with the actors and the theater, and through his efforts the matter of transition to newly imposed regulations proceeded quickly and easily. The commentator cites Stankevich as "the one who promoted the greatest success of the theater, since, acting in the spirit of the October 17 Manifesto, he did not hamper the theater with every meaning and legality of the imposed conditions of censorship."<sup>39</sup> The repertoire of the theater changed immediately. Instead of Pervaia mukha [The First Fly], Komu veselo zhivetsia [Who Lives Happily], Tril'by [Trilby], and "other nonsense," there now played Avdot'ina zhizn' [The Life of Avdot'in], Ivan Mironych [Ivan Mironych], Foma Gardeev [Foma Gardeev], Gibel' nadezhdy [The Loss of Hope], Evrei [The Jews], and, finally, Tkachi [The Weavers] by Hauptmann.

The Hauptmann play obviously electrified the audience. The critic for Teatr i Iskusstvo reports the effect:

The success of Tkachi is not given to any description or comparison. The theater hall during [the performance of] Tkachi was overflowing to the last

seat. The boxes were packed with fifteen to twenty people, all aisles crammed, the orchestra seats,--everything was jammed. During the intermissions the entire hall sang the Marseillaise, Varshavianka, and other revolutionary songs, and speeches were made. Every sentence concerning freedom uttered on the stage was received enthusiastically.<sup>40</sup>

Curiously, for Vilnius Tkachi had exclusive, local significance. Eight years before, somewhere outside the city, amateur enthusiasts had attempted to stage the same play. But those acting on behalf of local authorities, including police, Cossacks, and others, appeared and dispersed the audience and arrested the participants. Somehow a spirit of camaraderie was maintained, however, and no harm came of the situation. Then, however, from the north came disruptive forces and policies, and the calm of Vilnius was broken.

The city of Vilnius, which had witnessed a complete absence of disorders and pogroms, began to experience incidents of blatant social unrest. Local authorities, viewed as weak owing to their inability to stabilize the situation, were replaced at the hands of a new governor, Count Tatishchev, who, the very day he arrived, placed on the streets patrolling Cossacks, who "had not been seen for many years." Equally ominous for the arts, Tatishchev had also once held the post of Vice-Governor of Excessive Commentary [Investigations] in Kishinev.

Even before his incursion upon the prevailing artistic calm in the city, Tatishchev,

while still in St. Petersburg, was exasperated by the staging of Tkachi in Vilnius. Immediately upon his arrival, he demanded a ban on Hauptmann's drama, and, after that, the unwavering performance of only the "censored models" of all plays. Previous theater placards were prohibited, and Cossacks and police details were assigned to prevent their reappearance. And so, Tkachi disappeared from the theater posters, and audiences, not only rebuffing the new, sanitized versions of the repertoire, but also simply fearing to walk the streets at night, disappeared as well.

#### The Theater in Moscow

In a sense, it seems quite natural that Gerhart Hauptmann's plays would gain their first foothold in St. Petersburg, Peter the Great's "window to the West," and it is beyond question that this, indeed, actually took place. But it is also incontrovertible that the major catalyst in Russia which promoted the plays of the German dramatist and familiarized their content and significance to the Russians through the medium of the stage was the renowned Moscow Art Theater. Gerhard Dick writes: "The chief merit in the popularization of Hauptmann's dramas in Russia belongs to the Moscow Art Theater under its directors [Konstantin] Stanislavsky and [Vladimir] Nemirovich-Danchenko, whose extensive repertoire of Chekhov and Hauptmann was, however, challenged."<sup>41</sup> But before the Moscow Art Theater could open in 1898, foundations had to be laid, promising actors and directors developed, and Russian theatrical

tradition and repertory refined.

To be sure, the Literary Arts Circle in St. Petersburg and other isolated, private organizations in Russia made considerable headway toward the advancement of theatrical technique and gained limited public awareness and appreciation of the dramatic arts; yet, until the 1880s Russia still lacked any cohesive, focused effort toward a recognized, national theater. Claus Just presents a brief general overview of this plight:

Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Gogol und Ostrowski mit Schtschepkin war fruchtbar, das "Mali-Theater" hatte geniale Schauspieler, aber es waren nur Einzelne, Genies. Der Wert des Theaters schwand mit ihnen. Es fehlte die breite Basis, das Ensemble, die systematische Ausbildung. In den letzten Jahren des Jahrhunderts kamen die ersten Privatbühnen auf. Nur bei ihnen lag die Chance einer reformerischen Initiative.<sup>42</sup>

Stanislavsky would bring about that cohesive, focused effort which Just correctly cites as absent in the Russian theatrical world until the 1880s. Indeed, as we turn to a brief study of the great actor-director, one should bear in mind that Hauptmann's plays would have been far less successful in Russia without Stanislavsky's efforts.

## Stanislavsky

Given that the Moscow Art Theater dominated the world of the Russian theater at the turn of the century to the October Revolution (1917) and beyond, the formation, guidance, and success of this theater is also unthinkable without the efforts of Konstantin Sergeevich Stanislavsky. Stanislavsky, himself an actor par excellence as well as an extremely talented director, directed or played leading roles in five different plays by Hauptmann (see Appendix A). A brief sketch of Stanislavsky's background, especially his theater contacts, merits attention not only for the formation of his ideas concerning the theater, but also for the familiarization of other personalities, such as Nemirovich-Danchenko, who played key roles in the development of Russian theater.

Born on January 15, 1863, the son of a wealthy textile manufacturer, Konstantin Sergeevich Alekseev later adopted the stage name Stanislavsky in 1884. Theater was a family passion, whether the circus (the boy's favorite), the Malyi, or the Bolshoi, and as a youth he helped stage amateur skits in a small family theater on the grounds of his home in Liubimovka (1877). Young Stanislavsky and his siblings benefitted for seven formative years from a well-educated governess, Evdokia Snopova, who used fantasy to explain away fears and anxieties and encouraged the children to act out situations or characters from history. Learning at school was quite another matter, however, and the boy, bored and frustrated, failed Latin regularly, unable to master its irregular verbs. This duality of the learning process continued, as the lad avidly

attended theater performances at the Malyi, but found formal education abysmal. Benedetti notes: "Even though his father promised him a horse if he passed [Latin], he failed again in 1879, but got the horse anyway. In 1881 he took the easy way out. He scribbled as much as he could on his shirt cuffs, prepared a number of cribs and cheated his way through."<sup>43</sup> At this point Stanislavsky still decided to abandon formal education, even a chance to go to Moscow University, and with a sense of liberation he joined his father's business, and at the end of each working day he was free to devote himself to the theater.

In early 1884 Stanislavsky, now interested in opera, began to develop his vocal technique through lessons with the best teacher in Moscow, Fedor Komissarzhevsky, a leading member of the Bolshoi company and professor at the Conservatoire. Komissarzhevsky saw a combination of dramatic ability and musical talent worth developing, but loss of voice under pressure and heavy smoking caused Stanislavsky to abandon his singing aspirations. In January 1887 he was invited to participate in a semi-professional production of Gogol's The Gamblers, to be directed by Aleksandr Fedotov, a former member of the Malyi theater and trained in the realist school of Shchepkin, and "the impact of Fedotov's disciplined, rigorously professional methods was decisive in determining his [Stanislavsky's] own future development."<sup>44</sup> The excellent organization and professional atmosphere of the company impelled its members to stay together if possible; a fortuitous financial gain on Stanislavsky's part provided the solution:

As chance would have it, 1887-1888 had been an exceptionally profitable period for the Alekseev factory and he [Stanislavsky] suddenly found himself with 25-30,000 roubles more than he expected. It was the first time he had ever possessed such a sum and it went to his head. In the spring of 1888 he decided to spend it all on an ambitious scheme, which would bring together artists of all kinds--writers, musicians, painters, actors,--into an organization which would be known as The Society of Art and Literature. Not only would the Society become the focal point of the arts in Moscow, it would be suitably accommodated. He rented the Ginzburg House on Tverskaia Street and proceeded to convert it into a luxurious clubhouse with a large stage and several exhibition rooms.<sup>45</sup>

### The Society of Art and Literature

With a governing board of eminent members, Komissarzhevsky, the composer Blaramberg, the painter Polenov, the designer Sologub, the actor and director Fedotov, and Stanislavsky as organizer, the Society of Arts and Literature held its ceremonious inauguration on November 3, 1888. All the intelligentsia were invited,<sup>46</sup> and Chekhov and Lensky were in attendance. The Society's opening performance on December 8 offered Pushkin's The Miserly Knight; Stanislavsky played the baron and received positive reviews from Novosti Dnia (Dec.14) and the St. Petersburg correspondent of

Novoe Vremia (Dec.17). After several good performances, Stanislavsky was invited to act for the Malyi, still the foremost theater in Russia, but his technique was not yet secure, so he decided not to take the leap into full-time professional work. In the spring of 1889 he played opposite Lilina (Maria Petrovna Perevoshchikova) in Schiller's Kabale und Liebe. This production was so successful that Stanislavsky received more invitations to join the Malyi. But beyond just acting, he and Lilina shared deep affection for each other and they were married at Liubimovka on July 5, 1889.<sup>47</sup>

Among the plays in the Society's repertoire, which included works by Pushkin, Pisemsky, Fedotov, Schiller, Ostrovsky, Sologub, Nemirovich-Danchenko, Gutzkow, Chekhov, and Shakespeare, as well as others, two plays by Hauptmann were performed: Hannele (1896) and Der versunkene Glocke (1898). While one may speculate as to how momentous the Society's staging of Hannele on April 2, 1896, actually was,<sup>48</sup> Stanislavsky recalls in his personal notes that preparations for the play occurred at the very time of the coronation of Nicholas II, a special holiday period. He also considered the preparations of particular importance because he knew that not only Russians, but also many foreigners would be in attendance, thus giving him the opportunity to become widely known.<sup>49</sup>

Stanislavsky's invitation to stage Hannele had actually come from Mikhail Valentinovich Lentovsky (a former idol of Stanislavsky's), who had rented the large Solodovnik Theater for the engagement. Poliakova describes the play's challenge to

Stanislavsky and his response:

This was one of the merciless dissections of contemporary reality which had made Hauptmann famous. . . .It was neither the fantasy nor the reality alone which attracted Stanislavsky--it was their tremulous interweaving into a new, transfigured reality, a challenge to all on a very special night: 'Take heed, all you people--understand that your life is justified only if you do good, if your hearts are open to others; remember the beggars in freezing cellars, the starving children, the homeless. . . .' The melancholy inflections of Christmas tales--such as Andersen's Little Matchgirl and Dostoevsky's The Boy and the Christmas Tree--were brought to the stage for the first time.<sup>50</sup>

As Poliakova indicates, it is clear that even at this early point in his career, Stanislavsky paid great attention to detail, not only in acting but also in set design:

Stanislavsky did his usual conscientious sketches of the almshouse, its inhabitants, the sick girl lying on her pitiful cot (this repeatedly; he was keen to make the poses and gestures completely plausible), the elaborately-portrayed angels, and Azrael, whose black wings were limned with draughtsmanlike precision. And he was equally attentive to the tonalities of the play: the precise articulation suitable for Ostrovsky was replaced by

whispers, sighs, and rustling, moaning or melodious jubilant words. The critics exclaimed over [acclaimed] the 'unprecedented powerful impression' of the Hauptmann play.<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps the highest journalistic accolades for this performance of Hannele comes from the local Russkie Vedomosti (Russian Gazette); the anonymous critic terms Hauptmann's play excellent, especially the first act in which realistic facts alternate with manifestations of Hannele's delirium, thereby holding the audience in greatly agitated suspense. At the same time the commentator rejects any characterization of the drama as mystic or symbolic, citing the play as "a poetic, original, yet realistic work."<sup>52</sup> Curiously, however, this last point of assessment does not match that of the director, Stanislavsky himself:

At first the author [Hauptmann] paints a vivid picture in naturalistic detail. But with the second act the tone of the play is completely changed. Naturalism passes into mysticism. Hannele, who was in the process of dying a naturalistic death in the first act, bids farewell to the body and to realistic life in the second act, passing into eternity, which is depicted on the stage. Her companions in the asylum, coarse and realistic beggars, become shades of themselves, tender caring, and kind. Their treatment of her becomes tender, and from a beggar girl she turns into a fairy princess and rests in a glass coffin.<sup>53</sup>

It was the portrayal of this scene which presented Stanislavsky with one of his early technical challenges. The concerned director agonized over how to turn real people into shadow figures. By chance, one day at rehearsal while the stage was not yet lighted, he noticed behind a piece of scenery that a bright bluish light caused an eerie effect, barely hinting of any walls in the room. As the actors walked onto the stage, their elongated shadows formed by the ray of light made their bodies appear like silhouettes lost in shadows, and so they looked like shadows themselves. Stanislavsky became ecstatic! Hoping to reproduce the accidental light on stage, he at once called the electrician and wrote down everything for him. In addition, he taught the actors to move and speak like figures in dreams and nightmares,--making pauses, shivering, whispering, and speaking in rising and falling tones. Thus Stanislavsky created a near-perfect scene to correspond to Hauptmann's demanding second act.<sup>54</sup>

Beyond the considerable theatrical significance of the first appearance of a Hauptmann play in Moscow, then, The Society of Art and Literature's staging of Hannele, which ran for twelve performances, was also of immense importance to the development of Russia's great director. Stanislavsky's talent came to bear through his profound originality as applied to the technical problems posed in the production of Hannele. Poliakova observes that Stanislavsky had not worked with fantasy since playing the Wood Demon in childhood, so this was truly a remarkable moderation: "Now, [after] having categorically declared realism to be the only legitimate theatrical vehicle, having staged Othello as a historical drama, he revelled in his new-found

ability to transfigure reality. The champion of *theatr verite* had made a new departure."<sup>55</sup> This, of course, was also the director's first theatrical contact with Hauptmann, several of whose subsequent dramas Stanislavsky would come to appreciate and render on the Russian stage. At this time he also could not know that he would meet the great German playwright himself years later in Berlin.

Stanislavsky believed that the Russian theater had to expand and reach new audiences, but the tsarist government was suspicious of any entity which might influence the populace through liberal ideas. Even the Society's production of Hannele was screened by government censors prior to its approved performances. Stanislavsky accordingly chose the term "open" theater rather than "popular" (which would have seemed more subversive) in his discussions concerning a broader theater base. The first concrete steps toward the establishment of what would become the Moscow Art Theater probably occurred in 1896, when Stanislavsky reviewed his plans with N. Efros and actively prepared the launching of a professional and popular theater.<sup>56</sup> Among those representatives advocating the advancement of the arts in Moscow, there was no doubt over who should provide leadership: "There was a movement in the making but it needed a leader. Stanislavsky had created The Society of Art and Literature and had turned it into the most powerful and original theater group in Moscow. The intelligentsia now considered that his talent, energy, and influence needed to be applied on a wider scale."<sup>57</sup>

After several months of preparation by Stanislavsky, the Society of Art and

Literature was the first in Moscow to produce Gerhart Hauptmann's The Sunken Bell, which had its premiere on January 27, 1898. As with Hannele, the technical problems involved with this play again evoked enthusiastic interest from the director, who also planned to take the leading role of Heinrich the bellwright, who dreams of casting a gigantic bell whose tolling will purge the world of evil. In the production of Hannele, Stanislavsky worked closely with the electrician to cause the play of light to enhance the depiction of apparitions; with The Sunken Bell he was faced with the problem of how to artificially expand the stage through superior set design:

During the search for a designer, Stanislavsky was advised to contact Viktor Simov, a painter of realistic genre subjects and portraits, who also worked for Mamontov's Private Opera. Simov the easel-painter turned out to be a naturally-talented designer with a three-dimensional imagination, who paid less attention to flats and backdrops than to the stage itself, whose horizontal expanse he filled with hills and hollows, trees, furniture, swings, fences, and bushes. This close approximation was a great help to the actors. . . .In The Sunken Bell, his first venture with Stanislavsky, Simov raised the stage into mountains and ravines, set up powerful free-standing spruces to replace the usual cut-out trees, developed striking lighting effects--moon-drenched silver, twilight grey, and the fiery red glow of the gnome's smithy. The Moscow stage vibrated with German

witchcraft which bore childhood echoes of Grimm's fairy tales and adult memories of Faust.<sup>58</sup>

The set design for the first act as well as the superb acting of those he directed was undoubtedly a great source of both joy and pride for Stanislavsky, who considered his experience with the Hauptmann play a another significant step in his development:

The new play The Sunken Bell gave tremendous possibilities to the director-constructor. Judge for yourself. The first act--hills, chaos, stones, cliffs, trees, and waters where all the unclean creatures of the fairy-tale abide. I prepared such a floor for the actors on which they could not walk at all. 'Let them creep,' I thought, 'or sit on stones; let them leap on the cliffs or balance and climb the trees; let them descend into the trap so as to climb out again. This will force them, and myself among them, to get used to a new *mise-en-scène*, and to play in a way that was new to the stage, without standing near the footlights, for there was nothing there to stand on; without triumphal operatic processions, without the raising of arms.' And I made no mistake. As a stage director I not only aided the actor but evoked without his will new gestures and methods of play. How many parts gained by this *mise-en-scène*! The leaping Wood Sprite that was played excellently by G. S. Burdzhhalov, the swimming and diving Nickelmännchen, played beautifully by Luzhsky and Sanin, Rautendelein

leaping along the cliffs, played by Andreeva, elves born of the mist, Wittichen squeezing through the cleft in the hills, all this by itself made the roles characteristic and colorful and awoke the imagination of the actor. Justice demands that I acknowledge this time a great step forward as a stage director.<sup>59</sup>

Always the self-critic as an actor, Stanislavsky was realistic in his self-appraisal of his portrayal of Heinrich: "[As opposed to directing] as far as my acting was concerned, it was an altogether different story. All that I could not do, all that I should not do, all to which I am not called by nature made the chief substance of the role of Heinrich. . . all this was far beyond my strength and ability . . . there was a gnawing pain within me which caused dissatisfaction. . . ." Yet Stanislavsky remained self-confident, not from the self-love of a spoiled actor but just the opposite--he suffered from a continual secret doubt about himself, from a panicky fear of losing faith in himself; without this faith he would not have had the courage to face the crowd--this is what compelled Stanislavsky to force himself to believe that he was successful. And his resultant general dictum for all actors was that the majority of actors are afraid of the truth (about a possible bad performance) not because they cannot bear it, but because it can ruin an actor's faith in himself.<sup>60</sup>

Stanislavsky believed that the Society's production of The Sunken Bell was "crowned with extraordinary success," but there were some who found the

interpretation of the play "too unheroic and cluttered with superfluous realism." Of note, J. Benedetti's statement that Nemirovich-Danchenko was "unreserved in his praise" is somewhat misleading, even when applied strictly to Stanislavsky's performance as Heinrich. Certainly Nemirovich greatly admired Stanislavsky's acting in this instance, yet he also says the production deviated from the play's intended psychological motivation,<sup>61</sup> and Efros views Stanislavsky's Heinrich as "sensible but clumsy." Both critics agree, however, that, in general, the production was quite successful.<sup>62</sup>

The Sunken Bell played into the spring of 1898 at the Hunting Club (the old building had burned down just days after the Society had made a timely move to the new location), but it was common knowledge that the Society was nearing its end. Just four days after the premiere of Hauptmann's play, the Moskovskii Vestnik speculated on the pleasure Moscow audiences would receive if Stanislavsky and Nemirovich were to succeed in launching their new theatrical enterprise. Benedetti remarks that "a foretaste of that pleasure came from the Princess Elizaveta Fedorovna, who came to see the play three times. Support like this was important since the government had yet to make up its mind whether to permit the new theater to open."<sup>63</sup>

## Nemirovich-Danchenko

As early as the spring of 1891 the Society of Art and Literature had experienced serious problems with financial backing, when subscriptions did not cover costs; but by eliminating the school and music sections, the Society was able to continue its theater element. Indeed, even later for the Moscow "Open" Theater (which became the Moscow Art Theater), a government notice rejecting a request for funds arrived a year after the theater had opened, following Stanislavsky's successful drive for private funding.<sup>64</sup> Playwright and critic Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko, also an acting teacher whose prominent students included Meyerhold and others (who later formed the core of the Moscow Art Theater), played a key part in promoting the new theater.

Nemirovich-Danchenko had been aware of Stanislavsky's brilliant acting talents for some time; as early as February 8, 1891, on the evening of the premiere of the Society's first play, he called Stanislavsky's acting "the finest amateur performance" he had ever seen, and thought the theater editor for Moskovskaia Illustranovannaia Gazeta (The Moscow Illustrated Gazette) should have devoted an entire article just to Stanislavsky, and that many future editors would do just that. As it turned out, the Moskovskii Vestnik was correct concerning the benefits of the two working together:

As a writer he [Nemirovich-Danchenko] believed in the absolute

supremacy of the dramatist. Theater consisted in the translation of the author's intentions into stage terms. Unfortunately he was, by his own admission, a conservative not to say pedestrian director. His productions were worthy rather than inspired. He did, on the other hand, possess an outstanding ability to analyze a play and reveal its hidden meanings. No one could rival him in this field and successive generations of young directors benefitted from his teaching. Stanislavsky, on his side, possessed the directorial flair Nemirovich lacked. He had demonstrated his skill in creating vivid theatrical images, in selecting significant detail. . . .<sup>65</sup>

Nemirovich knew that a new theater would not be possible without Stanislavsky. Nemirovich, theater critic and acting coach, did not have a high opinion of the rest of the Society's actors; for him Stanislavsky was the Society. Finally, on June 22, 1897, at the Slavanskii Bazaar, the two held a fifteen-hour meeting which included an agreement on a specific division of authority. Nemirovich was to select the repertoire (a crucial point for future stagings of Hauptmann in Russia), while Stanislavsky would decide matters of production and staging. This important conference is well-documented in many sources, including Stanislavsky's own personal notes:

My first conference with Nemirovich, which had decisive importance for our future theater, began at ten in the morning of one day and lasted till

three in the morning of the next day. It continued without a break for fifteen hours and perhaps even longer. But we came to an agreement on all fundamental questions and reached the conclusion that we could work together. Much time still remained before the opening of the theater,--a year and four months before the fall of 1898. Nevertheless we set to work immediately. . . .<sup>66</sup>

### The Moscow Art Theater

Both men realized the new venture would need capital, and they actively solicited financial support. Nemirovich's ties to the Philharmonic Society netted several small sums from a few of its directors; members of the Board of The Society for Art and Literature also contributed, while a small number of private investors offered larger amounts.<sup>67</sup> The limited funds did meet the requirements, but did not include luxurious premises or an expensive cast. The actors agreed to small salaries, and although the preferred location, Theater Square in the heart of Moscow, was already obliged to Lensky's new theater, the old Hermitage Theater in Karetnyi Riad (Carriage Row) suited both directors. The Hermitage was not available until the fall, so the company held summer rehearsals in Pushkino, a village where the Alekseevs had entertained years before.<sup>68</sup>

On the question of repertoire for the Moscow Open Theater there was a difference

of opinion. Stanislavsky favored a classical, traditional selection--Shakespeare, Gogol, Gutzkow, L. Tolstoy. Nemirovich, however, believed a more contemporary repertoire would benefit the new theater and preferred a schedule of only modern plays. Since there were not enough contemporary plays to fill the season, Nemirovich decided on "a mixture of classic plays which have some relevance to contemporary problems and modern plays of evident artistic merit." Convinced that "the light comedy and vaudevilles Stanislavsky wanted to introduce would do nothing to enhance the reputation of a theater dedicated to serious drama," Nemirovich, while finding no dispute with Stanislavsky's authority to interpret and direct whatever plays might be staged, determined a course which would greatly favor Hauptmann:

It is essential from my point of view that it be taken for granted that for a modern theater with claims to any sort of significance, the plays of Hauptmann and even [those of] the less-talented Ibsen [!] are more serious and profound than the trivia by poets of genius like Shakespeare and Moliere. For that reason I want very much to include in the repertoire The Sunken Bell, Hannele, and even Lady from the Sea, Ghosts, A Doll's House, etc. . . . "69

Unrelated to acting per se, probably the two greatest accomplishments during the new company's intense preparation during the summer of 1898 concerned costuming and the support of Anton Chekhov. The selection and design of appropriate costumes

were, of course, as decisive as set design in conveying to the audience a sense of the temporal and physical domain intended by the writer, whether Hauptmann or any other playwright. Perhaps it was Stanislavsky's recollection of the splendid, historically-accurate wardrobe of the extraordinarily-disciplined Meiningen troupe on its second tour to Russia in 1890, or the deplorable recent state of one Russian theater which offered only four distinct types of costumerie regardless of a play's historical setting, or perhaps his sheer enthusiasm to improve all aspects of the theater as its fall opening rapidly approached, but, in any case, Stanislavsky leaves no doubt as to the import of the summer quest for the best costumes available: "Part of the troupe, headed by Nemirovich-Danchenko remained to rehearse in Pushkino while I, the artist Simov, my assistant stage director Sanin, my wife, a costumiere, and several actors went in search of material. This was a journey never to be forgotten."<sup>70</sup> Of the eight complete pages Stanislavsky devotes to this episode (My Life in Art) of searching for realistic dress for productions of Pushkin, Hauptmann, and others, the following passage is representative:

Returning home, we added all the material we brought with us to what we had gathered before. For many hours and even days we sat surrounded by materials, rags, embroideries, and combined the colors, seeking combinations which enlivened the least bright cloths and costumes. . . . We wanted to abandon vulgar and theatrical gilding and cheap scenic luxury.

. . .At last I found a monk in charge [from a monastery selling its property to stave off poverty], bought the whole heap from him for a thousand roubles, and then spent a whole day in digging through it with my own hands, for I feared that during the night someone might steal my new-found treasures.<sup>71</sup>

Notwithstanding the arduous summer efforts by Stanislavsky and his entourage to upgrade the costumes, sixteenth-century boyars in A. Tolstoy's play Tsar Feodor Ioannovich, with which the Moscow Art Theater opened, appeared in magnificent seventeenth-century dress.

One might note here that in the nineteenth century, Russian and German societies to a great extent were aware of clothing and appearance psychologically as well as socially, so much so that articles of clothing were often viewed as very valuable items in life and as having great symbolic significance in literature; accordingly, talented Russian and German writers picked up on this theme or made play of it--e.g., Pushkin's Kapitanskaia doch' [The Captain's Daughter], Nikolai Gogol's Shinel' [The Greatcoat] and Gottfried Keller's Kleider machen Leute with its literary theme of Schein und Sein. In any case, as an artist and director striving for verisimilitude, Stanislavsky was well aware of the special theatrical need for a suitable authentic costumerie.

The second significant achievement in the months before the company's first

premiere was the new involvement of Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, whose plays would have a major impact on the future of the Moscow Art Theater, which, at least for a period of time, would come to be known as "The Chekhov-Hauptmann Theater." Six years before in a letter to his friend Suvorin, Chekhov, comparing performances of the same play by two different theaters, The Society of Art and Literature (predecessor of the Moscow Art Theater) and the Malyi, comments, "They say these amateurs played Fruits [Tolstoy's The Fruits of Enlightenment] far better than it is currently being performed at the Malyi."<sup>72</sup>

Nemirovich-Danchenko, himself considered one of the better dramatists in his time and the successor to Ostrovsky in Stanislavsky's opinion, and Chekhov were good friends.<sup>73</sup> Nemirovich was convinced that Chekhov, like Hauptmann, had found new paths for the art of the time. Of the six plays which the theater premiered from October to the end of the year, Hauptmann's The Sunken Bell was the second, opening on October 19, and Chekhov's Chaika [The Seagull] was last (Dec. 17).

Stanislavsky was already quite familiar with Hauptmann's Die versunkene Glocke, of course, since he had worked with it and played the role of Heinrich earlier that same year when the play was produced by The Society of Art and Literature. That this play held a special significance for Stanislavsky is evident from its application in his message to the new actors at the beginning of summer rehearsals at Pushkino:

Stanislavsky concluded his comments with a few lines from Hauptmann's

Die versunkene Glocke in which Meister Heinrich speaks of a future in which the toils of the present bear magnificent fruit. Thus began a close association of the Moscow Art Theater with the work of Gerhart Hauptmann. The relationship flourished, then declined within the first decade of the new theater's existence. During this decade Hauptmann--along with Chekhov, Gorky, Andreev, Ibsen--captivated the heart and mind of the members of the young dramatic ensemble, and occupied a prominent place in the theater's repertory. Five of Hauptmann's plays were rehearsed, four presented to the public--a significant statistic when compared with the number of productions devoted to the contemporary Russian playwrights: Chekhov--five, Andreev--four, and Gorky--three.<sup>74</sup>

The theater's performance of The Sunken Bell drew mixed reviews from the Moscow press. One anonymous critic found its originality most impressive, but thought Hauptmann's allegories were not (and could not be) translated into comprehensible language through the stage characters. Another commentator, A. Osipov, thought Stanislavsky's passionate portrayal of Heinrich was too worldly, and that the play was pessimistic, gloomy, too symbolistic, and exhausting (due to excessive stage effects) for the audience.<sup>75</sup> Despite its questionable artistic impact, Die versunkene Glocke played to a full house and was a financial success.<sup>76</sup> The production of this play and the next, The Merchant of Venice, consumed all of

Stanislavsky's energies, and the director reaped little reward at the cost of his personal affairs, as he did not go near his factory. The Merchant of Venice, the new theater's third production, was also a disappointment. On Stanislavsky's instructions to emphasize ethnic roots as a divergence from the patrician Venetians, Darsky, an eminent provincial actor, played Shylock with a Jewish accent; this both confused the audience and earned the label of "inappropriate" (for a tragic role) in the press.<sup>77</sup>

The next scheduled play on the theater's repertory was Hauptmann's Hannele, but the production was banned as "blasphemous" after protests by the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. Even a visit by Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko to the Metropolitan Vladimir of Moscow proved futile, as the Metropolitan angrily refused to listen to the true explanation that the translation which the religious leader had been given was not the one duly passed by the censor. "Angels dancing on the stage" and "the appearance of Christ to a widow on the stage of the Moscow Art Theater" in particular did not ease the Church's stance.<sup>78</sup> Benedetti notes that this was just "the first of many brushes with the authorities, frequently in the person of the Chief of Police, General Dmitri Fedorovich Trepov, a ruthless organizer of anti-revolutionary pogroms and later governor of the Winter Palace in Petersburg."<sup>79</sup>

Pisemsky's A Law Unto Themselves (opening November 4) and Goldoni's La Locandiera (December 2) were complete box office failures, and the theater was on the verge of financial collapse. Only the overwhelming success of Chekhov's The Seagull (December 17) kept it solvent. In a strictly financial sense, then, all future

stagings of Hauptmann's plays by the Moscow Art Theater may have owed their opportunities to be performed to the success of one Chekhov play. Many on the outside never knew how close the theater came to financial ruin. But now the crisis was over, and the vehicle which would secure for Hauptmann a permanent place in the history of the Russian theater was an irrefutable reality. Commenting on this long-sought plateau of success for the theater, one source reports:

[Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko] established their audience and achieved something unparalleled in the history of Russian theater, a continuous series of full houses throughout a complete season, with three or four plays. Needless to say, the Open Art Theater achieved its position under a barrage of criticism from all those who stand for the hackneyed, the status quo in the theater.<sup>80</sup>

The Moscow Art Theater's second season (1899-1900) saw the inclusion of two new Hauptmann plays in its repertoire, Fuhrmann Henschel and Einsame Menschen. It is important to note here that chances for success for these plays and for others staged by the theater were increased immeasurably by a factor other than the company's new financial stability--Stanislavsky's own higher level of professionalism, his greater esteem, and his excellent rapport with his actors--considerations which had not always existed in the past. Even the director himself admitted his tendency toward directorial despotism in his amateur days and during the early years of the Art

Theater; but as justification he cited the inexperience of his actors and the need to hold the audience's attention from the very beginning of a performance. But now the situation was different:

His [Stanislavsky's] stage directions for Chekhov, Ibsen and Hauptmann were, admittedly, so detailed and concrete that they could have served as exclusive and complete instructions. And yet his recommendations were so natural, so precisely expressed the way the characters felt, that the actors perceived the 'despotism' as blessed freedom: they were not mechanically following orders but acquiescing to suggestions, fully aware that the director--whom the ex-Society actors still called 'Kostia' behind his back--was offering the best possible interpretation. On this joyful willingness to comply with the director's wishes, this ability to catch the drift of his thoughts, rests the splendid teamwork of the Art Theater troupe.<sup>81</sup>

Stanislavsky found himself overburdened for the new season, and the responsibility of creative planning demanded all his energy and concentration. With practically no time for his family business, early in March (1899) he recommended at a shareholders' meeting that his salary be reduced; later that same month on a so-called holiday with Lilina, he spent the whole time working on the production plan for Fuhrmann Henschel. Returning to Moscow in early April, he began work on Henschel.<sup>82</sup> This second season brought Hauptmann further recognition by the theater

itself. A telegram sent to Hauptmann indicates the high regard the theater had for the German dramatist:

The actors of Moscow's Popular Theater unanimously decided today, the first day of the second year of our existence, to send this expression of their profound respect to the greatest playwright of our time. All of us deeply feel that our young theater, whose main purpose is the portrayal of characters who are full of life and imbued with the spirit of creation, is indebted for its fame to the presentation of your incomparable masterpieces. In the name of all actors--the administration.<sup>83</sup>

But if Stanislavsky, Nemirovich, and the actors in the troupe were at home with Hauptmann, the Moscow press was yet to be convinced of the merit of the German author's new plays. The Russkoe Slovo considered Fuhrmann Henschel a boring, monotonous play of little literary interest, and Efros thought it was the controversy over the play in Germany and elsewhere that brought it to Moscow.<sup>84</sup> Among the play's journalistic critics, the exception to a generally negative press reaction to the drama seems to be A. Kugel's general review of the Art Theater and its productions; Kugel writes that the production of Fuhrmann Henschel had "excelled."<sup>85</sup>

Kugel's positive statement notwithstanding, a negative review of Henschel appeared in April 1901 when the theater performed both this play and Hauptmann's Einsame Menschen while on tour in St. Petersburg. V. Posse comments:

The choice of two Hauptmann plays for the St. Petersburg tour, Fuhrmann Henschel or Einsame Menschen, could not be called a fortunate choice. It would have been much better to have presented Aleksei Tolstoy's tragedy The Death of Ivan the Terrible, or to have confined the repertoire to Doctor Stockmann and two plays by Chekhov. Henschel produces the impression of a play which is completely unnecessary, especially on the Russian stage. In any case, it compares immeasurably below Tolstoy's The Power of Darkness, which in the meanwhile for some reason does not enter into the repertoire of the Moscow Art Theater. . . . The Moscow Art Theater can manage without Einsame Menschen and in particular without Fuhrmann Henschel.<sup>86</sup>

Critics aside, the theater's popularity and broad appeal to the public was widening. Its reputation finally established, the theater also continued to attract the Russian intelligentsia, many of whom would play a major role in Russia's future; one such person was Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, who attended a performance of Fuhrmann Henschel

They [Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko] sought to create a people's theater for the widest strata of Russian society, but had found the practicalities of Russian life too great an obstacle. And yet they dubbed their theater 'public', thereby responding to the aesthetic needs of the

intellectual vanguard. It is indicative that Lenin, who saw Fuhrmann Henschel, a production which was average by Art Theater standards, in February 1900 still recalled the vivid impression a whole year later: 'They act well at the Moscow Art Theater--I still remember with pleasure my visit to that theater last year. . . .' It is also indicative that Stanislavsky received letters from teachers, doctors, lawyers, students and college girls, who felt that even a single visit to the Public Art Theater was a major event in their lives. They characterized the Theater as Stanislavsky hoped they would--as the 'first rational, moral, public theater'.<sup>87</sup>

Fuhrmann Henschel, for all its "beguiling simplicity and perfect synchronization," was a showcase of theatr verité, another reviewer writes. The anonymous critic for the Kur'er selects the fourth act to make his point; noting every single "walk-on," one finds a German coachman who enters with his hat on, sits down and pounds on the table, and demands a mug of beer,--he is a real German coachman. Then comes a German newspaper vendor and one sees that he is a German vendor. And then a German officer runs across the stage; the critic remarks: "I assure you that it is impossible to portray that officer with greater artistry. No German could have portrayed him as some Ivanov or Petrov has at the Public Art Theater. In sum, the German daily life in a little German chophouse is depicted for you in vibrant hues."<sup>88</sup>

Act four was also the subject of Russkoe Slovo's review, but the credibility of the

interpretation of this fragment appears to be in question, as it is clearly tainted by ethnic prejudice ("But, really, what significance does some sort of German Hauptmann have for our Muscovite patriotism?").<sup>89</sup> Yet another view of the fourth act, that it was magnificently staged and drew stormy applause, was advanced by Russkie Vedomosti.<sup>90</sup>

The growing, successful reputation of Moscow's Open Art Theater reached more and more artistic ears in the world of Russian culture. Even Ermolova, who had spent her life at the Malyi, talked of leaving and joining the new company.<sup>91</sup> Fully capable of concentrating on several projects at one time, Stanislavsky worked simultaneously on Ostrovsky's Snow Maiden and Hauptmann's new play Einsame Menschen, a penetrating study of hopeless isolation within a conventional, affluent German family, which had its premiere at the Art Theater on December 16, 1899. Several different sources cite this play as the key point at which the Theater's renditions of the plays of Hauptmann and Chekhov started to blend in terms of approach and technique. According to one source, "here again, a skillfully orchestrated portrayal of domestic life, presented in what was now the company's 'Chekhovian' manner, found an echo in the public mind."<sup>92</sup> Even a quarter of a century later, in an article recalling the close artistic ties between Chekhov and Hauptmann, actress Andreeva, in a conversation with Maksim Gorky, reminisces:

'Yes indeed,' said Mrs. Andreeva to the invitation to tell about the

Hauptmann performances of the Moscow Art Theater, 'our theater has been named the Chekhov-Hauptmann Theater right from the beginning. The plays of the two writers were always alternated, staged one after the other, and in our artistic perception they fused together into an integrated whole, the plays of one writer produced the same mood for us for both writers. Thus we also exhibited this mood in our acting--and so the audience accepted it.'<sup>93</sup>

The overwhelming success of Einsame Menschen in Moscow made it Hauptmann's most successful play up to this point in time on the Russian stage. Press reviews, this time, echoed the acclamatory reception by the public. Termed a major success which held sustained attention for all five acts and a drama that without doubt would become the theater's most remarkable play of the season, Einsame Menschen then became a staple for upcoming tours:

The drama and its production not only scored a major success [in Moscow], but aroused great interest and stimulated much critical discussion. The presentation, which was repeated twenty times during the initial season before capacity audiences, eventually came to be regarded as one of the Art Theater's best performances. It was included in the repertory of the theater's tour of the Crimea, i. e. Sevastopol and Yalta, in the spring of 1900, and in 1901 during the theater's sojourn in St.

Petersburg. In 1903 the production was revived. . . .<sup>94</sup>

While the theater was on tour in the Crimea, Chekhov had an opportunity to attend a performance of Einsame Menschen; in My Life in Art Stanislavsky describes Chekhov's positive reaction:

At the time of our visit to the Crimea, Anton Pavlovich was most enthusiastic about Hauptmann's Lonely Lives. He saw it for the first time and he liked it more than any of his own plays. 'He is a real dramatist. I am not a dramatist. Listen, I am a doctor.' After the performance of Lonely Lives Chekhov showed a great deal of attention to one of the actors of our group, Vsevolod Meierhold, who in turn could not find words to express his admiration of Chekhov and Chekhov's writings. He played the leading parts of Treplev in The Seagull and Johannes in Lonely Lives.<sup>95</sup>

The company went on tour to St. Petersburg (later Petrograd) in 1900 only out of economic necessity. Stanislavsky's personal notes reveal that there was a great deal of fear over this trip because "there had always been a lot of intellectual enmity between the two capitals of the country," so it was only normal that the visiting Moscow theater company expected the same show of antagonism toward its theatrical endeavors. And further: "But we were badly mistaken. Both society and press, with but a few exceptions, received us very hospitably. We were celebrated by the most

diverse classes of society."<sup>96</sup> The Art Theater performed no plays by Hauptmann during its first tour in St. Petersburg in 1900, but an intellectual and artistic base was now set in place for the theater's future annual spring tours, with repertoires which would include Hauptmann.<sup>97</sup>

Before the Art Theater's second spring tour to St. Petersburg (1901), critic A. Kugel reviewed Hauptmann's Einsame Menschen and Fuhrmann Henschel while the troupe was still in Moscow. In summary, Kugel credits Hauptmann as a good writer, but asserts the Art Theater performed his plays badly. Kugel writes:

I have seldom chanced to see such a weak, permit me to say, tendentiously-weak performance as the performances of two plays by Hauptmann, Lonely Lives and Henschel on the stage of the Art Theater. Hauptmann is a writer who is a very outstanding talent, without any deception or caprice. He is both a realist and a mystic at the same time. He is not fixed at one point, like Mr. Chekhov. He depicts life boldly and broadly, sometimes even offhandedly, and, in any case, hardly any single genre, in the narrow sense of the word, comprises the purpose and meaning of his works. But would it not be displeasing to witness, for example, what Henschel turns into in the performance by the Art Theater?--Into some sort of genre-picture lacking in common character, mood, and poetry? Presented by some kind of theater of mechanical bells and phantoms?<sup>98</sup>

In the case of Henschel, Kugel admits, among his many negative comments, that this was just one play and that other plays were doing better, some even quite well notwithstanding the weakness of the troupe. Distributing the blame for the poor performance to both the actors and the director, Kugel states that it is clear directors do not stop [the production] when there are no suitable actors but rather, "like Paracelsus, assume they can work with any homunculus." At the close of his article, the critic tempers his tone somewhat by calling Mr. Stanislavsky "a skillful and talented actor in spite of a lack of dramatic temperament."<sup>99</sup> In an earlier review of Einsame Menschen Kugel complains that even when the director does something right, it is for the wrong reason. He cites the example of the lakeshore scene late at night--where there are few dwellings and everyone should be sleeping. But hundreds of voices are heard, as if the coast guard from all of Germany had gathered--the most obvious nonsense. Kugel remarks: "But this nonsense produces just that impression which is needed. I will say more: It is the single true impression in accordance with Hauptmann's design, for the noise surrounding the corpse of young Vockerat is the late repentance of the bourgeois crowd which had drowned him." For this critic, this is what Hauptmann wanted, not that which the directors of the Moscow Art Theater were depicting, creating miserable people out of Vockerat and Anna. Kugel adds: "If one assumes that they intentionally humiliated these characters [Johannes and Anna], then the morbid scene over the victim is a double and twofold lie."<sup>100</sup>

In contrast to Mikhailovsky's aforementioned opinion that Hauptmann plays must

be seen on stage to be correctly comprehended and fully appreciated, V. Posse's interesting review of the performance of Einsame Menschen takes exactly the opposite stand and presents a different perspective on how at least one Russian preferred to know Hauptmann:

What concerns Einsame Menschen is that on the Moscow stage of the Moscow Art Theater in essence there were no lonely people.--Lonely Lives is without lonely people. When you read this play in the original, then you are tormented by the drama of the lonely Johannes and Anna, but when you observe the play on stage, then you experience the drama of old Vockerat and in part Kathe, you relate to the fate of Johannes, Anna, and Braun with complete indifference. . . .In the reading, the surprisingly powerful remarks produced their effect, heightening the mood, but they did not blend with actual reproduction on the theater stage. . . .The reading of the play, especially in German, produces a greater impression than does the play on stage. It is possible that this work is not intended for the stage, that is, [perhaps it is] a novel in dramatic form, but in any case we do not take it upon ourselves to give directions to Russian actors and actresses, who in actuality must manage the roles of Johannes and Anna. Furthermore, one must be grateful to Meierhold and Knipper that they spoke their rejoinders simply and nobly.<sup>101</sup>

Posse's strong preference for the written version of the play undoubtedly stems from his positive impression of his first reading of it in the German original ten years before, when he lived in Jena.

One critic at this time who was generally hostile toward Hauptmann's plays was P. Iartsev. Writing for Teatr i Iskusstvo, he remarks:

The Petersburg critics found the performances of the Moscow theater of both plays by Hauptmann unsuccessful. The performance of Henschel also met with little sympathy in Moscow. But, relatively speaking, Einsame Menschen is a matter of taste. But it appears that any lengthy study of it is for naught. For example, I do not understand why Vockerat is a "superman." He is a very weak and vulgar person. He is a type of crass individual, thievish as a cat and timid as a hare. It is a rare person among us who will not find a similar Vockerat trait within himself, and in this sense I understand the dedication of the play "To those who have experienced it". . . Henschel, performed almost simultaneously by three theaters in Moscow did not please an audience anywhere. Perhaps even the Art Theater was wrong to have considered . . . that the artistic value of Henschel was very high.<sup>102</sup>

If it is true that an artist is best understood and appreciated by another artist in the

same field, then, in the study of Hauptmann's reception in Russia, it is indeed a boon to have such a concise yet complete account of one artistic impression produced by Einsame Menschen as that of a novice actress from the provinces, Vera Iureneva. When the season was over in Moscow and she discovered the Art Theater on tour in St. Petersburg, she tracked down a ticket for Hauptmann's Einsame Menschen; she could only get an uncomfortable seat in the orchestra pit, but waited in agitation, full of curiosity, for the play to begin. Iureneva describes her impressions:

The curtain opened right in front of my face, almost hitting me in the process. The stage was an apartment, several realistically furnished rooms. Everything was clean, perfectly tidy, very typical. And there began a portrayal of family life, in all its ups and downs. . . .I had never seen a play like it. A most profound and completely unique impression. In a play like that you watch all the actors with the same amount of interest; they are wholly integrated, like beads in a priceless necklace. What was happening on stage was very [much] like life. The intimate performance, the quiet flow of the action, the natural intonation deepened the illusion. The people were fully alive, and I was sitting so close that I wanted to stretch out my hand and touch them. Very little make up and nothing "stagy" at all. They ate real ham for breakfast, cut their cheese from an angular, honeycombed block; you could hear their skirts rustling. The

artistes seemed to ignore the audience, seemed to act for and with each other. They were swallowed up by their emotions, stared deep into each other's eyes. . . .To this day I remember Andreeva-Kitty's face after Johannes' suicide: she fell to the floor with a lighted candle in her hand and the flame played on her wide, fixed, horrified eyes. . . .After that I went to the Public Art Theater whenever I could.<sup>103</sup>

By the time the Art Theater's 1901 St. Petersburg tour ended, even sections of the press had modified their attitude, despite some residual prejudice.<sup>104</sup> But Stanislavsky himself had no time to enjoy his triumph, as he immediately began work on Hauptmann's Michael Kramer. This new project was certainly not the respite Stanislavsky's mother thought her exhausted son needed: "His mother was horrified. She felt he needed a rest, not all the nervous strain involved in this 'heavy and depressing play'."<sup>105</sup>

Michael Kramer was the last play by Hauptmann to be performed at the Moscow Art Theater. Directed by Stanislavsky, who also played the title role as Kramer, this play, after Ibsen's The Wild Duck, was the second premiere of the 1901-02 season and opened on October 27, 1901. Other major roles in Kramer were played by Ivan Moskvina (Arnold), Mariia Andreeva (Michaline), Vasilii Luzhsky (Lachmann), and M. Lilina (Liese Bansch). This was also the first of four seasons in which Chekhov, Tolstoy, Hauptmann, Ibsen, and Gorky (known to this point only for his short stories)

would highlight the repertoire. Gorky was actually attending a performance of Einsame Menschen on October 30, 1900, when he suddenly announced his intention of writing a play. This repertoire now fulfilled what Nemirovich-Danchenko regarded as one of the theater's prime functions: the presentation of outstanding contemporary Russian plays or unfamiliar foreign plays concerning important social issues.<sup>106</sup>

Stanislavsky's task in setting the mood for Michael Kramer, a challenge he would now successfully meet more directly by playing the title role, differed from the work he accomplished with Einsame Menschen:

In Hauptmann's Michael Kramer . . . those same motifs [of Einsame Menschen] were heightened to a tragic intensity. Stanislavsky had proved himself sensitive to and well able to reproduce natural settings, to convey the mood of a rural backwater. He now had to tackle an entirely different mood--that of a gloomy town where even breathing takes an effort. Urban loneliness is unique; it is the loneliness of a teeming mass of people, all of whom are wrapped up in themselves and yet are irresistibly compelled to 'unite' in spurious companies of pavement- pounders, beer quaffers, and joyless trenchermen.<sup>107</sup>

The premiere of Michael Kramer drew mixed reviews from the press. Russkie Vedomosti considered the performance a tremendous, first-rate success, and the next issue of the same periodical pronounced Stanislavsky's depiction of Kramer as a vivid

portrayal of a strong, yet profoundly sensitive character.<sup>108</sup> Only in the fourth act did the actor's performance, which may or may not have corresponded to Hauptmann's intentions, seem slow and tedious. Only the rendition of Kramer's own reflections and introspection, stimulated by grief, seemed in question. This is significant, according to the critic, because the main focus of the drama is on Kramer's emotional state. The character Arnold is only a vehicle to enhance the protagonist's thoughts about the tragic death of his son, whose death has left Kramer in total despair. While, admittedly, playing a challenging role of a dual nature, Stanislavsky, according to the critic, tempers the side of Kramer's spiritual strength to excess, the point to which the reviewer objects.<sup>109</sup>

The most favorable press review of Michael Kramer was probably that of Teatr i Iskusstvo; Iartsev called the performance one of the Art Theater's best, with all characters representative and animate, displaying great talent and taste. In contrast to Russkie Vedomosti, for this commentator Stanislavsky's performance was quite admirable, exuding the qualities of confidence, power, and superiority, yet stunningly affected by death as Kramer stood by the side of his son's coffin. The critic was, indeed, quite taken by the drama in general, and found the play refreshing and one which promoted a revolution of the spirit.<sup>110</sup>

Stanislavsky's own thoughts on Kramer reveal his special sensitivity about this play and his exuberance over its success:

'Can you imagine--the production of Kramer was a success. That is a rare statement for me. It is a marvelous play and . . . I doubt that one in a hundred understands what the play is telling him. Audiences are interested in Arnold's middle-class drama and do not listen at all to Kramer himself. I was in despair, thinking that I was at fault, but people assure me that the role was a success. Chekhov even capered about with pleasure after the second act--the one the audience does not listen to.' The usually restrained Chekhov had indeed reacted not just positively but rapturously. . . .<sup>111</sup>

One intriguing point concerning Kramer is that the main character displays documented qualities of both Hauptmann and Stanislavsky. Maurer comments: His [Hauptmann's] extended 'Jesus Studies,' an outline for a drama about Christ, plus an unfinished novel about the Saviour certainly parallel Kramer's tenacious struggles, and the two artists [Hauptmann and painter Brauer in Kramer]--real and fictional--share a very similar attitude toward death."<sup>112</sup> And Elena Poliakova writes: "As Inna Solovyova, historian of the Moscow Art Theater, correctly noted, there was in Kramer something of Stanislavsky's own rejection of half-measures; both he and his character revered art above all things. That is why he was so sensitive to judgements passed on the play. . . ."<sup>113</sup>

In 1902 the theater moved from the Hermitage to the Kamergersky Lane Theater. This year saw the premier of two plays by Gorky (Small People and The Lower

Depths) and L. Tolstoy (The Power of Darkness), but also included substantial friction within the company, as Sanin, Roksanova, and Meyerhold all left. If anything, Stanislavsky intensified his instructions at rehearsals, often suggesting dozens of approaches to a single passage. One actress, made to repeat the same line ad nauseam, exclaimed, "It's terrible with him, but impossible without him." Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko also had differences this year, but they needed each other and continued to work together.<sup>114</sup>

At least partially in response to snide press remarks that the Public Art Theater was becoming increasingly less public, the theater was officially re-named The Moscow Art Theater in 1904. By this time Stanislavsky was impressed not only by Chekhov's plays (The Cherry Orchard would be a prime achievement), but also by his personality, lifestyle and worldview. 1904 was a year of even greater loss, then as Chekhov died in the summer and his death and other events compelled Stanislavsky to write in his personal notes: "I think of our theater with a heavy heart. It has not long to live."<sup>115</sup>

While the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 helped divert public attention away from the theater, increasing censorship and a gradual change in literary tastes in Russia had an even greater effect on the Russian theater. With Stanislavsky's support, Meyerhold opened a new studio at Pushkino. But Stanislavsky discovered that the new enterprise was artistically lacking. Commenting on rehearsals he visited, including one for Hauptmann's Schluck und Jau, he writes:

The young and inexperienced actors were strong enough, with the help of the stage director, to pass before the public in small scenes, but when they attempted to play in a drama of great inner contents and subtle character drawing, and all this in a conventionalized form accepted by body and mind but not by the heart--the young people showed their childish helplessness in all its sincerity. The talented stage director tried to hide the actors with his work, for in his hands they were only clay for the molding of his interesting groups and mises en scene, with the help of which he was realizing his ideas. But there was not even enough to show the stage director's technique, ingenuity, and planning, for the actors were too young in their art.<sup>116</sup>

But the Russian theater had also begun to see a shift away from Realism, a trend which grew in the wake of the 1905 Revolution, which disillusioned the intelligentsia, now uncertain and pessimistic, and provided good soil for the symbolist movement already under way. Both Stanislavsky and art-benefactor Morozov gave Gorky financial support for his new theater in Nizhnyi-Novgorod in early 1904 but they did not anticipate the hostility of authorities, particularly "the censor who managed to ban every play which was proposed."<sup>117</sup> Thus the project had to be abandoned by early fall. Moreover, the literary atmosphere was also changing:

Even had Gorky remained with the Art Theater the problem of new repertoire would have remained. Tastes had changed. Realistic staging and, more particularly, the plethora of detail that had characterized the Art Theater's recent productions was no longer acceptable. Progressives now demanded plays which dealt with more intangible aspects of human experience and which were more formally experimental. The new avant-garde was represented by the Symbolists and their spokesman Valerii Briusov. . . .<sup>118</sup>

#### Revolution, Flight, and a Meeting in Berlin

While staying in St. Petersburg in April 1905 Stanislavsky decided to answer familiar complaints from the critics that "Fashion and social stagnation have combined to raise a furor around Mr. Stanislavsky's theater."<sup>119</sup> To preserve artistic standards painfully accomplished over the years he would create an affiliate, a new institution called the "Theater-Studio." The confident director contracted Meyerhold, who, after leaving the Art Theater still held Stanislavsky in the highest esteem, to head the new company, under Stanislavsky's general supervision. Stanislavsky's address to the new theater's members differed sharply from his original founder's speech to the Art Theater's members seven years before: "At the present moment, when social forces are awakening in this country, the theater has neither the capacity nor the right to

serve pure art alone. It must respond to social moods, explain them to the public at large, be society's mentor."<sup>120</sup> The repertoire, compiled without friction, included Hauptmann's Hannele, Schluck und Jau, and Das Friedensfest [The Coming of Peace], Hofmannsthal's Die Frau im Fenster, Przybyszewski's Schnee, and three productions by Maeterlinck. After summer rehearsals, the Studio's fall opening was postponed numerous times while the theater smoothed its rough edges. Stanislavsky returned to Moscow in August and plunged into his work; to review the Studio's progress he took Art Theater actors, Gorky, Mamontov, and the designers to Pushkino. Spending the morning on Schluck und Jau, Stanislavsky referred to those preparing the Hauptmann play as "fresh, youthful, inexperienced, original, and appealing."<sup>121</sup>

Then on October 14, 1905, a five-day general strike in Moscow began (members of the Art Theater participated); all theaters were closed, water and power cut off. Political tension heightened, and a shot was fired during a public dress rehearsal of Gorky's Children of the Sun at the Art Theater. Meanwhile, reluctantly but realistically, Stanislavsky decided to abandon the Theater-Studio project due to its inexperienced young actors. He hoped to continue rehearsals for Griboedov's Woe from Wit despite gunfire in the streets, but finally gave in, wishing only for the cast to arrive home safely.<sup>122</sup>

Ominous political events undoubtedly played a major part in the decision to take the Art Theater out of Moscow on tour, yet, in his personal notes Stanislavsky appears to deny any direct political cause for the foreign tour:

Nemirovich-Danchenko and I clearly saw that our Art [Theater] stood at a crossroads, that it was necessary to refresh ourselves and the company, that we could not remain in Moscow--and not because the impending revolution and general mood was impeding us, but because we ourselves just did not know where to go and what to do. There was only one way out--to arrange a trip abroad.<sup>123</sup>

In Germany the Moscow Art Theater's tour was given wide publicity by August Schultz, the German translator of Chekhov and Gorky. The season opened in Berlin on February 10, 1906, with a performance of Tsar Feodor Ioannovich. Attending the company's performances were Gerhart Hauptmann, Arthur Schnitzler, Eleanora Duse, and the young Max Reinhardt. Proclaimed an enormous success by Germany's leading critic, Alfred Kerr later wrote: "What I saw in that production was first class. Unarguably first class. You may not possess any knowledge of the Russian tongue, no understanding of the individual details of the events but after two minutes you knew that this was first class."<sup>124</sup>

During this tour, Gerhart Hauptmann, a member of the Moscow Art Theater "in absentia," entertained Stanislavsky one evening at his home. Stanislavsky writes:

As predicted, the visit of [Kaiser] Wilhelm to our Theater did its work. .  
 . .At the end of our guest season, which lasted some six weeks, our success

was not only artistic, it was material. We were dined and honored by the German actors, by societies, by individuals, and by the Russian community. But what made the greatest impression on us were two dinners given in honor of our Theater. One of them took place in the small apartment of Haase, and the other in that of Gerhart Hauptmann . . . with whom I have had the great happiness and honor to become acquainted, and who made a very powerful impression on me. Hauptmann attended all of our performances. The first one he saw was Uncle Vania. The influence of Hauptmann on Russian literature and his love for it are well known. It was at our performances that Hauptmann first became acquainted with Russian dramatic art. I was told that during the intermissions, Hauptmann, notwithstanding his timidity, expressed rather loudly his opinion of Chekhov and the Theater, and the opinion was flattering to both. After the performance Nemirovich-Danchenko and I went to see the great writer to bear witness in person of our respect for the man whose plays we had been the first to produce on the Russian stage. We found complete chaos in his little apartment. His wife, from whom, rumor had it, he drew the character of Rautendelein in The Sunken Bell, and the role of Pippa in And Pippa Dances, was greatly interested in orchestral music, and, if I am not mistaken, in conductorship. . . . Hauptmann reminded us by something of his bearing of Anton Chekhov. Moreover, he resembled Anton Pavlovich

in his modesty, timidity, and laconism. It is a pity that our conversation could not be very long, varied, or eloquent, first because we were confused in Hauptmann's presence, and secondly because our German was not strong enough for literary and artistic discussion. Hauptmann said that for his plays he had always dreamed of such acting as he saw in our Theater, without unnecessary theatrical strain and conventionality--simple, deep, and rich in content. Specialists had told him that such acting was impossible because the theater had its own demands and conventionalities. Now, at the sunset of his literary activity [!] he saw at last what he had always dreamed of. He was doubly sorry that we had not brought one of his plays in our repertoire. We answered that one does not bring coal to Newcastle.<sup>125</sup>

The immense, mutual respect between Hauptmann and Stanislavsky notwithstanding, the Moscow Art Theater rejected further plays by Hauptmann as out of tune with the needs of the Russian stage, and plays by the German dramatist continued to be staged only by its Theater-Studios in this period.

#### Other Russian Theaters

The imperial Russian theaters, which, though significant, did not attain the

prominence of the Moscow Art Theater, staged a variety of plays by Hauptmann. Less interested in a contemporary repertory, these theaters chose to avoid controversial plays. Kipa notes:

It is . . . not at all surprising that Hauptmann's dramatic oeuvre received little attention on the Imperial stage. The few attempts to present his plays at Moscow's Malyi teatr and St. Petersburg's Mikhailovskii teatr did not succeed. They failed because the theatrical establishment of the day, deeply entrenched in routine, was unable to meet the challenges of a new dramaturgy, and because the actors were generally unprepared and sometimes even unwilling to cope with novel dramatic situations.<sup>126</sup>

In summary, Hauptmann plays produced by imperial and private theaters, excluding the aforementioned St. Petersburg Theater of the Literary Arts Circle and the Moscow Art Theater, include: Kollege Crampton (Mikhailovskii teatr-1897), Fuhrmann Henschel (Malyi-1899; Korsh-1899; Dramaticheskii-1905), Das Friedensfest (Aleksandrinskii-1900), Schluck und Jau (Nezlobin-1901, 1911 [SPb], 1909 [M]; Meyerhold-1904 [Tiflis]), Rose Bernd (Korsh-1903), Elga (Dramaticheskii-1905), Die Weber (Vilnius-1906), Und Pippa tanzt! (Novyi-1906), Die Jungfern vom Bischofsberg (Malyi-1908), and Gabriel Schillings Flucht (Russkii dramaticheskii-1912).<sup>127</sup>

A special case among the imperial and private theaters which staged plays by

Hauptmann is the Bok German-Speaking Theater. Formerly a German repertory company which served the German community in St. Petersburg as a subsidiary of the Imperial theaters, the company continued after 1890 under the supervision of its director, Filipp Bok, on a private basis. The Bok German Theater produced eight Hauptmann plays over a period of 29 years (1889-1917). This repertoire included: Kollege Crampton (1892), Die versunkene Glocke (1897), Der Biberpelz (1898), Der arme Heinrich (1903), Fuhrmann Henschel (1903), Und Pippa tanzt! (1906), Elga (1908), and Die Ratten (1911). It is noteworthy that three plays by Hauptmann (Der Biberpelz, Der arme Heinrich, and Die Ratten) appeared in Russia only on this German-speaking stage.

The Pre-Revolutionary period of Hauptmann's reception in Russia clearly comprises the most significant interval of the German writer's lengthy influence upon and association with Russian arts and letters. This period marks the Russian recognition and acceptance of Hauptmann's early plays, their impact on the most representative and efficacious Russian theater and its eminent director, a means for dramatic integration and synthesis on the highest artistic level with the qualities of Chekhov's outstanding plays, and an aesthetic foundation whose impetus would withstand trials of cultural and political impediment and vacillation such as to carry into the present day.

Assessing Hauptmann's impact on Russia from 1889 to 1917, A. Kipa presents a reasonable division of time intervals for analysis: 1) The first stage between 1889

and 1895, is a time in which "the Russian press acquainted its public with Hauptmann's biography, speculated with ever increasing interest about his intentions, and recorded what he achieved." 2) The second stage (1895-1905) sees Hauptmann's discovery by the Russian theater, the performance of his plays, and their review in the Russian press. 3) The third stage, 1906-17, marks a period of growing disenchantment with Hauptmann and his work.<sup>128</sup>

Kipa's first temporal division for Hauptmann's impact on Russia needs no further explanation, and is self-explanatory. His division between the second and third periods probably derives from Stanislavsky himself, who divides the artistic work of the Moscow Art Theater into two periods, one from the founding of the Theater up to 1906, and the other from 1906 on. To Stanislavsky's mind, the founding of the new Moscow Art and Popular Theater (like Hauptmann's plays) was in the nature of a revolution. The actor/director and his theater protested against the customary manner of acting, the light and farcical repertoire, etc.; all other theaters practiced conventional theatrical truth, while Stanislavsky wanted another, a real, artistic, scenic truth.<sup>129</sup> In the post-Chekhovian era of 1906 and beyond Stanislavsky knew, despite his efforts to uphold the highest artistic principles of the past, that reality for the theater now meant, in a purer sense, fulfilling social needs through artistic means, just as the value of Hauptmann's plays, inclined more toward realistic artistry than utilitarianism, continued to decline on the Russian stage. Yet, Hauptmann's plays had fared quite well, for they pleased true Russian artists--Stanislavsky, Nemirovich,

Chekhov, Gorky, whose artistic opinions outweighed all the negative press reviews or a swings in aesthetic appreciation.

## Chapter Two The Soviet Period

### Publications and Translations of Hauptmann's Works

With the cessation of hostilities between Russia and Germany at the end of World War I, Russian interest in Hauptmann's works rapidly increased. Sigfrid Hoefert addresses the reasons for this process and the subsequent events which augmented Hauptmann's popularity in Russia:

Der politische Umschlag, der damals erfolgte, schuf neue Absatzbedingungen der Verlagsproduktion und brachte eine Erweiterung des Leserkreises mit sich. In der ersten Phase des sich festigenden Sowjetstaates wurde die Literatur vor allem zur politischen Aufklärungsarbeit in der Roten Armee benutzt. Sie wurde für propagandistische Zwecke eingesetzt, und ihre Verbreitung in Armee und Flotte wurde, ungefähr seit 1919 systematisch und unter Berücksichtigung methodologischer Fragen betrieben.' Eines der ersten literarischen Werke, die in Russland nach der Oktoberrevolution erschienen, war Wengerowas Übersetzung der Weber. Sie wurde vom Petrograder Sowjet der Arbeiter und Rotarmisten gedruckt. Lenin selbst hatte übrigens Anweisungen gegeben, Die Weber auf sowjetischen Bühnen aufzuführen, und Oberst

Tulpanow äusserte sich rückblickend über Die Weber wie folgt: 'Eine besonders revolutionäre Rolle haben Die Weber in Russland gespielt.

In den ersten Jahren nach der Revolution wurde dieses Werk ohne Unterbrechung gespielt, da es die hohe revolutionäre Begeisterung der breiten Massen darstellte'. Zudem wurde auf Betreiben Gorkis 1918 ein Verlag gegründet [Vsemirnaia Literatura], dessen Ziel war, die sowjetischen Leser mit den Werken der Weltliteratur vertraut zu machen, jedenfalls solchen, die der Kulturpolitik des neuen Staates genehm waren. Von einer beträchtlichen Anzahl Hauptmannscher Werke erscheinen während dieser Zeit Neuauflagen (u. a. Vor Sonnenaufgang, Hanneles Himmelfahrt, Die versunkene Glocke, Fuhrmann Henschel, Michael Kramer), und 1918/19 wird somit zu einem neuen Höhepunkt für die Übersetzungsliteratur Hauptmanns. Zwar erreicht diese Aufgipfelung nicht die vorrevolutionären Höhepunkte, doch bleibt sie in hohem Masse beachtenswert, schon im Hinblick auf die vorwaltenden Zeitverhältnisse: Bürgerkriegswirren, Knappheit an Heizmaterial, Nahrungsmitteln und gutem Papier. Hauptmanns Werk gehörte zum erprobten kulturellen Bestand der Sowjetmacht und die in ihrem Sinne bewusstseinsbildende Kraft seiner Dramen wurde eingesetzt, um erreichte Positionen zu stärken.<sup>1</sup>

Russia interest in Hauptmann's work declines noticeably in the late 1920s. Hoefert

connects this trend to Hauptmann's appraisal by leading Soviet literary researchers. In particular, he cites the case of A. Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education, who gives Hauptmann great credit for a positive influence on his youth, but is unaware of what Hauptmann may have written during and after World War I. Hauptmann's vacillation between "Naturalism with the stamp of Zola" and a "heightened, at times unclear Symbolism" and a lack of recognition (except for Der weisse Heiland) by contemporaries apparently produced a negative impression. Lunacharsky's opinion carried considerable weight, in that "sein Urteil über die Entwicklung Hauptmanns hat die weitere Rezeption gewiss beeinflusst, zumal er auch Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der westeuropäischen Literatur hielt." (106-07)

In the fall of 1930 Lunacharsky was on a visit to Hauptmann in Berlin, and on the occasion of the writer's seventieth birthday he published a paper which offered a general appraisal of Hauptmann. Lunacharsky asserts that Hauptmann "nur immer zaghaft zu Werke gegangen sei; die Grundlage der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft habe er nicht angetastet. Er sei ein Mensch, in dessen Herz wohl die Flamme brenne, die auflodern könnte, doch seine ‚innere Vorsicht‘ habe es dazu nicht kommen lassen"(107). Lunacharsky views Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenuntergang as the author's passive protest against trends which were clearly developing in Germany. Hoefert notes that this play was translated by Lunacharsky's wife and edited by Lunacharsky in 1933, but it succeeded on the Russian stage only years later (107).

The early 1930s saw a culmination in Russian interest in and publication of

Hauptmann's plays, but, undoubtedly due to political hostilities, a lengthy void of any new translations of Hauptmann thereafter:

Zu dieser Zeit, Anfang der dreissiger Jahre, kommt es noch zum Aufblühen des Interesses an Hauptmann. Ein russischer und ein ukrainischer Sammelband werden veröffentlicht, und erscheinen russische Einzelausgaben der Weber, der Versunkenen Glocke und des Fuhrmann Henschel. Es sind dies die Werke Hauptmanns, die in Russland, dem zaristischen und dem sowjetischen, am häufigsten übersetzt und herausgegeben wurden. Sie bilden auch den Inhalt des russischen Sammelbandes. Die politische Entwicklung in Deutschland, vielleicht auch das Ausbleiben einer Absage des Dichters an die neuen Machthaber wirkten sich in der Sowjetunion aus. Das Interesse an Hauptmann versiegt zwar nicht, aber auf Jahre hinaus erscheinen dort keine Übersetzungen seiner Werke. (107)

During the twelve-year period of the National Socialists beginning in 1933, Hauptmann's plays continued to be staged but not published in the Soviet Union. Hoefert believes this may have resulted from elements in the writer's recent works which departed sharply from his former realistic, creative style: "Hauptmann verlor sich während dieser Zeit mehr und mehr im Mythisch-Rätselhaften und in geschichtlicher Ferne, zudem erstrebte er die Nachahmung klassischer Formen. (110)

These innovations were not appreciated in Russia. Hauptmann's earlier works were performed, and, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, Vor Sonnenuntergang was staged in Leningrad, then later in Moscow.<sup>2</sup>

Hoefert does not expand on the well-known, documented points concerning the preference given Hauptmann by the Red Army after the collapse of Germany in 1945 and the Soviet representatives' clearly publicized sympathy for the writer after his death. But another decade passed before interest in Hauptmann's work visibly revived in Russia. Utilizing some rather astounding figures in reviewing this revival, Hoefert writes:

Dies geschah um die Mitte der fünfziger Jahre. Das Wachtangowtheater brachte 1954 eine Neuinszenierung des Dramas Vor Sonnenuntergang, die sich als sehr erfolgreich erwies. Allein in diesem Moskauer Theater hat das Drama während der fünfziger [sic] Jahre 400 Aufführungen erlebt, und in auch anderen Theatern wurde es wiederholt mit Erfolg aufgeführt. Im Jahre 1955 erschien auch eine neue russische Übersetzung des Stückes und im Jahre darauf eine ukrainische, wohl als Respons auf das starke Publikumsinteresse. (112)

Results from this author's recent research in Russia (1995) has established that this play maintained its popularity at least into the 1980s. Hoefert, who wrote his article in 1979, remarks that Vor Sonnenuntergang held its own on Soviet stages also in the

1960s and 1970s and was sometimes performed in conjunction with the yearly victory celebrations over Nazi Germany. Hoefert comments further on this political aspect, as well as on other facets of Soviet productions of the play:

Die Aufnahme des Werkes erhielt in der Sowjetunion von Anfang an einen starken politischen Akzent, und die sowjetische Forschung hat es vornehmlich in diesem Sinne betrachtet. Der Familienkonflikt wird zu einem Zusammenstoß humanistischer und reaktionärer Kräfte ausgeweitet, und der Gegenspieler der Hauptperson hat besonders fasziniert. In seiner Haltung, heisst es, werde bereits die faschistische Ideologie sichtbar. (112)

One other Hauptmann play which was performed in the Soviet Union in the late 1950s was Die Ratten, whose appearance originated from a rather curious set of circumstances. It seems the West German film version of the drama radically distorted the original, such that the film reflected views which opposed the tenets of Soviet Kulturpolitik. As a result of the ensuing outcry from the Soviet public, for the most part unfamiliar with the original version, not only did the play emerge on the Russian stage for purposes of clarification, but was permitted to be published, to which Hoefert adds: "Der Druck dieses Werkes könnte ein kulturpolitisch gesteuertes Korrektiv gewesen sein" (112).

With a few notable exceptions, after 1959 there is little evidence of Soviet publication of Hauptmann's works:

Zu vermerken ist auch das Erscheinen einer zweibändigen Sammelausgabe dramatischer Werke Hauptmanns im Jahre 1959. Die Qualität der Übersetzungen wurde bemängelt, und die 25000 Exemplare dieser Ausgabe dürften zu der Zeit den Bedarf des sowjetischen Lesepublikums wohl gedeckt haben. Seit der Zeit hat sich das publikatorische Interesse an Hauptmann nicht weiter bekundet, abgesehen vom Erscheinen unselbständiger Drucke wie dem der Novelle Fasching in einer Anthologie deutscher Prosa (1963). Es wäre eigentlich an der Zeit, dass in der UdSSR etwas von Hauptmann erscheint. Eine einbändige Ausgabe seiner Dramen (von den Webern bis Vor Sonnenuntergang) würde gut ins Bild passen.<sup>3</sup>

#### A Russia in Transition

In the decade preceding the 1920s Russia experienced enormous socio-political changes caused by world war, revolution, and, later, civil war. These events affected all aspects of Russian society, including the arts in general, as well as drama in particular. But even Kipa's landmark source, with few exceptions, virtually ignores this decade, apparently because of Hauptmann's decreasing popularity and the sharp decline in the number of Russian productions of his plays. Yet this decade merits attention not only as a period of artistic transition for Russia, but also as a juncture in need of a pertinent, extensive study of the elements which shaped the Russian

perspective of Hauptmann's plays during this interval.

Notwithstanding a general lack of academic treatment of the subject, Hauptmann's plays were indeed staged in Russia in the decade after 1910, and not just in Bok's German-speaking theater in St. Petersburg. Sources indicate that both the Moscow Art Theater and its studio remained faithful to his works. The Studio performed Das Friedensfest in 1913, and Hauptmann was said to have numbered among the most often played dramatists up to 1917. Die versunkene Glocke, Einsame Menschen, and Schluck und Jau were staged especially frequently, while Und Pippa tanzt!, Die Jungfern vom Bischofsberg and Gabriel Schillings Flucht had lesser successes.<sup>4</sup> Also, in 1912 a general edition of Hauptmann's works was published in commemoration of the writer's fiftieth birthday, and in the same year Gorky published a tribute which cited Hauptmann as one "helping to unite mankind."<sup>5</sup>

Stanislavsky's personal esteem and the fame of the Moscow Art Theater had increased both at home and abroad, and the renowned actor-director attracted celebrities from many artistic fields. Rachmaninov and Chaliapin were already Stanislavsky's friends, and in January 1914 H. G. Wells came to Moscow and saw a Chekhov play in which the great actor performed splendidly despite the encumbrance of a high fever. Wells immediately tried to persuade the company to come to London on tour, and the Art Theater received a similar offer from Norman Hapgood to visit New York.<sup>6</sup> Later that year, however, events connected with World War I hampered Stanislavsky from staging any dramas abroad, let alone Hauptmann's (it took ten years

before the Art Theater went to the United States and forty-three years before it performed on a London stage). Stanislavsky was in Marienbad when the war broke out, and his worst fears were realized:

On the 19th [of July] Germany declared war. On the 21st the group was dragged from the Munich train, not knowing whether they would live or die. If Stanislavski heard aright only lack of ammunition prevented them from being shot. As it was they were kept in a freezing refreshment room overnight, and then, in the morning, told they would be allowed to go on to Switzerland. . . . They were held in semi-detention for three or four days before the Swiss authorities reluctantly gave them permission to stay. Life was difficult. They had little foreign money . . . for the first time in his life Stanislavski, tired and worried sick about home and his theater, experienced deprivation and oppression. He eventually reached home with his family by steamboat.<sup>7</sup>

For several years following the Great October Revolution of 1917, the demand of the Russian theater for the series of Hauptmann's social dramas rose. Die Weber, of course, received the greatest attention, as Lenin himself called for the Soviet theater to take the play into its repertoire.<sup>8</sup> A keynote source on Die Weber's influence on Lenin and even on Lenin's family was written in 1972 by Grigori Weiss, who had also visited Hauptmann personally in Agnetendorf in 1945.<sup>9</sup> Weiss reports that those

close to Lenin, along with several supporting documents, confirm that Die Weber was well-known in the Ulianov household. It has already been noted that Lenin's sister Anna Il'ichna Ulianova-Elisarova, by order of the Social-Democratic organization in Moscow, translated this play into Russian. The translation was then duplicated by workers in Moscow and surrounding areas. Weiss expands on the significance of this translation:

Bontsch-Brujewitsch, einer der nächsten Mitarbeiter und Freunde Wladimir Iljitschs, behauptet, Lenin habe die Übersetzung seiner Schwester redigiert, und fährt fort: ‚Ich musste dieses Büchlein unter dem Moskauer Proletariat vertreiben. Es fand reissenden Absatz. Die Arbeiter lasen die ‚Weber‘ überall, schrieben sie ab, hektographierten sie wieder und spielten einzelne Szenen daraus in Arbeiterveranstaltungen. Dieses Büchlein, das einzige Kunstwerk, das Wladimir Iljitsch redigiert hat, überbrachte ich Lew Tolstoi. Er war von der guten Redaktion, dem sauberen Druck und der ausgezeichneten Übersetzung dieses illegalen Werkes höchst angetan‘ (1418).

Bonch's memoirs indicate that Lenin, while living in Geneva, traveled a rather long distance twice to see Die Weber staged in a workers' quarter. Lenin was reportedly extremely absorbed and pleased by the performance and was particularly struck by the high degree of empathy and excitement the workers displayed during the

tragic scenes. Having said "That [play] goes to one's heart!" Lenin talked to the members of the worker-audience during the intermission and asked them for their impressions (1419). But Lenin had already seen the play years before (1895) at a performance by the German Theater. He wrote his mother that he had first read the play in order to understand the performance. Lenin's enthusiasm for Die Weber also induced an interest in other plays by Hauptmann, and he lost no opportunity to see a new performance of a Hauptmann play. Weiss remarks:

Nadeshda Konstantinowna Krupskaja erzählt in ihren Erinnerungen: ‚Aus Sibirien zurückgekehrt, ging Wladimir Ilijitsch in Moskau einmal ins Theater, sah sich ‚Fuhrman Henschel‘ an und sagte später, es habe ihm sehr gefallen.‘ Das war Mitte Februar 1900, als Lenin, illegal nach Moskau gekommen, bei seinen angehörigen Station machte. Wie gross muss sein Interesse für das Schaffen des Autors der ‚Weber‘ gewesen sein, wenn er trotz der grossen Gefahr, von der Polizei aufgespürt zu werden, ins Theater eilte, um sich ein Stück Hauptmanns anzusehen (1419).

But Lenin's interest in other plays by Hauptmann obviously did not spill over to other members of his family. Commenting on the reactions of Nadezhda Konstantinova and Zinaida Pavlovna, who attended a performance of Hanneles Himmelfahrt in St. Petersburg (1895), one observer states: "Sie meinten, nicht dieses Stück [Hannele], sondern Hauptmanns ‚Weber‘ hätten aufgeführt werden müssen, in denen das Leben

der Arbeiter prägnant dargestellt ist" (1421). Lenin and his family shared the opinion, of course, that it was most unfortunate that the Moscow Art Theater was prohibited by the government from staging Die Weber, even though it had made the attempt to do so. One other interesting detail concerns Lenin's private library, which was preserved in the Kremlin. Of more than 8,000 volumes, only a small number ("countable on one's fingers") were copies of illegal or banned works obtained during Lenin's trips abroad. Among these are a Fischer-Verlag (Berlin) edition of Die Weber and a Milan edition of the same work in Italian. The library also contains eight other works by Hauptmann in Russian, including three volumes from Hauptmann's Polnoe sobranie sochinenij (Complete Collected Works) which appeared in 1908 (1420). Vladimir Lenin, who died in January 1924, certainly viewed Die Weber as a work which championed the cause of the oppressed proletariat, but his early interest in other plays by Hauptmann also appears to indicate that whatever political filter Lenin used for his perception of the arts, it also allowed a high regard for Gerhart Hauptmann as an artist.

While acclaiming Die Weber, Sobolev makes it clear that later the Russian audience had also turned away from Hauptmann's earlier plays:

Die Weber wurden besonders oft gegeben, und das Interesse, das man diesem von tiefen sozialen Gefühlen erfüllten Drama entgegenbrachte, erhielt sich bis auf den heutigen Tag [1932]. Denn diese 'Weber' besitzen

eine erregende Schärfe der sozialen Konflikte, und sie sind besonders dem Arbeiter-Zuschauer verständlich. Kaum dürfte dieser neue Zuschauer zu dem Hauptmann der 'Einsame Menschen' und der 'Versunkenen Glocke' zurückfinden. Die Problematik der "Einsamkeit" hat inzwischen einen völlig neuen Inhalt erhalten und er wird „Die versunkene Glocke“ nur noch als ein naives Rautendelein Märchen werten, dessen mystische Klänge sein Gehör nicht mehr erreichen.<sup>10</sup>

The Moscow Art Theater survived the ravages of revolution and civil war, but lost several members due to voluntary defections abroad and involuntary detainment by White Guard troops.<sup>11</sup> In 1919, when General Denikin's White Army had cut off the Art Theater troupe which was touring in Southern Russia, several members of the company defected, including Boleslavsky and Mariia Germanova, who together established a "Moscow Art Theater" in Prague. The following year, 1920, Vakhtangov, after disagreeing with Stanislavsky over the production of Das Friedensfest, set up the Third Studio of the Moscow Art Theater.<sup>12</sup> Vakhtangov, himself an astute student of Stanislavsky, would later formulate a theatrical approach known as the "Vakhtangov approach/element," which would affect Soviet productions of Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenuntergang even 37 years later in the mid-1950s.

1921 and 1922 were years of terrible famine in Russia, and many more Russians would have perished but for the help received from abroad, including the American

Relief Administration, the Quakers, and other groups.<sup>13</sup> Maksim Gorky appealed directly to Gerhart Hauptmann for help in saving thousands of Russian peasants from starvation.<sup>14</sup> Hauptmann, one of the first to respond to Gorky's appeal to scientists and writers from all over the world, participated in the publication of an omnibus volume entitled Russland und der Frieden, whose sale would provide urgently-needed relief funds for the young Soviet Union.<sup>15</sup>

The 1920s witnessed significant changes for the arts in Russia. Anti-realistic experimentation continued under Vakhtangov at the Third Studio (1920) and at the Fourth Studio (1931). Stanislavsky applied his acting techniques at the Bolshoi Theater's Opera Studio, while Nemirovich-Danchenko opened his musical studio at the Moscow Art Theater. At the same time, the Theater produced the new Soviet drama by Mikhail Bulgakov, The Days of the Turbins, which, despite its White sympathies, proved a favorite of Stalin's and was successful.<sup>16</sup> But aside from the aforementioned stagings of Die Weber, Hauptmann's plays were not a major element in the Soviet theater until the early 1930s.

According to N. Zorkaia and G. Zorina, Vakhtangov's strength and his distinction from many of his theatrical contemporaries, in particular from Meyerhold of that time, stemmed from the fact that he sought his goals on the basis of the accomplishments of the Art Theater: a highly developed, internal actor technique; the mastery of creating individual characteristics; and the irreproachable culture of the acting company. Vakhtangov knew that on any stage at any time the most precious thing

in a real theater will be the truth of an actor, conveying to the audience vivid, human passions. But according to these critics, the (October) Revolution allowed Vakhtangov to sense that in the twentieth century, in a century of great social shocks and clashes between classes, of events on a world-wide historical scale, there arises in man "a need for art of laconic social forms, of sharp, honed expressiveness, of intense dynamics." The theater, with its efficient nature of combining human feeling with convention of performance, would answer this need.<sup>17</sup>

#### The 1922 Soviet Commemoration of Hauptmann

Traditionally, European countries often commemorate the birth and death of great figures, whether they be statesmen, inventors, artists, scientists, warriors, or others noted for exceptional accomplishment or stature. The year 1922, then, presents a favorable opportunity, based on Russian reaction, to assess the impact of Gerhart Hauptmann and his works on Russia. Favorable, because any positive response would have emerged in spite of: 1) Hauptmann's non-Russian identity; 2) a Russia which had just endured world war, revolution, and civil war, conditions under which an appreciation for the arts is generally not a prime consideration; 3) a current negative literary trend (except for the utilitarian political aspects of Die Weber) against the motifs found in most Hauptmann plays, certainly against his out-dated landmark naturalistic works; and 4) curiously, even the commemorative year itself (one marks

10th, 25th, 50th, 75th and 100th anniversaries, but not usually the 60th). So, with all those "hurdles," just how did Hauptmann fare among the Russian intelligentsia of 1922? The answer is, by any measure, extremely well, much more meritoriously than may have been expected, given the aforementioned cultural and literary impediments.

By far the highest tribute to Hauptmann among the commemorative works to appear in any country in 1922, Ludwig Marcuse's anthology contains twenty-five articles on Hauptmann, including three works which relate directly to Hauptmann's influence in Russia. A few passages from these works have already been cited, since all three articles credit the German writer's impact on Russia beginning from his earliest works in the latter nineteenth century. But several major points not yet addressed from these articles certainly elucidate Hauptmann's significance in the context of Russian culture and art.

Of the three commemorative articles on Hauptmann in Russia, Lunacharsky's work takes a broader historical approach. After a brief review of the German playwright's influence on the Russian theater at the turn of the century, the author notes the great affinity the Moscow Art Theater had for Hauptmann:

I do not know if more than sketchy information about the Moscow Art Theater reached Hauptmann after his plays had been performed on this stage, nevertheless it would seem as though Hauptmann had been born of the same mind . . . [as that of] Chekhov, Andreev, [and] Gorky. . . .In

fact, it seems that no Russian nor foreign dramatist was as close in spirit to Stanislavsky and his comrades-in-arms as was Hauptmann.<sup>18</sup>

Following some comments expressing great admiration for Hauptmann's early plays in Russia--Einsame Menschen, Hanneles Himmelfahrt, Michael Kramer, and Die versunkene Glocke--Lunacharsky notes that the only play which remained obscure to the Russian public was Und Pippa tanzt! Yet Lunacharsky personally considered this play the most enchanting in Hauptmann's rich storehouse:

This play, as in a violet haze of a mysteriously-shrouded drama, incomprehensible but not needing to be comprehended, is a brilliant allusion to the mysteries of natural metaphysics, whose elegance makes it impossible to force into rational forms, and it therefore veils itself in the garment of poetry. The [essence of the] play itself is the enchanting dance of Pippa--the dance of beauty over the disasters of nature.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, Lunacharsky views Hauptmann's protagonists as positive role models. By the examples of his heroes (weavers, a sunken bell, lonely people), Lunacharsky and other Russians "learned sensitively to overcome obstacles which still make others tremble." It is also apparent that Lunacharsky, even in the early 1920s, was still quite taken by the German writer and looked forward to Hauptmann's future literary works: "Not without excitement do I await the collected works of Hauptmann, which are supposed

to be shipped to me from Germany, so that I myself (and perhaps also others) will be able to sketch the image of the now 60-year old writer in all his greatness."<sup>20</sup>

Another key article in Marcuse's anthology entitled "Das Tschechow-Hauptmann Moskauer Künstlertheater. Ein Gespräch mit Maxim Gorki und Frau Andreeva" contains significant quotes and opinions on Hauptmann's importance to the Moscow Art Theater. Gorky, whose favorite Hauptmann play was Fuhrmann Henschel, cites not only Hauptmann's stimulating effect [on the Russian theater] in his [Gorky's] time, but also the immense inspiration which future Russian dramatists would draw from the German playwright. Mrs. Andreeva, who played the role of Frau Vockerat opposite Stanislavsky (as Vockerat in the title role), adds her personal reminiscences on the unprecedented success of Einsame Menschen, and she recalls personally experiencing great joy when she learned that her photo from this play stood on Hauptmann's desk. The article concludes with the highest accolades for Hauptmann's plays and their import for the Art Theater:

So kamen nach der Reihe 'Die versunkene Glocke,' 'Hannele,' 'Michael Kramer,' 'Fuhrmann Henschel,' 'Vor Sonnenaufgang,' ein grosser Zyklus von Hauptmannstücken, die dann in ganz Russland uns nachgespielt wurden und Hauptmann auf lange zum beliebtesten dramatischen Dichter in Russland machten. Das Verdienst des Künstlertheaters bestand darin, dass es die uns, der russischen Intelligenz verwandte Stimmung in

Hauptmann herausgeföhlt hat und sie mit der Tschechowschen Welt in einen intimen Zusammenhang brachte. Dadurch wurden die beiden Dichter zu den Deutern von Russlands geistigen Leiden und Russlands Träumen von einer schöneren und glücklicheren Zukunft für Russland, für die ganze Menschheit.<sup>21</sup>

The final work in the commemorative trilogy on Hauptmann's literary influence in Russia is Zinaida Vengerova's Hauptmanns russische Seele, excerpts from which appear quite frequently in research on Hauptmann and Russia. In a manner distinct from the other two articles, this source provides greater depth, through its use of comparative literature and philosophy, in presenting the interpretation of specific plays of Hauptmann on the Russian stage. Based on her commentary, Vengerova appears quite knowledgeable as regards Hauptmann's plays and, especially, their characters. But it is largely her penetrating character analyses, often presented from a cultural perspective, which constitute her exemplary contribution to Hauptmann scholarship. One instance in which her commendable faculty for interpretation manifests itself is her comparison of feminine protagonists from several Hauptmann plays, including less popular works which are seldom examined in any detail. Thus Vengerova notes that, up to the first fantasy plays, Hauptmann had appeared as something entirely new in his characters and moods. However, when one pursues the further relationship of Hauptmann to Russia, one observes how Hauptmann, who in the beginning was only

a "donator," later moves ever closer to the spirit of Russian literature, such that his interaction with Russian literature reached the point of a reciprocal effect, to a giving and taking. Vengerova continues with an astute, culturally-based interpretation:

Hannele ist eine grunddeutsche oder, richtiger gesagt, grundwestliche (vom russischen Standpunkt) Gestalt, einheitlich in ihrem geistig moralischen Heldentum, und die dramatischen Kontraste sind auf Elend--Glückseligkeit, Erniedrigung--Glorie und Triumph eingestellt. Aber schon die zweite Märchengestalt, Rautendelein, ist von komplizierter Individualitätsmoral, und bei allem deutschem Märchenzauber klingt aus ihr für russische Ohren das revolutionär Persönliche des russischen literarischen Anarchismus: es müssen ja Eimer von Tränen aus dem Tale heraufgebracht werden, um die Humanität der geregelten Menschenbeziehungen zu retten. Und die ganze Reihe der verführerischen Frauengestalten aus den folgenden Märchen Hauptmanns, immer aus Reinheit und Lüge gemischt, ist--ohne ihre Originalität einzubüssen--nicht nur der russischen Psychologie verwandt, sondern direkt von russischer literarischer Atmosphäre umweht. Das fühlt man gewissermassen bei Elga, Pippa, Griselda mit ihrer geheimnisvollen innern Freiheit--und wenn man zu der sonderbarsten dieser Hauptmanngestalten kommt, zu Gersuinde--halb Dirne, halb Heilige--, so ist es unverkennbar, dass das geheimnisvoll Quälende und

Unwiderstehliche dieser Sünderin mit der Kinderseele viel von Gruschenka und den andern Verführerinnen aus Dostojewski hat, ja vielleicht ohne Dostojewski nicht literarisch möglich wäre.<sup>22</sup>

Two years after his sexagesimal commemoration in Russia, Hauptmann wrote his drama fragment Herbert Engelmann. Written in 1924, the play remained among the author's personal notes for decades and was not performed or even published in the West until Carl Zuckmayer's adaptation in 1952 (performed March 8 at the Burgtheater in Vienna). Two decades later, as we shall see, this play, virtually unknown for 28 years (until Carl Zuckmeyer's adaptation in 1952), would be well-received by a major Soviet critic in 1970.

#### Beginnings of the Soviet Theater

As the dust of revolution and civil war settled and the young Soviet Union matured under particularly difficult economic hardships and five-year plans, the format and shape of the Soviet theater began to emerge. Twenty years after the October Revolution, Russia had a vast network of theatrical activity and, according to one source, no other country subsidized stage production to the same degree as Russia.<sup>23</sup> By 1938 plays were presented in thirty-one languages and there were approximately a thousand regular theaters in Soviet Russia beyond some five thousand theaters

operated by collective farms, factories, and workers' clubs. On the whole, new Russian plays in the early 1920s were still allowed a high degree of experimentation. Meyerhold, a Communist by faith and an international figure, held the support of prominent Party members, was popular among the youth, and even had a theater named after him in 1923. Later, however, the artistic freedom enjoyed by Meyerhold and his avant-garde associates, as well as by representatives of the other arts, ended. After 1932, the anti-Formalism campaign began. Denounced for his "alien" and "unproletarian" Formalism, Meyerhold was executed during Stalin's infamous purges. Meanwhile, Hauptmann's friend and strong supporter Gorky, who had received little recognition except for his Na dne [The Lower Depths] for more than a decade, gained popularity with his impressive realistic play Egor Bulychev, whose hero, like Matthias Clausen in Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenuntergang, loves a woman, but finds only scorn from those close to him. Gorky enjoyed greater prominence after Andreev died in exile in Finland in 1919. A generally utilitarian type of playwriting known as "avant-garde Realism" responded to the problems of reconstruction in Russia and emphasized social issues rather than psychological probing, invention, or imaginativeness.<sup>24</sup>

In the 1930s, as Gerhart Hauptmann's eminence continued at home with new technology (first radio interview, 1930)<sup>25</sup> the Soviet Union staged new productions of the Russian classics by Gogol and Leo Tolstoy while it simultaneously solidified its commitment to Socialist Realism and produced more of the new Soviet drama (Afinogenov, Kirshon).<sup>26</sup> Both for Hauptmann personally and for his future renown

in Russia, the year 1932 was in some respects the most significant year of his long life. The year-long celebration of his seventieth birthday coincided with the centennial of the death of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and brought him much acclaim: the prestigious Goethe Prize of Frankfurt; a theater named after him in Breslau; a celebration and speech by Thomas Mann in Munich, and similar celebrations elsewhere; and, as the most famous author in Germany, a second trip to the United States, where he was awarded an honorary doctorate by Columbia University, and where he delivered his lecture on Goethe at Columbia, Harvard, and in Washington D. C. and in Baltimore, and was presented to Herbert Hoover in the White House, at whose reception he met Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill, Helen Keller, and Lillian Gish.<sup>27</sup> But it was also a momentous year for the history of his reception in Russia, for 1932 brought the premiere (in the Deutsches Theater, Berlin) of his last great theatrical success, Vor Sonnenuntergang, the most-frequently performed Hauptmann play in the Soviet Union.

#### Soviet Criticism of Hauptmann's Dramas

Nearly as important as the play itself, the year 1932 once again takes on great significance, this time as a final marking point at which Hauptmann for the Russians was still considered "untainted" by the dark influence of the National Socialists. The vast majority of Soviet critics who evaluate Vor Sonnenuntergang emphasize this fact,

especially as they consider the play itself a work in which Hauptmann expresses his doubts and concern about the rising tide of fascism. For one critic, who reviews the premiere of Vor Sonnenuntergang at the renovated Vakhtangov Theater in Moscow in the spring of 1954, Hauptmann's alarm is as valid for the commentator's time as it was in the 1930s:

With alarm the old Hauptmann took a serious look in this play (written 1932-33) [sic] into the dark fascist cloud which had already appeared on the horizon and threatened to cover all of Europe,--a protest is heard in the play, and despair, and a voice of warning. A sense of helplessness before an irreversible catastrophe comes through . . . Who of those who sat in the spectator hall could think then [referring to a staging of the play in February, 1941] that the people to whom Clausen turned--Hauptmann would soon have to take up arms to save precious relics, to return to the German people a culture trampled on by the followers of Hitler . . . And now we again see this play in the same translation by M. Levipaia . . . Astrangov most of all sensed in the play Hauptmann himself, his confusion, his belief that his position was right, and his thoughts on a future which the world awaited . . . Not without reason is the theme of stoic philosophy, of Marcus Aurelius and Seneca, so consistently conveyed throughout the play . . . It is good that the proponents of Vakhtangov

restored this play [to the repertoire]. It is addressed not only to the past. It sounds an alarm even today, when Klamroths in the West gather again to repeat the tragedy which Hauptmann foresaw.<sup>28</sup>

Considerable scholarship and criticism has addressed the sensitive topic of Hauptmann's association with the Third Reich. Despite the implied anti-fascist message in Vor Sonnenuntergang and Hauptmann's own disclaimers ("My epoch begins in 1870 and ends with the burning of the Reichstag")<sup>29</sup> notwithstanding, an adapted exploitive version of the play (retitled Der Herrscher [The Ruler]) was indeed disseminated as a Nazi propaganda film in 1937. Certain representatives of the Soviet press lost little time in responding to this distortion and to Hauptmann's apparent complicity. Critic Herwarth Walden explains first of all that the Nazi propagandists had to change the original title because "Ein Führer kann natürlich nie vor Sonnenuntergang dargestellt werden."<sup>30</sup> In Hauptmann's work the hero is a publisher of literature, but in the film he becomes a "captain of industry." Nevertheless, the "official paper" of the German Workers' Front is not entirely satisfied, and the rest of the film "smells of a social cock-and-bull story." At this point Walden shows Hauptmann little mercy:

Vor allem steht aber fest: [Kultursenator] Jannings hat aus dem Drama Hauptmanns ein 'Heldenlied der Werkgemeinschaft' gestaltet. Von dem eigentlichen Stück ist nichts übrig geblieben als die Liebe, auf die der

Herrscher zu Gunsten des Dritten Reichs verzichtet. So kann Hauptmann nicht nur persönlich, er kann auch dichterisch als Nationalsozialist aufmarschieren. Und was das Wichtigste ist: er bekommt Honorar. So sieht ein Kompromissler nach Sonnenuntergang aus.<sup>31</sup>

Two other sources, certainly fervent if somewhat lacking in analytical basis, offer even more scathing indictments of Hauptmann. The first reviewer (known only as "V. R."), who criticizes Hauptmann's prose work Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend [The Adventure of My Youth (1937)] in an article ominously entitled "Der Hauptmann griff zur Exekution," indicts the German writer even from childhood: "Jedermann sein eigener Hitler! Und Gerhart Hauptmann war es schon,--welche Fügung des Schicksals das jetzt entdecken zu können!--von Kinderbeinen auf." And in a cruel allusion to Hauptmann's imitation of Goethe, the critic adds: "Hauptmanns 'Wilhelm Meister' war ein tiefer Fall--sein 'Dichtung und Wahrheit' beweist, dass man noch tiefer fallen kann."<sup>32</sup> The other source demeans Hauptmann in verse and requires no further comment:

Heut liebt sein Ohr das hitlerische Gekeife.  
 Ans Weberlied denkt er nicht gerne mehr.  
 Und Pippa tanzt seit Jahren schon zur Pfeife  
 Paradetänze zackig kreuz und quer. . . .<sup>33</sup>

Those Russian critics who found Hauptmann guilty of holding strong Nazi sympathies, however, were not in the majority, and, more importantly did not reflect the apparent official Soviet view that Vor Sonnenuntergang contained, if not explicit anti-Nazi content, at least, through the negatively-depicted Klamroth, the forewarning of a brutal fascist threat.

A major review of Vor Sonnenuntergang, as performed in Leningrad at the Novyi Teatr in 1940, appeared in the journal Rabochie i teatr [Workers and the Theater]. Critic Evgenii Gakkel' terms the performance "a great event in the art life of Leningrad," and while approaching the theater entrance and gazing upon the hopeful faces of those wanting extra tickets, involuntarily feels great excitement and recalls his own disappointment in being shut out of theater performances in his youth, when the Moscow Art Theater toured St. Petersburg and played to sold-out houses. Indeed, the Russian exuberance over this Hauptmann play is worthy of note: "As quick as lightning the rumor spread around Leningrad about the remarkable play by the remarkable artist . . . it was a question of being taken ill with excitement."<sup>34</sup>

It soon becomes apparent, however, that the adapted Soviet version of the play differed significantly from Hauptmann's original intent:

The theater did not set upon the slippery path of the play which was translated and adapted by A. V. Lunacharsky. It seemed to Lunacharsky, as he wrote in the foreward to his adaptaion and translation, that

Hauptmann, under his existing conditions in the new social order in Germany, did not reveal much because he considered the completion of his play the most important thing. Director Sushkevich took this compelling adaptation and, moreover, spent hours with his pencil [studying] Hauptmann's philological and psychological over-indulgences. Sushkevich masterfully expunged the mysticism, metaphysics, and psycho-analytical discourse from Clausen's monologues and did this in excellent fashion. [Now] we were presented with the true intentions of Hauptmann which the author attempted to conceal with the excessive psychological details of a family drama. Before us lay the setting [decline] of humanist culture, the culture of Goethe, intent on ceding irrepressible aspirations to the poser of ideologies dealing in facts and deeds, ideologies which view the structure of life as law and order. Before us is the tragedy of a king of life, Matthias Clausen, who is obliged to die because entrepreneurs and their assistants control life. (23)

If only one point were to emerge from Gakkel's account, it would be the critic's high regard for director-actor Sushkevich. Gakkel' believes that Sushkevich in the role of Matthias Clausen could excite a German audience possibly even more than he excited the Russian spectators: "How did he grasp the typically German element in this role? This condescending restraint in relationship to his family in Act I when he,

knowing the price of congratulations and eulogies, sends everyone off in order to be with another." It is nothing external, but rather such "typically German-spirited amicability" in the dialogue with Geiger (actor Taskiny), a demeanor of "authoritativeness," revealed in a different way every time, which command this magnetic personality. Gakkel' finds it nearly impossible to describe how Clausen-Sushkevich displays this authoritativeness and sense of superiority over others: "There is just no single, recollected intonation, no single, distinctly-recorded gesture, everything is in his eyes, in the electricity flowing from him, compelling those with him to become shrivelled and subordinated." (24)

Another consideration concerning this performance is the perceived latitude which Hauptmann gives to the director (and therefore also to the actor), the over-all effect of which was, in this instance, a "personal" experience on the part of the critic as he "entered" into the play:

Hauptmann wrote the beginning of the play so loosely and with . . . [few restrictions as to] theatrical effect [that] the director was not intended to correct, clarify, or supplement the [material of the] author. The director does not consider it necessary to lead me into the environment of the action, into the life of this house, into the thought process and feelings of each individual person--he informs me about the events which have occurred and are occurring; and the people who have passed before the eyes

of the audience represent no greater enigma than the figures on a chessboard. They are marked by their external qualities, their words-- which are "moves",--elements by which one can imagine what they are supposed to think and how they are to be perceived in the future. That is all. (25)

For Gakkel', Sushkevich the actor and Sushkevich the director are in perfect harmony, such that the actor follows the method of showing nothing, discussing nothing in too much detail, thus somehow suggesting that the audience take everything into consideration since the actor does not intend to reveal anything. This does lead, the critic admits, to a psychological interpretation. But Gakkel' does not challenge this approach and states that he will not compare it with the principles of the Moscow Art Theater (on which he does not elaborate), whose flaws, he finds, are offset by its merits.

Although Gakkel' clearly receives a very positive impression from the play and its performance, he nevertheless offers some suggestions on improving the individual renditions of specific characters, particularly that of the antagonist Klamroth:

Many characters are in need of supplemental enhancements by the director in order to reach their full potential. Let us take, for example, Klamroth, an ideologue of the new governmental thinking, the antipode of Clausen. What would it cost the director not to show him as being immediately

excited, since he remains in such a state further in the play? It would follow, it seems to me, to show Klamroth upon his first entrance as calm, self-intoxicated, to seat him, perhaps, in an armchair, perhaps even create an anguishing pause, during which he would be the center of attention for the spectator. Why, this is a future proprietor, the person who will replace Clausen, a person, by the way, who is completely convinced of this [his future role]; it is of more than little importance to expand somewhat the limits of this character. Klamroth remains just an episodic figure. And the actor (actor Gorbunov) is not guilty here . . . but is very appropriate in his artistic talents for this role. (25)

The reviewer is not as laudatory with regard to other characters. He submits that Clausen's secretary Vutke (actor Bel'tiihin) and the gardener Eibisch (actor Krichevsky), according to Hauptmann's treatment, are clearly not suited for the pensive, dedicated Clausen, even for the "uninformed" spectator. Gakkel' also sees an expanded role for Egmont, Clausen's youngest and only faithful son ("Hauptmann did not make use of this motif of loyalty, and it is incomprehensible to me why he did not develop this theme"). Actress K. V. Kurarkina played her role as Inken splendidly, in Gakkel's opinion, being "quick, daring, light in response, steadfast, and simple to the point of wise;" she is captivating in the love scenes and performs very well in the third act when, having found herself in the enemy's camp, she gets lost but

somehow survives without revealing her disorientation, and she does not lose her own values to free herself from a threatening, inescapable situation.

Finally, Gakkel' remarks that the conclusion of the play could be more stunning and elevating if he had seen in the dying Clausen a last struggle, a struggle between life and death, an affirmation of death despite one's own desire to live. The critic, then, appears to want to see the death of bourgeois humanism established at the end of the play. Yet he adds: "But after the fourth act I do not want anything to be verified. I want only to think and remain stunned, such that thoughts and feelings themselves would flow in a manner which would suggest to them the excitement of the mind and heart, disturbed by a great work of art" (26). Gakkel's concluding remark reaffirms his tribute to actor-director Sushkevich: "But, in any event, Sushkevich has created a role, having revealed it in his way, [he is of] a great mind [and] great human essence, and we should be grateful to him for that quivering produced by such a pleasant sensation, into which he knew how to plunge us, grateful for that enormous enrichment through his contribution to Soviet theater art" (26).

Another critic is in complete agreement with Gakkel's assessment of Sushkevich's excellent performance, but appears more theoretically inclined, using the performance of Hauptmann's play to substantiate what he terms a theatrical "system" and approach created by Konstantin Stanislavsky. Commenting on Sushkevich's superb performance in Vor Sonnenuntergang, critic F. Nikitin views the actor's achievement as a victory of method as well: "A pupil of Stanislavsky, one of the founders of the First Studio

of the Art Theater, B. M. Sushkevich, through his latest performance in the play Before Sunset, affirms the 'system' of Stanislavsky. This appearance, based on [theatrical] principle, is of enormous importance."<sup>35</sup> Explicating the actor's application of this principle, Nikitin writes:

Sushkevich in the role of Matthias Clausen shows us how to understand the "system." With the material of Clausen's role he creates the image of an enormous tragedy of force. This is the distinctive Lear of today, this is the apparition of the great Goethe, having risen from the ruins of European humanism, the image presented on the level of the classical tragedy (not so much by Hauptmann's wish as by the actor's). This image excites and stuns. Representatives of all the [theatrical] trends and schools are reconciled to the unanimous appraisal of him [Sushkevich]. Sushkevich, who had been absent from the stage for eight years, astounded them and won them over.<sup>36</sup>

Nikitin states that it is only through enormous, concentrated efforts, by means of all the highly-trained internal and external techniques of an actor, that Sushkevich is able to create for himself the opportunity for such a "subconscious work of organic nature, which, on its highest level, means inspiration. "The 'system' does not fabricate inspiration. It just prepares favorable soil for it" (K. S. Stanislavsky).<sup>37</sup>

In 1941, the Second World War was spreading throughout Europe, and the Soviet

Union would be invaded by a German Blitzkrieg in early June. Yet, less than four months before the invasion, Hauptmann was still being staged in Russia. Indeed, the Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung in Berlin announced that the premiere of his Vor Sonnenuntergang at the Vakhtangov Theater in Moscow was both well-performed and well-received.<sup>38</sup>

One of the last Russian reviews of Vor Sonnenuntergang to appear before the onset of war in the Soviet Union was an article by I. Berezark. Briefly reviewing Gorky's great respect for and attraction to Gerhart Hauptmann, this critic contends that a certain thematic similarity between Gorky's aforementioned Egor Bulychev and Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenuntergang is in no way accidental. Berezark points out that Gorky was attracted to the strong characters and their clear-cut individualities in Hauptmann's dramatic heroes, and that the German playwright in his early works sought to show how a social struggle is reflected even in personal family conflicts. Although Hauptmann, in the critic's opinion, only saw this theme take shape and did not develop it, the tendency itself was undoubtedly something which attracted Gorky. The author of this article continues his investigation and finds specific parallels between the two works, despite their sharply differing designs, but for the purposes of this study it is sufficient to know that Gorky may have been artistically influenced to a significant degree by Hauptmann's early works.

While comparing Gorky's work with Vor Sonnenuntergang, Berezark does provide, of course, substantial commentary on Hauptmann's play. Reviewing the plot

in his own terms, he designates the critical moment of the play as the point at which Clausen, a "proprietor and standard-bearer of capitalism," is forced into a trusteeship by his children, who have deprived him of his authority over his property. But relieved of his property, Clausen somehow feels free, if only for the moment. He is on the decline, already weak, sees the sunset, and has a premonition of his death. His strong, noble personality unravels. Berezark concludes that neither property nor family nor associates should inhibit man. And here, the critic asserts, to Hauptmann's way of thinking, it is not a matter of property corrupting man, but of unworthy people who are already corrupted. Yet the business of the whole world is based on property, and without it Hauptmann could not conceive of human culture. Concerning the performance of the play itself, Berezark, a critic who is obviously more inclined toward a historico-philosophical basis for his literary review, limits his commentary to the leading character: "Before Sunset is a tragedy. The entire play is saturated with a sense of the tragic. The ruin of this central hero is, as it were, predetermined. This tragic sensation was conveyed with great force by the actor B. Sushkevich in his performance of the role of Matthias Clausen at Leningrad's Novyi teatr [New Theater]."<sup>40</sup>

Berezark believes that Hauptmann created Clausen as an intellectual who was also the bearer of an elevated humanism and of a lucid personality which was exceptional. But, unlike most critics, he does not limit his opinions to just this play, but offers interesting commentary on Hauptmann's general approach and on several of his other

plays:

With Hauptmann, the physiological drama usually replaces the social drama, even when the writer attempts to resolve social questions. Not without reason did the German critic E. Steiger speak of the new fate of contemporary drama, about the fate of heredity, about "the fate of the Darwinist element." This physiological yoke (oppression) is a terrible period for mankind. Those people who break off from life, in Hauptmann's view, appear as characters struggling with a stagnant, ailing environment, maimed by fate and heredity. And however this struggle may end,--by death (such is the fate of Johannes Vockerat in Lonely Lives) or by some kind of compromise (which is shown in Kollege Crampton), the struggles for humanity all become crushed by the heavy fate of environment and heredity.<sup>41</sup>

In his concluding remarks, the critic finds Hauptmann's tragedy in Vor Sonnenuntergang characteristic of the bourgeois intelligentsia of the West and presents his own socio-political alternative:

Here Hauptmann intensifies the tragedy characteristic of his early plays. The contradictions of personality and environment are now replaced by deeper contradictions. These are contradictions of a cult of strong

personality and the traditional ideals of bourgeois humanism . . . The ruin of such people as Matthias Clausen completes, as it were, the tragedy of the old world with its insoluble contradictions. The sun sets on bourgeois culture, the sun rises on a new culture, filling the world with light and warmth.<sup>42</sup>

War fell upon the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, but, according to one source, even under the extreme circumstances of war, Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenaufgang was still performed. Günther Gerstmann also quickly points out that Germany was not as hospitable and did not reciprocate:

Als die Hitlertruppen tief in der Sowjetunion standen und Leningrad belagerten, wurde dort unter schier unvorstellbaren Verhältnissen Gerhart Hauptmanns Schauspiel "Vor Sonnenuntergang" aufgeführt. . . .In Deutschland wurden während des 2. Weltkrieges keine Schauspiele russischer Dichter geschweige denn Werke Gorkis aufgeführt. Der barbarische Chauvinismus machte bekanntlich auch vor den Klassikern der sogenannten "Feinländer" nicht halt.<sup>43</sup>

The Red Army's respect and special aid for Gerhart Hauptmann at the end of the war is well-documented by several sources. What is not generally known is that in 1942 Hauptmann received two packages from Russia which caused the eighty-year-old

writer to think deeply, as he himself later said, about mankind in general and about the Russians in particular.<sup>44</sup> The first parcel contained the first volume of the first edition of Hauptmann's collected works published in St. Petersburg in 1908. The package was sent by an unknown German soldier on the Russian front. Between the pages of the last act of the play Einsame Menschen, whose heroine is a Russian girl, indeed a revolutionary, lay a note. Ostrovsky describes the content:

"Ich habe dieses Buch in einem russischen Schützengraben gefunden," schrieb der Soldat in dem beiliegenden brief. Dann wandte er sich an Hauptmann mit der Frage: "Aus welchem Grunde habe ich auf einen Menschen geschossen, der Ihr Drama gelesen hat?"<sup>45</sup>

The second package came from a German Wehrmacht doctor, "an old admirer of the author [Hauptmann]," as he described. A Smolensk school teacher, who had abandoned her burned-out house, had left a Russian magazine (Teatr, 1941), in which the Russian critic of Vor Sonnenuntergang expressed great warmth over Hauptmann's play and said it had created an image of enormous tragic depth, that the spirit of the great Goethe had been awakened on the ruins of European humanism.<sup>46</sup>

As the war ended in May 1945 Hauptmann received a visit from Soviet officers and soldiers. For his part, he said he was glad to see Russians in his home.<sup>47</sup> They told the aging writer that in their youth they had read his plays, and that most of them had also seen them on stage. One source reports:

"Ein einfacher Soldat hatte ein Foto Hauptmanns aufgetrieben und verlangte ein Autogramm. 'Damit sie mir zu Hause glauben, dass ich dich gesehen habe,' sagte er." (Gerhart Pohl) . . . Hauptmann selbst schrieb in einer Botschaft: 'Indem ich dies schreibe, denke ich an den ersten ehrenvollen Besuch, der mir in meiner Einsamkeit von dem neuen Russland zuteil geworden ist, und ich erwidere diesen Besuch begreiflicherweise herzlich.'<sup>48</sup>

In the fall of 1945, in a conversation with Johannes R. Becher and a group of Soviet journalists, Hauptmann said he was proud of his acquaintance with Maksim Gorky and paid tribute to the Russian writer:

Vor Gorki hat niemand auf der Bühne so eine Hymne [das Stück ‚Nachtasyl‘] auf den Menschen gesungen. Ich liebe auch den Roman ‚Die Mutter‘ von Gorki. Als ich die Briefe Lenins an Gorki las, war ich tief bewegt und berührt von der grossen Sorge des grossen Führers der Revolution um die schöpferische Arbeit des Schriftstellers.<sup>49</sup>

Gerhart Hauptmann died on June 6, 1946, in Agnetendorf and, according to his expressed wish, was buried on the island of Hiddensee "before sunrise." Among the many attending his funeral were officers and soldiers of the Soviet Occupation Army, who honored the great German writer in their addresses.<sup>50</sup>

Shortly after Joseph Stalin died (1953), the Moscow theater in its 1954-54 season saw fifty "new" performances,<sup>51</sup> including some classics such as Lessing's Emilia Galotti. Also in the new repertoire was Vor Sonnenuntergang, which had not been performed in Moscow since 1941. This play was staged the next year in Leningrad, and continued to run in Moscow throughout the 1950s and beyond. Concerning Hauptmann and the Moscow theater in the 1950s, two points clearly surface: 1) Vor Sonnenuntergang continued to be the Hauptmann play of choice. It is almost as if the Second World War had been an unfortunate distraction, as the popularity of this drama in Russia "leaped" over the war years (from 1941) and then emerged once again as soon as the new political "thaw" allowed; 2) secondly, the Vakhtangov element (or "method") also was revived after the war and once again became the preferred basis for production by the Soviet theater.

Co-authors Zorkaia and Zorina, who reviewed a Moscow performance of Vor Sonnenuntergang in 1957, do much to clarify the presumed effect of the Vakhtangian method as regards Hauptmann's play:

In the Vakhtangov production, Hauptmann's play was changed. Remaining true to the author on points dearest to Hauptmann--in his [instilled feelings of] pain and indignation, his humanism, and the realistic force of his characters, the theater freed the play from some naturalism, so alien to the proponents of Vakhtangov, from the yoke of speculation and the

psychological vagueness of individual dialogues. Removed from the play were all elements which hampered the dynamics and the struggle [of the main character]. And one of the most dramatic scenes--the appearance of Klamroth, accompanied by prisoners in white overalls, ready to escort Matthias Clausen to the insane asylum--was created by the same theater which translated the plot into a stage scene. But the main distinction is in the ideological, social pathos of the play and its performance.<sup>52</sup>

The critics found the nature of M. Astangov's (Clausen) talent and the decision for the play to be staged at the Vakhtangov Theater to coincide exactly, citing the play's need of an "actor-thinker," an actor whose intellectual charm combines with the great force of emotional influence. The tragic temperament of Astangov--the "temperament from essence" which Vakhtangov considered "uniquely convincing and non-deceptive" was the quality which the reviewers considered most vital for the emotion which the leading actor conveyed on the stage.<sup>53</sup>

The centennial of Hauptmann's birth in 1962 elicited positive reviews from Soviet critics, including that of T. Sil'man, representing Inostrannaia Literatura [Foreign Literature]. This superior article is reasonably well-researched, and indicates Hauptmann's vacillations as well as his positive points. Designating what is, perhaps, Hauptmann's greatest strength, Sil'man, placing the German writer in the context of European literature, explains that Hauptmann, finding himself at various times in the

course of different currents of contemporary European literature, knew how to enrich each of these trends historically, through topical, current issues. Over the expanse of his lengthy literary activity he appears first as a naturalist, then as a neo-romantic, then as an author of historical, socio-political or problematic-psychological dramas, then finally as a writer of tragedies on classical subjects. But he always remained a writer of his time. As for Hauptmann's inspiration, Sil'man writes: "Hauptmann himself in part revealed the sources of his creative enrichment. Ibsen, Zola, Turgenev, Tolstoy--such are the names of the great writers who helped Hauptmann escape the extremes of naturalistic doctrine and become a writer of broad social issues."<sup>54</sup>

Having designated Die Weber and Florian Geyer as Hauptmann's revolutionary plays, works which depict "the driving force of historical development, an outburst of revolutionary energy by the proletariat," the critic notes that Hauptmann did not limit his works to protesting and rebelling aspirations:

He constantly alternates in his appraisals of contemporary phenomena of life, he fluctuates in the artistic interpretation of the surrounding world. In this respect it is characteristic that just a year after The Weavers he writes the fantastic drama-tale The Assumption of Hannele, and in 1895 the symbolic play The Sunken Bell, where we encounter [his] characteristic neo-romantic contrastive opposition to vile reality and the elevated world of artistic fantasy. However, this trend also does not become the primary

direction in Hauptmann's work. Far more than the depiction of life, in addition to The Weavers he targets the world of the problematic-psychological drama, in which he steps forward as a direct successor to Ibsen. Such works at the beginning of his creativity are Lonely Lives (1891), further Michael Kramer (1900), and after many years--Before Sunset (1932).<sup>55</sup>

Sil'man, like other Soviet critics, views Vor Sonnenuntergang as a work whose hostile environment for the hero ("surrounding him with a solid ring of animalistic, diabolical aspirations") symbolizes the tragedy of German humanist culture in the years of fascism. But the critic remarks that after Hauptmann decided to stay in fascist Germany, he changed considerably the classical themes to which he now turned, which were traditional for German humanism since the time of Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris. Facing ever-increasing barbarity, Hauptmann, inwardly hostile toward fascism, perceives the whole world as a dwelling place of horror, and it is in this spirit that he treats classical myths.<sup>56</sup>

Confirming that the two major Hauptmann plays on the Soviet stage [1962] are the revolutionary Weber and the anti-fascist (in spirit) Vor Sonnenuntergang, the critic adds that the German Democratic Republic also showed its respect for Hauptmann by reprinting a significant number of his plays and prose works in 1956 on the tenth anniversary of the writer's death. Sil'man ends his article with his opinion that

Hauptmann's work still attracts the Russians through its convincing concreteness of character types, by the intrepid exposure of life's contradictions, and by his compassion for human suffering.<sup>57</sup>

In 1970 the critic I. Bliumberg addresses a topic which is unique among Soviet criticism and scholarship on Hauptmann--Hauptmann's "unknown" play Herbert Engelmann.<sup>58</sup> In some preliminary discussion before his critical remarks, the author presents a brief history of the play's origin and fate. The critic correctly states that the fate of this play is not at all typical of other Hauptmann plays. For more than a quarter century it lay totally finished (this is open to question; the play is also called a drama-fragment) among the personal papers of the playwright, and then, in an adapted form, did not see the light of day until 1952, six years after Hauptmann's death. The owners of Hauptmann's archives handed Herbert Engelmann over to Carl Zuckmeyer for pre-release. Bliumberg remarks: "The thoughtless transfer of the completed work (to regard the play as incomplete takes the liberty of assuming that Hauptmann himself for certain reasons did not publish it during his lifetime) was of no use. The stylistic, artistic unity was destroyed, elements ambivalent for Hauptmann arose, and the significance of its problematics diminished" (159).

Before his critical comments on the play, Bliumberg also typifies Hauptmann and his works into two distinct categories. The leader of German Naturalism, one of the creators of the "new drama," at the end of the nineteenth century he was the original "lawgiver" of stylistic trends in the art of Europe. But, according to the critic, the

playwright, whose plays were ranked with the works of Ibsen and Chekhov, has outlived those with whom he entered the field of literature. The aged writer, even after the time of the "new drama" and all its artistic quests had passed, survived yet another three decades. This later period, in principle new for Hauptmann's creativity, scholars termed the "second" or "late" period. To the Soviet reader or spectator, little is known (1970) about this late stage of the playwright's work (from the First World War to his death in 1946). Belyi spasitel' [The White Saviour] and Gerbert Engel'man (1924), permeated with human pathos, T'ma [Darkness] (1937), the anti-fascist dramatic requiem, and the mythical Atridy [Atriden-Tetralogy] (1940-44) in which, in the guise of ancient garb, Hauptmann's protest against the Hitler government was hidden, have not been translated into the Russian language [as of 1970]. Exceptions are the plays Doroteia Angerman (1925) and Pered zakhodom solntsa [Before Sunset], which, at the time this article was written (1970), had not left the Soviet stage. Thus, an entire stage of creativity of the dramatist who played a major role in the development of the European theater at the end of the last century did not yet appear (and, from recent research, still has not appeared) in Russia. Bliumberg, citing the German scholar P. Michaelis, asserts that for literary critics there exist two playwrights under the name of Gerhart Hauptmann. The first wrote plays of the early years. The first is being staged. The second is absolutely forgotten. This holds true not only for other countries outside of Germany, but also for the Soviet Union [Soviet study of drama] (159).

In further commentary, Bliumberg, remarkably, would seem to view Hauptmann as one of the creators of Heimkehrliteratur:

Hauptmann is one of the first in world literature to turn to the theme of man having passed through entrenchments. In Gerbert Engel'man he reflects the basic conflict of the new age: [The conflict of] the humanist essence of man and those anti-humanist demands which the post-war bourgeois government present to him. Like many young men of various countries, the 17 year-old Engelmann left for the trenches of the First World War as a volunteer. He left filled with bright illusions cultivated by university and family, certain of the sanctity of the battles which Germany was waging in hope of quick victory. But he found himself in the center of a global slaughterhouse, where "the only material was human flesh," followed by injury, captivity in France, prison camps in Russia, escape-- much is gained through suffering and understood by the hero. (160)

In this unique piece of criticism, Bliumberg is not reviewing a play, since Herbert Engelmann had not yet been staged in the Soviet Union (and according to current sources has still not seen the Russian stage). Since the work "had not yet been translated into Russian," he obviously obtained a German copy of the work for his critique; but this in no way diminishes the article as a valuable source for research on Hauptmann's reception in Russia. Bliumberg's main point as regards the importance

of the play centers on the hero's reaction to extreme human conditions and the inhumane circumstances which caused a heinous act. Engelman kills a postman.

Bliumberg explains:

The gravity of the path taken put an indelible stamp on the post-war existence of Herbert. His crime [of killing a postman who triggered a horrible war memory] is the fruit born of war. It is not at all important that he did not commit it on the battlefield, but on a quiet little street in a Berlin suburb. It does not matter--it stems from war. Making Herbert Engelmann both a murderer and a person suffering just from the violence that exists in the world, Hauptmann tries to unify two themes of psychological trauma, characteristic of two different stages of the life of European society. The justified reason for the fact of murder, for Hauptmann, is in the non-realization of the action: Herbert Engelmann is subject to strange fits during which he is irresponsible . . . for Hauptmann the biological motif here plays a different role--not that which appeared in his early plays. He repeatedly emphasizes that it is not a physiological, but a social situation which leads Herbert to new fits of irresponsibility, that is, to crime. (163)

In addition to his thoughts on the main character, Bliumberg also comments to a lesser degree on other characters, for example, Kohlstock: "Kohlstock in Hauptmann's play

is not simply the Commissar of the Secret Police, who drew the task of investigating criminal matters. An official representative of authority, he is simultaneously a symbol of that system which threw Herbert into the inhumane slaughter house, taught him to kill, and led him to crime" (162).

Herbert Englemann also presents an opportunity to view the origin of this play from a different perspective. Known to have influenced Hauptmann, Georg Büchner wrote a play in which the main character Woyzeck also committed murder under extreme human conditions, and, in juxtaposition of the roles of Herbert and the police commissar, the plot of Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment concerns a young man, who is guilty of the murder of an old lady, and a police inspector who impacts his conscience.

On May 12, 1972, Hauptmann bibliographer Sigfrid Hoefert attended a performance of Vor Sonnenuntergang in Leningrad's Pushkin Theater. In addition to his review of the history of the play as performed in Russia (first performed in the Soviet Union in October, 1940), Hoefert emphasizes the political tone of the Soviet version. But Hoefert went to the event with two objectives in mind: First, to gauge the reaction to the play by the Leningrad audience; and secondly, to learn if the Soviets had modified Hauptmann's original work. On the first point, Hoefert comments that there were only two instances during the entire play when the audience reacted spontaneously. Concerning deviations from the original text, Hoefert reports that some material was added in the fifth act.<sup>59</sup>

Newspaper reviews of theatrical events remain a primary source for research on the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's plays in Russia. The following items from the 1970s and 1980s, obtained during the author's 1995 research trip to Russia (see also Chapter Four), are representative:

In the spring of 1977, the touring Malyi Theater troupe staged a performance of Vor Sonnenuntergang in the Russian city of Ufa. The very positive review from Vecherniaia Ufa [Evening Ufa] especially applauded the performance of M. I. Tsarev in the title role of Clausen, revealing "the tragic element of a person's attempt to escape bourgeois morality." The play was directed by L. Kheifets.<sup>60</sup>

The newspaper Vecherniaia Moskva [Evening Moscow] of December 3, 1980 reveals a significant statistic and other pertinent information concerning Vor Sonnenuntergang, reporting that the play had run for the 200th time that day. The article adds:

The play by the German playwright Gerhart Hauptmann in the production by L. Kheifets has already been running on stage for eight years. Dieter Berle from the GDR designed the sets for the play. The work of Moscovites went into the program of troupes on tour around the country who played abroad in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as shown on Central Television. Its regular participants were Artists of the RSFSR L. Iudina, the Meritorious Artist of the RSFSR P. Sadovsky, and P. Kabinin.<sup>61</sup>

In the fall of 1981 the Malyi troupe was once again on tour in Tbilisi and performed the same play, Vor Sonnenuntergang. Vecherniaia Moskva in this instance gave the playwright more credit: "With great and understandable interest the Tbilisi Theater audience awaited encounters with the heroes of the play Before Sunset. The outstanding works of Gerhart Hauptmann already long ago entered into the golden storehouse of world dramaturgy, and the history of the play's performance comprises, in all probability, more than one volume." It is also apparent that still, in the 1980s, the motivation for staging this play in the Soviet theater centers on the significant date of the play's origin: "The very date of the writing of this play--1932, is a terrible symbol, the last year before the dark night of fascism descended on Germany. Just this circumstance recalls again and again the social basis, the real underlying cause of everything which took place in the play."<sup>62</sup>

Finally, two articles describe the filmed play of Vor Sonnenuntergang as shown on Moscow television November 3-15, 1987. The first article's description of Mikhail Tsarev's role as Clausen rings somewhat differently:

Television viewers will see Artist of the USSR Mikhail Ivanovich Tsarev in the role of the protagonist in this play--Matthias Clausen. His Clausen is a strong, wise person, ready to battle with impending darkness to the end. Through the torments, searchings, and joys, his hero, not having betrayed his life-long learning, finds his strength, belief, and preparation

to withstand steadfastly the evil, approaching darkness . . . the essence of [the conflict] is in the various viewpoints on morality, on the incorruble bourgeois moral fetters, against which the love of Clausen and young Inken rebels.<sup>63</sup>

The second article, which appeared three days later and concerns the same two-week Moscow television run of Vor Sonnenuntergang, gives total credit to Hauptmann for the play's success and contains a brilliant tribute to the German playwright:

The play by the German-humanist G. Hauptmann Before Sunset, written in 1932, has an enviable fate--from this day on it will not exit from the stage. There are at least two reasons for its success. First, the inexhaustible topical interest of the theme. The second--the talent of Hauptmann, who possessed outstanding theatrical imagination. One has written about Hauptmann's plays that in them there is such a natural color of the way of life that in the theater it is as if footlights are arranged beforehand and spontaneous contact [occurs] between the stage and the audience hall.<sup>64</sup>

The appearance of Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenuntergang on Moscow television confirms the great popularity this play has enjoyed in Russia. Moreover, the drama has also run as a film in Soviet movie houses.

Although not in the scope of this study, much valuable research exists on film

versions of various Hauptmann plays. One such source, written by D. Riasanov, appeared in late 1959. The author describes Hauptmann's sympathies for Russia and relates several points on the history of the playwright's ties to that country (all described in Riasanov's study). The article also reports that West German films of Hauptmann's Die Ratten, Rose Bernd, and Vor Sonnenaufgang were all shown in theaters in the Soviet Union.<sup>65</sup>

### Chapter Three Official Word

Numerous Russian critics, in the decades since Hauptmann's works first attracted their attention, have vacillated widely, dependent on time and milieu, in their approach to and assessment of the great German writer. While one may question the degree of latitude both allowed and followed in individual criticism functioning in a "closed society," official publications and explicit references would seem to reflect the state's opinions on the arts more consistently. Certainly major encyclopedic sources constitute a significant example of such publications. This study will consider seven major encyclopedic sources, spanning Hauptmann's particularly long literary career and including posthumous commentary. Those keynote sources in this category of Russian criticism on Hauptmann are: 1) Brockhaus's Entsklopedicheskii slovar' (1892); 2) Granat's Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' (1910); 3) Brockhaus's Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar' (1911); 4) the Communist Academy's Literaturnaia entsiklopediia (1929); 5) the first Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia (1929, Chief ed. O. Shmidt, author P. Kogan); 6) the 1952 edition of the Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia (Chief ed. B. Vvedenskii); and 7) the 1970 edition of the Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia (Chief ed. A. Prokhorov, author I. Bernstein).

Briefest of the encyclopedic entries on Hauptmann (only a small, albeit significant, fraction of the author's works had appeared by 1892), the earlier Brockhaus constitutes a surprisingly comprehensive, if compact, reference. This source provides not only the first official Russian exposure to Hauptmann, but also is the only direct,

virtually unembellished translation from the German. The author of the entry, A. Reinholdt, credits Bahnwärter Thiel as the first experiment in Hauptmann's new direction (Naturalism) and the drama Vor Sonnenaufgang with its "extremely daring realism and flashes of Hauptmann's strong, original talent" as a continuation of the movement. Reinholdt cites Einsame Menschen and the comedy Kollege Crampton as the works which established Hauptmann's reputation and brought recognition by serious critics to his talent. While one would consider normal and almost perfunctory Reinholdt's comment that Kollege Crampton is one of the most cheerful and intelligent works in all of the most recent German literature, one particular comparison concerning Einsame Menschen seems of unique interest to the Russian reader. Reinholdt writes: "In Einsame Menschen Hauptmann reveals some proximity to the views of Count Leo Tolstoy on matrimony." The simple description of Die Weber as "a great work masterfully depicting the economic condition of Silesian workers" is singular among the encyclopedic sources for its lack of political embellishment. He concludes his comments with a comparison of Hauptmann and the other naturalist standard bearers of the day and with an analysis of literary technique. Hauptmann displays more talent and is "deeper" than Sudermann, and in his method of developing his subjects is "much more detailed and daring" than Ibsen. Concerning technique, it is Hauptmann's individualization of characters by means of nuances of speech which has brought him to a high degree of accomplishment.

Twelve years passed before the next significant encyclopedic dictionary entry on

Hauptmann (Granat, vol. 12, 1910) appeared, but by then, due to both Hauptmann's strong artistic productivity and to greatly expanded though largely negative commentary, space devoted to the German writer quadrupled. The author, V. Friche, utilizing an approach different from Reinholdt's in presenting Hauptmann's biographical background, chronologically ties Hauptmann's early works directly to personal experiences. Citations include Kollege Crampton and Michael Kramer (aspirations toward becoming a sculptor, studies at an art academy in Breslau) and Einsame Menschen and Die versunkene Glocke (failed marriage, eventual divorce, re-marriage). After nominal tribute to early influences on Hauptmann,--Wilhelm Bölsche and Bruno Wille (Darwinism), G. Simon (social issues), and Holz and Schlaf (Naturalism), Friche measures Hauptmann's German reception through the changing eyes of the public, i.e., Vor Sonnenaufgang first evoked sharp protests from the public, but then gradually, together with Hauptmann's naturalism, came into fashion and for a very long time stood at the forefront of German drama.

This encyclopedia was the first in Russia to explicate to any extent the naturalistic characteristics in Hauptmann's early plays, namely, the strong emphasis placed on describing the milieu and its mood, non-development of characters (noted for their passivity), and substitution of conditions and circumstances for action. This source also recounts Hauptmann's (along with "all German literature's") transition from Naturalism to Romanticism/Idealism, a transition underscored by the failure of Florian Geyer; classification of Hauptmann's dramas by genre, e.g., Hannele, in which

"Naturalism and Romanticism even stand side by side;" Die versunkene Glocke, where Romanticism already supplants Naturalism, and emphasis on the German writer's vacillation between socialism and individualism, e.g., Vor Sonnenaufgang replete with socialist tendencies vs. Einsame Menschen, in which the hero "repudiates the masses in the name of personal assertion." This vacillation, Friche writes, is also apparent as the Darwinist Hauptmann turns time and again to the religious question and to the depiction of religious types (Der Apostel, Hannele, Der arme Heinrich, Henschel, and Emmanuel Quint). Friche asserts that such a duality also characterizes the literary reception of Hauptmann, but he does not expand on this statement.

Two final points which emerge from Friche's commentary are that: 1) Hauptmann's creative works (through Friche's time) are closely linked with the petty-bourgeois milieu to which most of his plays are devoted, and Hauptmann superbly conveys its family squabbles, its weak, nervous heroes, its discontented life, and its degenerating members, feeling persecuted and sinking or perishing while finding themselves at the mercy of external circumstances; and 2) Hauptmann as too strongly tied to his native petty-bourgeois element (Vockerat in Einsame Menschen and Master Heinrich in Die versunkene Glocke) to break loose from it and raise himself to the "heights," when German literature again turned from the petty-bourgeois works of the 1880s (Naturalism) to serve the interests of the greater bourgeoisie (Romanticism). Hence, even at the beginning of his romantic period, Hauptmann remained by and large a naturalist (Henschel, Rose Bernd).

Just one year after Granat's publication, the second Brockhaus edition appeared in St. Petersburg (Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar', 1911). Slightly over three pages in length, this encyclopedic source, written by P. Kogan, is the first to reflect a significant, specifically Russian flavor, e.g., "Die versunkene Glocke (1896) was one of the early striking examples of the symbolic play, over which conversations passionately ensued and heated arguments were raised in our Russia." Following the customary presentation of biographical background, early philosophical influences on Hauptmann, with a bent toward their future literary manifestations, draw special emphasis. Jena University, accordingly, merits mention not only as the place where Hauptmann zealously attended Haeckel's lectures on scientific materialism, but also as "the hotbed of the most recent daring ideas on natural science, philosophy, and social thought." Kogan acknowledges a powerful social instinct in Hauptmann which never weakened, even as the author wrote his enchanting fairy tales.

Parallel to certain biographical statements on Hauptmann (e.g., "Hauptmann was an admirer of Karl Marx, and although he was not a Social Democrat in the strictly party-sense of the word, he came under the powerful influence of socialist ideas"), relatively stronger socio-political interpretations mark this second Brockhaus source as compared to the earlier encyclopedic entries cited above. The main protagonist Loth (Vor Sonnenaufgang) is seen as one who embodies "the sum total of the socialist and Darwinist expectations of Hauptmann." Indeed, though Kogan does not compare the two, Hauptmann's Loth, "a socialist dreaming of the re-creation of society" and

"aspiring to subordinate feeling to the deductions of science" is strikingly similar to Dostoevsky's Raskol'nikov (Crime and Punishment), who murders an old woman in the name of society since she can contribute nothing and amounts to a social parasite.

In several instances, poignant character analysis strengthens Kogan's work. One example is that of Johannes Vockerat:

Hauptmann writes his Einsame Menschen, where the writer's renunciation of the scientific and social views which dominated in the first plays is apparent. Johannes Vockerat is the "lonely one." He is hostile to his surroundings. This figure is insufficiently directed and self-possessed. But in him one senses a Nietzschean and Ibsenian temperament which contains ideas on the incommensurability of the personality and the world. Here the superhuman and the human are the foremost elements Hauptmann has opposed to each other. One shortcoming in the play is that Vockerat's superiority over those surrounding him is not supported in the play; he is filled with that power and that iron persistence which distinguishes Ibsen's heroes, yet he is weak and lacking in support.<sup>1</sup>

Kogan's interpretation of Johannes Vockerat is his best, but his analyses of the weavers (as a group) and Master Heinrich also merit mention. The suppression in Germany of Die Weber, whose downtrodden, destitute weavers were least of all capable of mounting a rebellious movement, produced a similar reaction by the

Russian government, and "in Russia Die Weber, for a long time, could not see the light of day." Addressing the protagonist of Die versunkene Glocke in broader context, Kogan views Master Heinrich as "one of the most striking literary figures in the endless string of types of supermen" who inundated European writing at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. For Kogan, Heinrich symbolically fulfills himself in the creative act (the construction of the new bell, etc.) among mankind according to the program of Zarathustra, and this play is an illustration of Nietzschean ideas, just as Die Weber was an artistic embodiment of the ideas of Marx. This encyclopedic entry attributes Hauptmann's prominent position in German literature to the writer's sensitivity, which "compels him to comprehend deeply the ideological life of his time." Furthermore, Hauptmann not only possesses to perfection the most diverse forms of the dramatic art, from extreme naturalistic to fantastic and symbolic drama, but also knows how to harmonize form and content, revealing an astounding power of observation in Die Weber and the gift of irrepressible fantasy in Die versunkene Glocke.

Although one can cite significant literary activity during the second decade of the twentieth century in both Germany (German Expressionism) and Russia (Russian Symbolism, Futurism, and post-Expressionism), times of war and revolution often induce less productivity and advancement in the arts. If this is true for the works themselves, it is even more valid for secondary sources; only after a World War, revolution, and civil war does the next significant literary encyclopedia appear, the

Communist Academy's Literaturnaia entsiklopediia (Moscow, 1929).

Written by A. Ansimov, and edited under the guidance of I. Bespalov and Stalin's Minister of Education A. Lunacharsky, the first Soviet entry on Hauptmann reveals a tone different from the earlier encyclopedic sources. Here Hauptmann, admittedly talented, can do no right, and even his exposure of certain obvious faults of capitalism is suspect, for he condemns these capitalistic shortcomings for the wrong reasons.

This source wastes no time in advancing its comments on Hauptmann's literary deficiencies detected by the litmus test of Socialist Realism. After the briefest sketch (three sentences!) of the German dramatist's personal background, Ansimov acknowledges Hauptmann as the "greatest of the German writers of the pre-war (World War I) epoch," and cites the early dramas (Vor Sonnenaufgang, Das Friedenfest, and Einsame Menschen) as the most detailed documentations of daily life, clearly drawn in the exacting style of naturalism. But for Ansimov, Hauptmann's naturalism was not as "pure" as Western critics would have it; a characteristic deviation was already taking shape. His dramas were aimed not so much toward external objectification as toward impressionistic self-awareness, encompassing the finest nuances of perception. Ironically, the very foundation of his dramas--bourgeois prosperity, comfort, and satiety--led the artist to an epoch of crisis reflecting lost faith in the stability of the way of life being reproduced by him. The Russian critic consequently notes a characteristic "catastrophic" structure in Hauptmann's plays, which present some seemingly peaceful course and daily-life narrative only to rush

toward an inescapable tragic conclusion.

While other Russian encyclopedic references to Hauptmann attempt to sketch common qualities of a synthesized Hauptmann protagonist here and there, perhaps generalizing such attributes in several selected works or even over a period of time, Ansimov's source, significantly more than others, asserts the existence of a basic Hauptmann figure or character type throughout,--a type of "superfluous, lonely searcher." In Granat's encyclopedia Friche had found these protagonists irretrievably tied to the petty-bourgeois milieu, that is, as victims of detrimental class influences. Ansimov's article, written during the budding years of the Soviet state, certainly pays nominal tribute to the merits of socialism over bourgeois shortcomings, yet the author rather interestingly emphasizes character weaknesses of Hauptmann's individual bourgeois heroes. The characters Loth, Johannes Vockerat, and Wilhelm Scholz (Friedensfest) are only the first variations of the type of protagonist at the center of all Hauptmann's work and whose consideration becomes "inescapable and persistent for further literary interpretations of Hauptmann." Ansimov clearly appreciates Hauptmann's artistic portrayal of these character defects--complete lack of willpower and inspiration on the part of these figures, their horrifying meekness and defenselessness as they submissively accept the blows from their fated lot. The basic conflict in Hauptmann's social dramas does arise, of course, from a "diseased crisis of the petty-bourgeois class pressed by capitalist development," but it is Hauptmann's ability to present with sympathetic penetration the image of this lonely searcher-

sufferer which Ansimov views apolitically as literary mastery.

One other area besides extensive character analysis sets this entry apart from other encyclopedic sources; Ansimov probably addresses Hauptmann's symbolist period at greater length because of the chronological proximity of his article (1929) to the period of Russian Symbolism. He believes that even in Hauptmann's first dramas, reflecting social strife and concrete, daily-life reality, the concerned lower social stratum still could not tear itself away completely from reality, but preserved the hope of eliminating or at least mollifying contradictions. Then, in the course of time, Hauptmann "frees himself" from real mediation and moves to the area of illusory distractions, and his symbolist period begins. Objectively this corresponds to an aggravation of contradictions between class and reality.

For Ansimov, Hauptmann himself had become an image of such contradictions, based upon the oft repeated character types in his naturalist dramas of Hanneles Himmelfahrt, Die versunkene Glocke, Der arme Heinrich, and Und Pippa tanzt. But now, emancipating himself from everyday life reality and preferring fantastic, illusory visions, Hauptmann creates very intricate, blatantly pretentious, intentionally heightened, rosy fairy tales, to be free, on the surface, from any influence from the harsh truth of life. But then, with all the troublesome window dressing removed, the reader cannot observe any essential difference between this abstract-symbolist plan of his creation and the real, daily-life plan presented by the artist in dramas. Thus, for Ansimov, the conflict made perpetual for the bourgeois artist appears--the collapse of

a world of established habits, the tragic sensibility of a catastrophe, the ruin of all principles, and consequently the rejection of that same type of lonely admirer, lost in the ruts of a superfluous man. So now Hauptmann's basic type is revealed abstractly, outside the actual milieu, a situation which makes this "lofty hero" excessively exaggerated. In place of lost ties with real life there is pompous, hyperbolic rhetoric; the work is passionate, but devastated. Ansimov finds, therefore, only the continuing development of the bourgeois style of an epoch of crisis, and this latest period is only its new link. Hence one views the deepest unity of the works of Hauptmann as that of an artist representing the degenerative petty-bourgeoisie.

Among the seven selected encyclopedic sources in this study, Ansimov's article stands unmatched in terms of clarity of expression and grasp of Hauptmann's works as a whole (up to the date of his writing). This is nowhere better illustrated than in his special attention to two historical dramas, presented intentionally in succession, Die Weber and Florian Geyer. Here Ansimov finds not only the expected demarcation characteristic for all of Hauptmann's works--from the Naturalism of Die Weber the author moved to the symbolic romance of Geyer--but also the distinct boundaries of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Writing again from the viewpoint of Socialist Realism, Ansimov proclaims:

If in Die Weber . . . the capitalist conditions are condemned in the name of patriarchal trade-professional structure rather than [serving as] the roots

of the class evaluation distinctly taking shape, then Florian Geyer, a drama reproducing the events of the Peasant Revolt in the sixteenth-century, is already presented as a drama of conscience. With this the revolutionary component of the work is completely at an end, but on the other hand it is very close to the worldview of the bourgeois artist. Now we have a new version of the superfluous man, the doomed daydreamer exposed in the pretentious decor of the historical romance. If in Die Weber there was at least a very indecisive challenge to the capitalist system, then in Geyer even this small dose of bourgeois radicalism disappears--the leader of the muzhik [peasant] revolt becomes similar, as two drops of water, to the hero losing his grip in Einsame Menschen.<sup>2</sup>

In his conclusion, Ansimov devotes a small portion of his review to Hauptmann's prose, but asserts that not a single prose work brought anything new to the artist's creative work, and by and large Hauptmann's prose repeats the figures of his theater. Hauptmann quite often had turned to prose (1929) but had continued to exist only by inertia; creatively he had been finished long ago. Paradoxically, Ansimov in one sentence expresses condemnation of, and admiration for, Hauptmann and an inference of expertise on the current German public's artistic bent: "Not without reason did no ties between this very good German writer and contemporary literary Germany exist." For Ansimov, Hauptmann had already moved into historical non-existence, even

though he had been canonized by official bourgeois public opinion and transformed into a "national hero."

Eighteen years after he wrote the Hauptmann encyclopedic entry for the second Brockhaus edition, P. Kogan was once again called upon to contribute to the first edition of the Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia, begun in 1926, with the Hauptmann entry published in 1929. The peculiar circumstance of having the same author writing on the same topic at different times would seem to afford the best opportunity to gauge separate political barometers of officially-condoned statements on Hauptmann. First, however, one should briefly note similarities and differences in structure.

Kogan's two articles are almost exactly the same length, and his terse, factual style has not changed. To be sure, the author embellishes new points of discussion in the 1929 entry, but, as before, nothing in his descriptions seems superfluous, and the reader senses, from Kogan's point of view, a high degree of objectivity which holds throughout the work. The main structural deviation is that Kogan devotes fully half of the new entry to biographical material.

Kogan's first article on Hauptmann contained background material which emphasized philosophical influences (especially of university origin) on the young German writer. In his second version, Kogan explicates such influences quite differently; for example, the religious element (Hauptmann's interest in the history of religion, plans to write a poem on Jesus of Nazareth) is much more evident. Also,

notably, "grass root" experiences, as much or more than academic impressions, seem to contribute to Hauptmann's social instinct: "In his travels Hauptmann pays attention to the poverty and filth of the hapless masses of the population, and the paintings flaunted in the rich halls of the Vatican cannot shield from him these grave scenes."<sup>3</sup>

Hauptmann was well acquainted with the works of Marx and bore him deep respect. Nevertheless, Kogan points out, Hauptmann was not a Marxist but remained, for the most part, a spokesman of the petty bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia. To reinforce this opinion about Hauptmann, Kogan uses a concrete example, terming Die Weber "only an embodiment of spontaneous outburst of rebellion on the part of starving weavers,--not of proletarians, but of the hackneyed poor. Hauptmann went no further than this in his social protest."<sup>4</sup>

The beginning of Kogan's literary appraisal of Hauptmann consists of general commentary, and there is nothing out of the ordinary except some added color in quoting public reaction to Vor Sonnenaufgang (spectators questioning whether they were in a theater or a brothel, critics proclaiming Hauptmann an "artist-Antichrist"). Also, parallel to his comments on Vor Sonnenaufgang, and as if to underscore his disappointment that the author does not advocate a truly socialist position, Kogan notes that despite the exceptional personality of Johannes Vockerat (Einsame Menschen), contrasted to the surrounding milieu with its bourgeois morality, Hauptmann takes the side of the semi-Nietzschean hero in the clash of the aristocratic personality and the collective.

As with other Russian encyclopedic sources, Kogan devotes special attention to his discussion of Die versunkene Glocke; nearly a fourth of his literary criticism concerns this work. Master Heinrich's goal "to discover himself completely" to a certain extent recalls the aspirations of Goethe's Faust to find truth and experience every pang of human existence. For Kogan, who presents a substantial synopsis of the plot, Heinrich's road is that shown by Zarathustra--the path of "seeking one's destruction," the path of sadness. Such an end can only be appropriate for one who has ruthlessly walked over corpses, destroyed forms of family and social life, and flouted the beliefs and interests of the masses.

Similar to his special consideration of Die versunkene Glocke, Kogan treats separately the last of the Hauptmann plays which he addresses individually, Die Weber. Beyond the aforementioned commentary on this play, Kogan makes several additional points, asserting that Die Weber 1) reflects the greatest application of Hauptmann's style, which enhances simultaneously a picture of a way of life, objective reasons for an inevitable catastrophe, and a deep insight into the nature of mass psychology; 2) excellently sketches the character of the capitalist exploiter Dreissiger; 3) for a long time stood as a model of socialist drama and a banner of the working class.

Kogan completes his article with interpretations of Hauptmann's reason for choosing the stage, common ties between his plays, public disfavor toward recent works, and his perpetual vacillation between two opposing social classes. He views

Hauptmann as a sort of guardian of the epoch who is primarily concerned that the most important questions of the epoch be advanced, and the stage be a platform or rostrum with whose help these questions are decided. Hence, each of Hauptmann's plays, in one sense or another, reflects the time it was written.

Consistent with his emphasis on Hauptmann's plays, Kogan realizes, even in 1929, that, with few exceptions, drama will far outweigh any other genre as Hauptmann's artistic niche. Indeed, recent prose, including Der Dämon [The Demon] (1928, later entitled Wanda) and other works, Kogan notes, "no longer attract as much attention as his celebrated plays." The final remarks of this source apply the same literary problem of fluctuation to Hauptmann's public life:

In his public speeches Hauptmann was and remains extremely unsteady, vacillating between the two main classes which are now struggling in the arena of history. When in 1913 several German societies suggested he participate in the festivities commemorating the centennial of Napoleon's exile and celebrate the "great affairs" of 1913, Hauptmann, instead of the bellicose play-bill the German patriots were expecting, offered Das Friedensfest, and with this provoked the indignation of the ruling circles of that time. But when the imperialist war broke out, Hauptmann did not comprehend its true significance and, having sided with the German chauvinists and nationalists, wrote the song "O, My

Fatherland" and tainted himself with an open letter to Romain Rolland, in which he emerged as a herald of imperialism.<sup>5</sup>

It is remarkably coincidental that the first two editions of the Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia frame almost exactly the Stalinist regime of the Soviet period in Russia (1928-53). The first edition appeared just a year after Stalin consolidated power and implemented his policy of forced collectivization of agriculture; the second was published less than a year before Stalin's death. Understandably, Russian appreciation of German arts and letters plummeted sharply with Hitler's rise to power in the early 1930s and the subsequent mass invasion of the Soviet Union during World War II.

Standing in stark contrast to Kogan's entry in the first edition, B. A. Vvedensky's article on Hauptmann, barely a page and a half long, exudes a cool, begrudging tone which is rarely even conciliatory. Only two brief references ("greatest representative of German naturalism" and "the inconsistent creative path of this great German writer. . .") attest to any degree to the fame long acknowledged in the West. Vvedensky's interpretation of Hauptmann and his writings derives totally from an orientation based on the perception of literature as a tool to advance the cause of a revolutionary class struggle. Clearly Hauptmann does not measure up, although Vvedensky notes that Die Weber, for the first time in German literature, introduced the topic of a proletarian revolt, and that Hauptmann does depict "the bestial frame of mind of the capitalist exploiter" and creates literary figures of the workers who rebelled. Among several

other works, each reviewed in a single, brief sentence, Vvedensky cites the reproduction of "the parasite-like qualities of the Prussian bureaucrats" (Der Biberpelz) and "the dismal daily life of the lower class of bourgeois society" (Fuhrmann Henschel).

Vvedensky's criticism of Florian Geyer would seem to serve as an example characteristic of this critic's viewpoint. According to him, Hauptmann receives top marks for his choice of topic--the Peasant Revolt of the sixteenth century--certainly fertile ground for a drama to expose and rectify the evils of the ruling class against the peasants. Yet he fails miserably in that he devotes his main attention to the problems of the hero's conscience, thereby showing "his own inability to prove the historical case of the people who revolted and the tragedy of their defeat." Vvedensky expresses the result of such an ineffectual approach and its consequences:

The writer-naturalist Hauptmann was not in a position to truly reveal the real social content of the dramatic conflicts portrayed by him. Even in the dramas of the first period social forces of his appear now in the mystical form of biological heredity, then in the guise of one's fated lot, and then like an internal psychological peculiarity of individualism. Such an interpretation of the social contradictions of imperialist Germany, far removed from society, signified the author's capitulation before bourgeois reality.<sup>6</sup>

Some of Vvedensky's further commentary on Hauptmann (retreat from reality, fantastic motifs, transition to Symbolism) mirrors previous encyclopedic sources and need not be repeated. Following mention of Hauptmann's favor toward German nationalists and the public letter to Roland, however, he adds his own observation that neither the Great October Socialist Revolution nor the revolutionary events in Germany found complete artistic response in Hauptmann's writings. Newer material (1920-41), with one exception, also did not reflect the revolutionary spirit to a sufficient degree. Hauptmann is found to subject ideas of equality and socialism to criticism in the spirit of "stagnant individualistic prejudices," and Hauptmann's new topics from Aztec life are a product of his attraction to Nietzschean ideas of anti-popular individualism. Finally, as a result of Nazi sympathies, Hauptmann's works in the 1930s attest to the complete impoverishment of the writer's creativity and to his deviation from fundamental questions of social life. Only one play (Vor Sonnenuntergang, 1932), performed on the Soviet stage in 1941, shows that Hauptmann sensed in fascism an enemy of culture.

Vvedensky reminds the reader that only with the crushing defeat of Hitler's Germany did Hauptmann begin to befriend progressive circles and become a member and later president of the cultural organization of the progressive intelligentsia (Kulturbund). But this was to no avail. Citing his case as a negative model for future writers, Vvedensky warns that "the inconsistent path of this great German writer is a clear example that without ties to the life of the people, to ideas of

democracy and socialism, the creation of great art is not possible and artistic degradation inevitable."

Unique to this source, some significant statistical data appears in the first half of the article. For the first time in a Russian encyclopedic entry on Hauptmann, two dates are given following the title of his works, the first indicating the work's publication date and the second the date of its first Russian translation. Although there is no certainty that a foreign translation gauges the popularity of an author abroad, any translation, no matter the time gap since original publication, at the very least indicates qualified interest on the part of that country's literary circles. Some examples of these references (with the second date referring to the Russian transl.) are: Die Weber (1892, 1902); Hannele (1894, 1894); Vor Sonnenaufgang (1889, 1904); Das Friedensfest (1890, 1898); Der Biberpelz (1893, 1898); Fuhrmann Henschel (1898, 1898); Rosa Bernd (1903, 1903); Einsame Menschen (1891, 1899); Michael Kramer (1900, 1901); Florian Geyer (1896, 1903); and Und Pippa tanzt (1906, 1908). While one can only speculate as to why some works were translated more quickly into Russian than others, there is no doubt that a major, consolidated effort commenced around the turn of the century to make Hauptmann's works available in Russian.

The last Russian encyclopedic source to be examined in this study is the third edition of the Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia (1970), which was also published in an English translation by Macmillan in 1975. Hauptmann receives only half a page, but unlike Vvedensky's revolutionary litmus test in the second edition, he is

viewed in a positive sense. Author I. A. Bernstein even appears to go out of his way to avoid any controversy that may reflect badly on him. Gone are the references to the writer's artistic or political vacillations, bourgeois affiliation, or even Nazi sympathies. In fact, in the only passage in which the author even hints at reprimand, Bernstein writes:

In the dramas Drayman Henschel (1898), Rosa Bernd (1903), and The Rats (1914), Hauptmann criticized the mores of Germany under the kaiser and sympathized with the unfortunate. Hauptmann's works, however, revealed the limitations of Naturalism,--the absolute determinism of biological laws and the passivity of the heroes.<sup>7</sup>

So even here, it is not Hauptmann, but Naturalism that is to blame! Further review of Bernstein's commentary on Hauptmann's works supports the assessment that the German writer and his works are presented in the most favorable manner. Instead of Vvedensky's claim of Hauptmann's inability to prove the historical case of those rebelling in Florian Geyer, one finds in this source that the play is simply "based on an historical event, a sixteenth-century peasant uprising." Finally, expiating any past criticism of Hauptmann's relationship with the Nazis, Bernstein nearly elevates the German writer to hero status as he remarks that the narrative poem "The Great Dream," "testifies to Hauptmann's hostility toward Nazism."<sup>8</sup> Immediately following, the statement that Hauptmann was elected Honorary Chairman of the Kulturbund

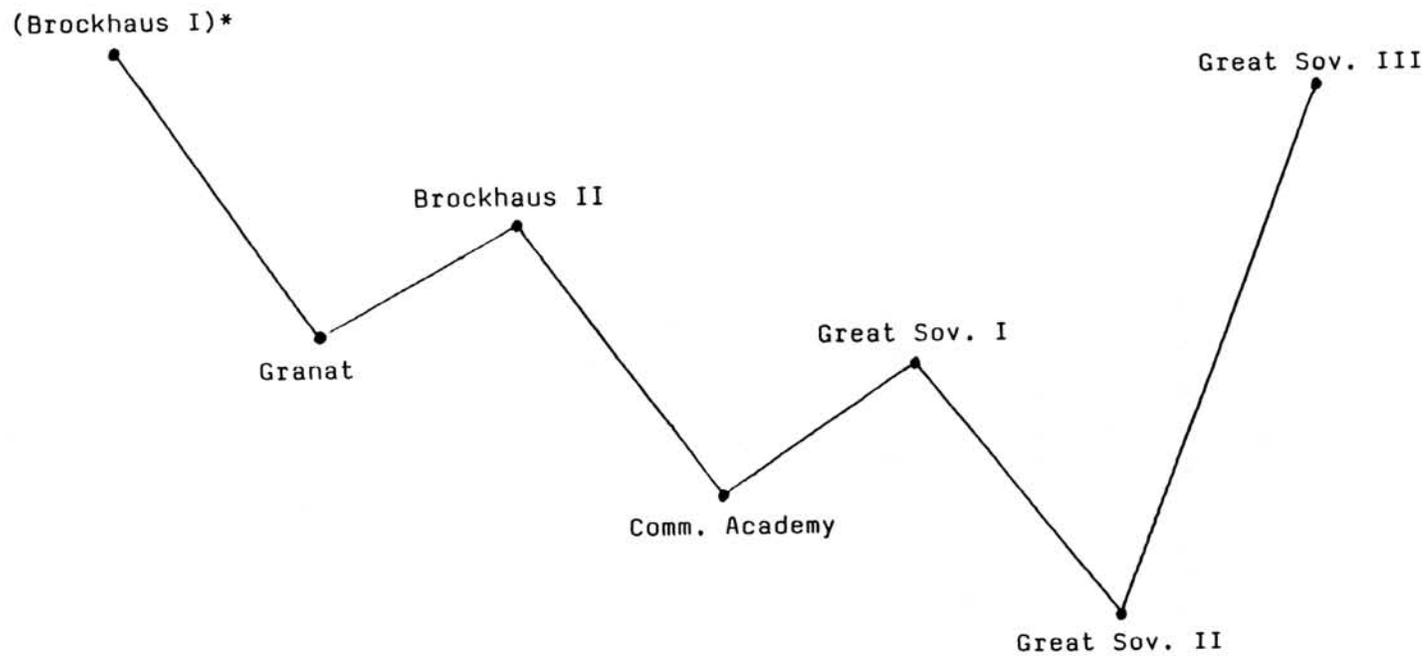
after the downfall of the Hitler regime clearly implies that the honorary post was a reward for efforts against national socialism.

That this review on Hauptmann is the most positive of the Russian encyclopedic sources since the first Brockhaus translation is undeniable. Yet, one can only theorize as to the circumstances which brought about such strong support. Closer cultural ties with the West in a continued de-Stalinized, post-Khrushchev era? Guarded favor from an author-critic of apparent Germanic descent? A periodic rise in the popularity of Hauptmann himself manifested through increased production of his dramas on the Russian stage?

A comparison of the seven encyclopedic sources reviewed in this study clearly indicates a vacillation in the reception by government-sanctioned sources of Hauptmann and his works in Russia. The chart (see following page) which graphically illustrates this relative reception by these sources should be interpreted strictly within two major parameters : 1) the points representing each encyclopedic source are fixed relatively only to the other sources, and only then in the most general assessment of the commentary per se in each article. External political or historical factors, however valid, have not been considered; 2) the lines connecting the points set for each source show trends only for these encyclopedic reviews. They do not necessarily match or reflect any literary, political, or historical vacillations concerning Hauptmann; this is why dates on a time-line abscissa have been omitted.

A brief review of the Russian criticism on Hauptmann and his works as set forth

Popularity of Hauptmann's Dramas in Russia as Reflected by Russian Encyclopedic Sources  
(Ratings based on overall interpretation by source)



\*Largely a direct German-Russian transl.

in the encyclopedic sources will serve both as a concluding summary of this section and as an explanation for the different relative values on the chart. The first Brockhaus edition is basically a Russian translation from the original German, and as such does not really reflect Russian opinion on Hauptmann (except for the government permission for publication); it is, however, the first Russian exposure to an encyclopedic source on Hauptmann and as such merits listing. The Granat source offers extended commentary on the naturalistic elements in Hauptmann's works, but views his vacillations as indecisive weakness and his ties to the petty bourgeoisie too strong for Hauptmann to overcome, therefore decidedly restrictive for any progressive literary value.

The second Brockhaus edition casts Hauptmann as a vacillating period writer, yet Hauptmann emerges as a very praiseworthy author whose best literary assets are a powerful social instinct and great sensitivity--attributes which enable him to create a wealth of the most diverse characters. This source remained the highpoint of Hauptmann's reception in Russian encyclopedic entries for the next sixty years. Whatever social instinct Hauptmann may have possessed, however, could not help him avoid an unrelenting rebuttal in the Communist Academy's edition. With the exception of an appreciative line or two acknowledging the German writer's artistic ability to create deep, realistic characters, the author of this reference source devalues Hauptmann's literary potential because of inescapable ties to the petty bourgeoisie, ties which shackled the dramatist's socialist visions and artistic vision. Yet, despite the

over-all negative reception, this clear, well-written article surpasses all others in comprehension of Hauptmann's works to this point in time.

The three editions of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia comprise not only the last three major encyclopedic sources available, but also mark the high and low points of Hauptmann's reception in Russia among all such works, excluding the initial German-Russian translation source. Published within a year of the Communist Academy's reference work, the first Great Soviet Encyclopedia reveals a much greater literary orientation than that of the politically-directed Communist Academy's. Though it regards Hauptmann as basically a guardian confined to the particular period in which he happens to be writing, this source also accords the German dramatist artistic accolades and credits his creative capacity for sensitivity and discerning insight.

Finally, the second and third editions of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia constitute, respectively, the greatest valley and peak points of Hauptmann's Russian reception as expressed by the aforementioned references. The second edition chastises him throughout for his failure to overcome his imperialistic, individualist sentiments and advance the justified, historical cause of the revolutionary proletariat. Charges of artistic degradation and implied mediocrity supplant any trace of positive recognition, resulting in Hauptmann's lowest rating of reception among all the Russian encyclopedias. On the heels of this relentless battering, however, the third edition and most recent major Russian encyclopedic source on Hauptmann ameliorates the writer's reception in Russia to its highest point to that time. Although, in several instances,

Hauptmann would seem to enjoy the benefit of omission (in terms of the scathing proletariat-oriented criticism of previous encyclopedic reviews), this source includes even some non-committal commentary concerning several of his works in the late 1930s and early 1940s and is the only Great Soviet Encyclopedia to acknowledge Hauptmann's reception of the Nobel Prize.

## Chapter Four The Post-Soviet Period

Sources on Gerhart Hauptmann's reception in Russia after 1991 are extremely scant. In an effort to help fill this void and, at the same time, provide a modicum of new research on the topic, this author traveled to Moscow in May 1995. The results from this limited, on-site research on Hauptmann's reception derive from two distinct types of investigation: 1) an analysis of the most recent material on Hauptmann found in various libraries and theaters, and 2) written responses to a survey on Hauptmann.

### Libraries

Of the five libraries visited, only two possessed sources on Hauptmann's reception in Russia which were either unlisted as yet or not available in the United States. Remarkably, several major sources on the topic published before 1987 are omitted in S. Hoefert's Internationale Bibliographie zum Werk Gerhart Hauptmanns, for example, A. Izmailov's 1908 publication of Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii Gergarta Gaupmana (Complete Collection of Works of Gerhart Hauptmann). All such sources (not listed in Hoefert) are, of course, listed in the bibliography of this work.

The two libraries in Moscow which contain a storehouse of sources on Hauptmann are the Lenin Library (as yet not renamed in the new, capitalist Russia) and the Rossiiskaia gosudarstsvennaia biblioteka po iskusstvu (Russian State Library on Art) on Pushkin Street. Still the largest library in Russia, the impressive Lenin Library has

vast holdings but has not been modernized. Computers and copiers are non-existent for library patrons, and to check out a book one must still have a library attendant fill out a hand-written slip to put in a file. These technological shortcomings probably stem from either a carryover from the Soviet period when private copiers were illegal and access to computers highly restricted, or from a general lack of funds in uncertain economic conditions, or from both. The Russian State Library on Art on Pushkin Street is quite small, only about 1,500 square feet, but contains some excellent sources on Hauptmann (see bibliography). These sources cannot be checked out and there are no photocopiers, but files on Hauptmann's plays performed in Moscow are available on request and can be reviewed in a small reading room. Curiously, requests are made by play, then, after an average waiting time of 10-15 minutes, one is handed a file (after filling out a form slip) which contains reviews, critiques, and hand-written notes on the particular Hauptmann play. Virtually all of the material is from the Soviet period, but the amount is substantial and will certainly aid any research on Hauptmann's influence in Russia.

#### A 1995 Survey

To obtain and provide more current information on Hauptmann's reception in Russia after 1991, this author assessed Hauptmann's reception for this period in a specific academic/intellectual environment--the country's leading university, Moscow

State University. Even before the research trip to Russia, it was already learned through Russian contacts that Hauptmann has long been listed, and continues to be listed, as required reading for those students with a concentration in Western literature. For purposes of evaluation, the author created, then personally distributed a literary questionnaire on Hauptmann (see Appendix B) in Moscow in May 1995. This survey in no way yields a complete assessment of current Russian opinion on Hauptmann; indeed, written responses returned from faculty and students combined numbered only twelve. But the survey does provide useful information on how a specific literary segment of the foremost Russian university appraises Hauptmann in the 1990s. With the exception of Professor V. M. Tolmachev's personal interview, no direct references to faculty or student identities are allowed, in accordance with regulations set by the University of Kansas Advisory Committee on Human Experimentation.<sup>1</sup>

Of the twelve survey respondents, three were faculty members of the Department of History of Foreign Literature, two German language specialists, and the third with a specialty in twentieth-century foreign literature. One faculty member was "not a student of Hauptmann," and was currently teaching courses which did not include Hauptmann; but the respondent liked Hauptmann's dramas and thought that although the German writer did not currently enjoy the popularity he had known in the past, Hauptmann was "more than significant" for the Russian theater in his day [turn of the century], for which he was one of its favorite authors. The professor believed Hauptmann's future place in Russian culture was difficult to predict, but that the

renaissance of certain key works (The Weavers, Before Sunset) and specific traditions of German culture (Romanticism-Symbolism: The Sunken Bell; Naturalism: Before Sunrise) would be the key to a new wave of popularity for Hauptmann in Russia. According to this professor, however, regardless of what happens with Hauptmann in the future, Hauptmann is "too eminent a literary figure to be forgotten" in Russia.

At the time the survey questionnaire was distributed, the second responding faculty member was teaching a course in contemporary German literature which included Hauptmann's Before Sunrise, The Weavers, The Sunken Bell, Drayman Henschel, and Before Sunset. Curiously, outside university obligations, this professor preferred reading Hauptmann's verse, and for him Hauptmann's drama and verse were more enjoyable than the writer's prose; it was "curiosity about the works of a great artist" which induced him to read Hauptmann. Acknowledging a "most favorable impression" from Hauptmann, the respondent wrote: "These are the works of a great master of the German language, a writer-humanist who has continued the better traditions of German literature." The reception of Hauptmann's works in Russia, however, seemed more of a practical, even political matter: "The legacy of his works has been determined by their utilization by current literary authorities (The Weavers, Before Sunset); the rest of his works have gone unclaimed." As for Hauptmann's future role in Russian culture, the respondent saw little chance of Hauptmann's becoming a [recognized] cutting-edge writer in Russia, but Hauptmann would "still hold a place of esteem."

The third faculty respondent was also a specialist in German who was teaching a course entitled Survey of Nineteenth-Twentieth Century Foreign Literature at the time of the author's visit. The objective of the course was to acquaint the students with representative foreign works of this period; the early works of Hauptmann were chosen as examples of Naturalism, and others, at least in part, of Symbolism (The Sunken Bell and other works). In preparing his survey course, however, this respondent believed all "artistically perfect" works by Hauptmann had a direct bearing on characteristics discussed in his (the respondent's) lectures on foreign literature. What attracted this person to Hauptmann's works was the individuality of the writer, who had become "one of the leading dramatists of the innovative Russian stage at the beginning of the twentieth century." The impression which Hauptmann's works made on this professor was one of "mastery, built on the precise observance of the creative principles (of Naturalism and Symbolism) which were chosen by the writers in this or that case." Endorsing Hauptmann's importance for Russian arts and letters, this respondent wrote: "Hauptmann's dramas, side by side with playwrights such as Maeterlinck and with the plays of Chekhov and M. Gorky, determined the creative aspect of the Moscow Art Theater in the first years of the twentieth century." Hauptmann's future role in Russia could be internationally significant, as the professor uniquely envisioned assessing the material of Hauptmann's works to detect ideas of typological similarity drawn from artistic cultures of various countries (for example, Hauptmann-Chekhov). Finally, this faculty member was the only respondent to

investigate graduate research on Hauptmann, reporting that in the past twenty years (1975-95) Moscow State University has produced one doctoral dissertation and two master's theses on topics concerning Gerhart Hauptmann.

The survey questionnaires designed for students were distributed during one period at the beginning of an upper-level undergraduate course on foreign literature, taught by the chairman of the department. To ensure valid responses, the strictest parameters for the survey's distribution, administration, and collection were set. The chairman distributed the questionnaires and collected them at the end of his lecture, which did not concern Gerhart Hauptmann in any way which would affect responses to the survey. The students had no prior notice of the surveys and no contact with one another during class, and did not take the questionnaires out of the lecture hall. Respondents were given ten minutes at the end of class to complete the survey forms. After the chairman collected the responses, he gave them directly to the author. Of approximately twenty students, nine returned their completed questionnaires.

Treating the student responses as a collective, one can observe that most students were at least acquainted with Hauptmann and some of his works, and some respondents even discussed certain aspects of Hauptmann's plays and/or placed his works in historical, literary context. Eight students said they knew of Hauptmann (instead of a simple "yes", one student wrote "of course"), and five of the nine had read at least one of his works. Two students had read only The Weavers, but three others had read both The Weavers and The Sunken Bell. In response to the question

of whether any works by Hauptmann were included in their academic program, seven of the nine replied affirmatively, one negatively (this student wrote: "Unfortunately, this is the first time I have heard of this writer"), and one student had no response.

To the last question on the student questionnaire (What impression did Hauptmann's works make upon you?), there were five varied answers and three no responses. The first student, perhaps considering the necessity of wider ground for a real revolution, wrote: "I liked Hauptmann's plays [The Weavers and The Sunken Bell] very much, but it's hard to imagine The Weavers on stage." The second respondent liked The Sunken Bell more than The Weavers; the symbolism in the Bell appealed to this student, but The Weavers was considered "too social" [!]. Opposing this opinion, the next student preferred The Weavers for its "many-sided approach to the theme," which the student "had seldom encountered," but this student-critic did not appreciate The Sunken Bell. Only five years before, the fourth respondent's opinion may have been held but probably would not have been expressed: "[Viewed through the forced literary restrictions] of patriotic Socialist Realism, The Weavers does not make any [positive] impression. To an unacquainted [reader] who knows the general trends of nineteenth-twentieth century [literature], the plays seems banal."

The final student-respondent seemed more familiar with the context of Hauptmann's Weavers, even made a literary comparison, and expressed an explicit, unambiguous opinion on Naturalism:

[The Weavers produced an impression of] hopelessness, a very deep sense of emptiness, [and] the senselessness of a struggle for the rights of the working class, which itself wants nothing and is ready to lick the boots of those who have slapped it in the face. The feelings one experiences from Hauptmann's plays are similar to impressions one receives from Zola's novels. If one compares [Zola's] The Terminal and The Weavers, one can see at once that the topics discussed by the workers at home are, in turn, absolutely similar: hunger, miserable wages for hard work, etc. I personally relate to Naturalism negatively. It played its role in its time . . . the great mass of readers do not need it. Let the specialist rummage around in Naturalism. (anonymous)

Apart from the survey questionnaires created by the author, a brief interview with Professor Vasilii M. Tolmachev, Chairman of the Department of History of Foreign Literature, provided additional, significant information on the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's dramas at Moscow State University. In essence, the chairman confirmed that selected works by Hauptmann had indeed been on the master's and doctoral required reading list for a long time and that these works continue to be listed in Post-Soviet Russia.<sup>2</sup> Summarizing his faculty's appraisal of Hauptmann's literary status and the German writer's significance for the department's program, Dr. Tolmachev stated that the department did not expect the students to know Hauptmann and his

works as well as [they knew] other representatives of Western literature. The chairman considered Hauptmann one of the more difficult, complex literary figures (due, in part, to Hauptmann's vacillations in literary tendencies and to the multiplicity of genres in which he wrote), and he noted that Hauptmann would be listed third or fourth on examination questions.<sup>3</sup>

#### An Update from Moscow

The purpose of the 1995 survey, while certainly valuable in its own right, was to compensate for the lack of more recently published information on Hauptmann's plays performed in the new Russia of the 1990s. Yet, in January 1997 a small amount of such information in the form of an international fax was obtained.<sup>4</sup> Sources indicate that Hauptmann's plays are indeed being staged in Russia's post-Soviet era. The popularity of Vor Sonnenuntergang apparently has continued, as this play was performed in Samara (formerly Kuibyshev) in 1991. And, curiously, it appears that Schluck und Jau under the Russian title Nochnaia misterija v znamke Randa [Nocturnal Mystery in the Castle of Rand] is experiencing somewhat of a revival, in that it was staged at Moscow's Soviet Army Theater in 1991 and also in the city of Ul'ianovsk in 1992. Further research may reveal whether this latter work was selected as a political exposé of exploitation of peasants by nobility, or for its good-natured humor stemming from social class differences in manner, dress, and verbal expression.

## Conclusion

Over a century has passed since the first Russian review of a play by Gerhart Hauptmann appeared. Vor Sonnenaufgang, which would lead the German playwright to international fame, was considered by the Russian reviewer to be in "bad taste" and even to be "lacking in artistic merit." Since that time, the fortune of Hauptmann plays in Russia has risen and fallen, depending less on the intrinsic value of the works themselves than on the receptive currents of Russian thought and culture, currents which reflect artistic beliefs, political philosophies, social tendencies, historical awareness, and cultural traditions. Which of these factors combine to such an extent that a Hauptmann play is staged more than two hundred times over eight years on a Moscow stage as recently as the 1980s?

Over such a lengthy period, fluctuations in the popularity of Hauptmann dramas in Russia are as reasonably to be expected as the vacillations in literary trends and creative output of the author himself. But, while eschewing promising generalities, one must look for specific factors and unique conditions which attract or repel playwright and critic/audience. And within this analysis, there are certain to be temporal divisions which group periods of general acceptance or rejection.

One such larger span, a period to which Albert Kipa devoted an entire work, begins with Hauptmann's international recognition and first Russian review and ends with the October Revolution of 1917. Sudden and significant political changes, indeed, historically affect and even determine major shifts in the arts, which by

themselves tend to evolve in a more gradual manner. Gerhart Hauptmann's reception in Russia, and, for that matter, even his own experiences at home are, to be sure, no exceptions, whether one cites the Russian Revolution (1917), the onset of National Socialist power (1933), or the collapse of Soviet communism (1991). Accordingly, the temporal divisions of this study take into consideration certain decisive historico-political events and are defined by the Pre-Revolutionary Period (1889-1917), the Soviet Period (1917-91), and the Post-Soviet Period (1991-to the present).

Kipa's general conclusions on Hauptmann's reception and impact in Russia up to 1917 are valid. The German writer did gain recognition in the early years (1889-1905), his plays did receive, generally speaking, a positive response (1895-1905), and thereafter they did decline in popularity (1906-17), stemming from a literary trend away from Naturalism. But the reasons for these vacillations in Russian response have more to do with literary trends and artistic circumstances than they do with the merits of Hauptmann's plays, each of which possessed its own particular aesthetic strengths or weaknesses to the eye of the Russian critic/audience (for example, the initial enthusiastic reception of Hanneles Himmelfahrt, which struck a sympathetic chord in the Russian soul). This blameless figure of Hannele, whose death, though astonishing to the audience, only serves as a heightened extension of her innocence, rekindled a spirit of humanitarianism among the Russian spectators, pleased the critics, and played to sold-out houses. But the Russian theater-goers were, at that time, receptive to plays which evoked an outpouring of emotion. When the novelty of a

play wears off, any remaining interest can only be sustained by a higher level of professional acting, and Konstantin Stanislavsky was soon to set new standards in this area.

Not to be overlooked are the elements which stimulated Hauptmann's highly creative and imaginative talent. As Vengerova, Dick, Gerstmann, and Hauptmann himself point out, the German playwright's creative soil had been prepared by his great attraction to the works of Tolstoy, Turgenev, and other Russian authors. His roots were already Slavic and could not help but flourish. Just after the turn of the century, strong artistic ties and great respect between Hauptmann and Stanislavsky, Chekhov, and later Gorky, nurtured his "Slavic soul" to an even higher, sustained degree.

Although it was Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko who selected Hauptmann's plays as part of the repertoire of the Moscow Art Theater, one cannot overestimate the decisive role which Konstantin Stanislavsky played in his successful Russian reception. Stanislavsky, more than any other Russian, could appreciate Hauptmann. Better than any single critic, who merely observes the reaction of the audience to the play, the director not only gauges the reception by the audience, whose positive response he indeed seeks, but also renders a truer, artistically superior evaluation of the work. Abundant evidence clearly demonstrates Stanislavsky's great admiration for the artistic merits of Hauptmann's plays. This Russian director was truly unique. Before Stanislavsky there were no directors in Russia, only stage managers. Hauptmann

simply could not have received any higher honor than Stanislavsky's artistic admiration.

In spite of the adverse artistic trends away from Hauptmann's early forte of naturalistic plays (though his popularity among the Russian symbolists, especially Blok, has been confirmed), it is still possible to define Hauptmann's literary contribution to the Russian theater in this first period. Hauptmann's plays Hannele, Die versunkene Glocke, Fuhrmann Henschel, Einsame Menschen and Michael Kramer, the latter four all staged by the Moscow Art Theater, gave Russia's foremost theater the benefit of artistic productions, which in itself led to a higher level of art and of professionalism.

If the first period of Hauptmann's reception in Russia was the most significant in terms of providing a base of recognition followed by artistic achievements on the highest possible level, then the second, which lasted seventy-seven years, with all its enormous upheavals in both politics and the perception of art, provided an undeniable litmus test of staying power for Hauptmann's creative talents in drama. To be sure, the esteem and command of respect which Hauptmann earned in his early years carried over strongly into the Soviet period, with admirers such as Gorky, Lenin, Lunacharsky, and others.

With very few exceptions, Die Weber and Vor Sonnenuntergang were the Hauptmann plays of choice in the Soviet Union, the first obviously chosen for what was interpreted as no less than a revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, the second

as a dire premonition of impending fascist darkness. Does a play adapted for propagandistic use lose its artistic integrity? At what point does it sacrifice its "original value?" In observing the Soviet production of Vor Sonnenuntergang in Leningrad, Hoefert found only minor alterations in the fifth act. Despite modifications in the respective Soviet renditions, one must accept the productions as valid Hauptmann plays. Moreover, all of the major elements intended by Hauptmann emerge: humanitarianism, the realities of life--greed, love, death, hope, betrayal--elements which give to Hauptmann, as to Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, the recognition of a "writer for all times," that is, one who grasps the concept of universal qualities and can convey this understanding on stage or in a book.

Soviet encyclopedic entries on Hauptmann also reflect a vacillation in how officially-designated Soviet researchers on Hauptmann perceive the writer. But the opinions of these critics do not necessarily match those in the world of Soviet theater in the same time period. Should one assume, that since a Soviet encyclopedic entry on Hauptmann is negative while a Hauptmann play is successfully running on stage and on television, that Soviet opinion on Hauptmann is inconclusive? Not really. There were many more citizens at the theaters or watching TV than reading encyclopedias. The encyclopedic entries are valid for the critics that wrote them at the time they were written.

All things considered, the Soviet period reveals a substantial number of instances of recognition for Hauptmann. He is credited as a compassionate humanist, a superb

playwright who conveys the struggles of life, a prophet who foresees the approaching horrors of fascism, a dramatist not considered an enemy (as German troops besiege a city which is simultaneously staging a play by this German writer), an important international figure to whom a conquering Russian general should send cognac, and as an esteemed artist, whose plays will never leave the Russian stage. Hauptmann's contribution to the Russian people is reflected in the continued staging of his plays and the deep respect with which they express their opinions about him.

My 1995 research trip to Moscow resulted in the discovery of sixty-six sources on Hauptmann's plays in Russia. The surveys and interview at Moscow University suggest that Hauptmann plays continue to be on the reading list of the country's foremost university, that students can discuss the writer and his works, and that the faculty, at least in the Department of the History of Foreign Literature, considers Hauptmann essential for the study of Western literature.

In summary, the reception of Gerhart Hauptmann's dramas in Russia for the past century began in 1889 with the Russian review of Vor Sonnenaufgang as performed in Germany. Though the play earned its author international recognition, Artist appears to have echoed the conservative German press's negative view of the play. Hanneles Himmelfahrt was the first play by Hauptmann to be staged in Russia (1895), performed by the troupe of the St. Petersburg Theater of the Literary Arts Circle; the play ran quite successfully, largely due to its social content, which appealed to both the progressive and reactionary factions of the intelligentsia. Important Russian critics

such as Nikolai Mikhailovsky recognized the high artistic merits of the play. Hannele, followed by Die versunkene Glocke and Michael Kramer, was the most successful of the six Hauptmann plays performed by the St. Petersburg company. By 1901, Novoe Vremia had proclaimed Hauptmann as Germany's leading dramatist.

Despite the early gains for Hauptmann's dramatic works at the St. Petersburg Theater, where there were, nevertheless, serious deficiencies in directing and stage technique, the prominence of Hauptmann's plays in Russia would have been unthinkable without the major vehicle which conveyed them, the Moscow Art Theater, without the significant artistic support from Anton Chekhov or the repertory inclinations of Nemirovich-Danchenko, and, most of all, without the inestimable talents and favor of Russia's greatest director, Konstantin Stanislavsky. The director's painstaking efforts not only toward acting technique, but also toward attention to detail (for example, his close work with an electrician to cause the play of light to enhance the depiction of apparitions in Die versunkene Glocke) transformed Hauptmann's already excellent dramatic material into incomparable stage triumphs in the early years of the twentieth century. However, approximately 1905-06 both a literary trend away from Naturalism and, more importantly, political considerations worked to the detriment of continued popularity for Hauptmann's plays. Specifically, after the "Bloody Sunday Revolt" of 1905, tensions heightened between the government and the populace, and censorship of the arts, especially drama, became a serious issue. Future plays by the German dramatist continued to be staged only by the Studios of the

Moscow Art Theater.

Following the end of World War I, Russian interest in Hauptmann's works increased significantly, as Die Weber drew considerable attention for possible use in promoting political ends. Printed copies of this play were distributed among components of the Red Army and the Soviet Fleet, and Lenin himself directed that the play be performed on Soviet stages. New editions of five other plays by Hauptmann appeared in 1918-19. Russian interest in Hauptmann's works declined noticeably in the late 1920s, largely due to the disfavor of Stalin's Commissar of Education Lunacharsky, who held great admiration for Hauptmann, but now viewed the vacillations and symbolism of the author as negative. The early 1930s saw a culmination of attention to, and publication of, Hauptmann's dramas, but a lengthy loss of interest ensued thereafter (with the exception of the perceived anti-fascist Vor Sonnenuntergang) due to political hostilities with Germany. Both the presence of ranking Soviet officers at Hauptmann's funeral and significant commemorative articles in the years that followed attest to the great respect for the German writer on the part of the Soviet Union. Excluding an extraordinary article on Herbert Engelmann, Soviet scholarship and dramatic representation by far concerned two Hauptmann plays, Die Weber and Vor Sonnenuntergang. Post-Soviet Russia continues to hold Hauptmann in high regard, as indicated by its foremost institution of higher education, Moscow State University.

The future role of Gerhart Hauptmann and his plays in post-Soviet Russia may

change, but there is no doubt that he will play a role not only as a subject for academic study, but most certainly on stage, through Vor Sonnenuntergang, whose appeal seems to be moving toward a message of humanism rather than a warning of impending fascism (though the latter use is still evident), Schluck und Jau, and other works. Gerhart Hauptmann's "Russian soul" has long been accepted and honored in a second homeland and continues to live there through his celebrated plays.

## Notes and References

### Introduction

1. See Andre von Gronicka, The Russian Image of Goethe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968) for a comprehensive overview of Goethe's impact on Russian literature of the first half of the nineteenth century. Augmented by commentary from the foremost authority on Goethe in Russian literature, V. Zhirmunsky, von Gronicka reviews reaction to Goethe by Karamzin, Glinka, Turgenev, and other Russian writers.

2. Cf. Zinaida Wengerowa, "Hauptmanns russische Seele," Gerhart Hauptmann und sein Werk, ed. Ludwig Marcuse (Berlin: Franz Schneider, 1922) 116.

3. Cf. Thomas Mann, "Chekhov," Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction, ed. Donald Davie (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago press, 1965) 216.

4. Aleksandr Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh, ed. M. A. Dudin, (Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1981), 3:66-92.

5. Blok 384.

6. Albert Kipa, Gerhart Hauptmann in Russia: 1889-1917. Reception and Impact, Hamburger Philologische Studien 31 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1974) 121. Kipa's source is an unknown critic in: "Teatral'naia khronika," Novosti Dnia, 16 Dec. 1899, p. 5.

7. Gerhard Dick, "Gerhart Hauptmann und die russische Literatur," Fremdsprachenunterricht 6 (1962): 626.

8. Dick 627; on the much-debated issue of Die Weber's political interpretation and Hauptmann's motivation for writing the play, John Osborne probably renders the Western view of this questions best: "The play . . . is dominated by characters from the lower end of the social scale who are barely able to express their problems, and have very little understanding of the forces which govern their lives. Nor is there in the play any character who claims to possess such understanding. The revolt is neither politically led nor politically inspired; Hauptmann himself insisted that it was a social drama, but not a socialist one. Such distinctions were, however, lost on the authorities in Wilhelmine Germany, and lengthy struggles were pursued through the courts before the play was finally free for public performance." (International Dictionary of Theater,

ed. Mark Hawkins-Daley, (Chicago: St. James Press, 1992), 1:883.

9. Dick 629. Dick is quoting from Tägliche Rundschau, 11 Oct. 1945. 10. Dick 629. Here Dick cites Hauptmann's Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend. Ausgewählte Prosa, (Berlin: 1956) 3:611. Another source treating Hauptmann and L. Tolstoy which specifically compares Hauptmann's Das Friedensfest with Tolstoy's The Power of Darkness is Friedrich Schutz's "Tolstoi und Hauptmann," Neue freie Presse 22 Jul. 1899.

## Chapter One

1. Sigfrid Hoefert, Gerhart Hauptmann, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1982) 7.

2. Frederick W. J. Heuser, Gerhart Hauptmann: Zu seinem Leben und Schaffen (Tubingen: Niemeyer, 1961) 177-83.

3. Strong ties between Hauptmann and Georg Büchner and some of his works are well documented (while in Switzerland, Hauptmann made several pilgrimages to Buchner's gravesite); to cite just two examples,, both structural technique (fragmented though thematically-related scenes in Büchner's Woyzeck and Hauptmann's Die Weber) and treatment of themes in comedy (Leonce und Lena, Schluck und Jau) are evident.

4. Warren Maurer, Gerhart Hauptmann (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982) 11.

5. Anotol Lunacharsky, "Gerhart Hauptmann in Russland," ed. L. Marcuse (Berlin: Franz Schneider, 1922) 110.

6. Kipa 8. Kipa's quote is from Artist 4 (1889): 213.

7. Kipa 10.

8. Hans Daiber, Gerhart Hauptmann oder der letzter Klassiker (Wien: Molden, 1971) 71-83; Daiber, whose work is especially informative on various incidents and aspects of Hauptmann's personal life, views 1893 as the year which revealed the 21-year old dramatist as a master; Die Weber had become the classical work of Early Naturalism, his most durable comedy Der Biberpelz appeared, and his Hanneles Himmelfahrt was even playing in the Königliches Schauspielhaus.

9. Kipa 15-16.
10. Kipa 27. The source is L. Shepelevich, "Gergart Gaupmann," Severnyi Vestnik 7 (Jul. 1895): 186.
11. Warren Walsh, Readings in Russian History, (Syracuse: Syracuse U Press, 1963), 2:437.
12. Inspired by Lawrence Sterne's Sentimental Journey, this work, which offered a bitter, deeply moving indictment of serfdom and somehow passed the censor in 1790, caused Empress Catherine the Great to go into an indescribable rage. See Michael Florinsky, Russia: A History and an Interpretation, (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 1:599.
13. Aleksandr S. Griboedov's Gore ot Uma (Woe from Wit), the one comedy of its period which has no romantic flavor, is perhaps the best satiric comedy of manners in Russian literature. Nikolai Gogol, considered the founder of Russian realism, is a supreme artist in satire and caricature; his character types, never well-rounded, are typically negative,--swindlers, spendthrifts, and lazy good-for-nothings. Aleksandr N. Ostrovsky, who rejected the French classical school in his forty-one prose plays, followed in Gogol's realistic tradition; he delighted the Russian public largely by portraying the middle and lower classes in Russian cities, as distinguished from the politically-favored, better educated landed aristocracy.
14. George Noyes, Masterpieces of Russian Literature (New York: Dover, 1961) 1.
15. Kipa 43. Kipa's source is the recognized authority on the Russian theater, Marc Slonim, cf. M. S. Russian Theater (New York: Collier Books, 1962) 88; the Russian playwright Ostrovsky's merit was recognized by his appointment in 1886 as co-director of the Moscow Imperial Theaters, principally the Malyy teatr and the Aleksandrinsky teatr.
16. Elena Poliakova, Stanislavsky (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982) 29.
17. Poliakova 32.
18. Poliakova 30.
19. Kipa 44.

20. Kipa 46-47.

21. Kipa 48.

22. Kipa 50. Kipa cites "Teatr i muzyka," Novoe Vremia 11 April 1895: 3.

23. Kipa 52.

24. Nikolai K. Mikhailovsky, "P'esa Gaupmana Ganele," Otkliki 1 (1904): 99. All subsequent quotes from Mihailovsky's article on Hannele will be cited from this source.

25. Kipa 61.

26. English transl. courtesy Albert Kipa (55-56), who takes his material from L. G., "Iz dnevnika zhurnalista. P'esa Gaupmana 'Ganele,'" Severnyi Vestnik 7 (May 1895): 100. Six years later the actress Ozerova would revive interest in Hannele, which had played to less enthusiasm in St. Petersburg since her absence.

27. Jean Benedetti, Stanislavsky (New York: Routledge, 1988) 331-32.

28. Kipa 70-71.

29. Kipa 73.

30. Kipa 75.

31. Kipa 84. The source is "Teatr i muzyka," Novoe Vremia 8 Dec. 1903: 4.

32. Kh, Teatr i Iskusstvo 37 (1904): 667. Also see Kipa, pp. 78-79. The commentator's description of Rose recalls the actions of the main character in Woyzeck, a nineteenth-century play by Georg Büchner, with whose works Hauptmann was well acquainted. Büchner (and Dostoevsky later) stripped off the superficial veneer of man and revealed the naked primitive, driven by society to take grave, perilous actions.

33. Teatr i Iskusstvo 37 (1904): 667.

34. Kipa 79. Cited from Iurii Beliaev, "Roza Bernd," Novoe Vremia 6 Sep. 1904: 3-4. English transl. from Beliaev courtesy A. Kipa. The critic's rejection of

Hauptmann's harsh, naturalistic content in Rose Bernd appears similar to reactions in Victorian England to the murders, crimes, and real-life depictions of Dostoevsky; some of these reverberations occurred as much as twenty years after the Russian author had written his realistic works.

35. Kipa 81.

36. Kipa 82.

37. "Provintsial'naia letopis'--Nizhnyi-Novgorod," Teatr i Iskusstvo 49 (1901): 914.

38. Ia, "Provintsial'naia letopis'--Vilna," Teatr i Iskusstvo 2 (1906): 31-32.

39. Teatr i Iskusstvo 2 (1906): 31.

40. Teatr i Iskusstvo 2 (1906): 32.

41. Dick 627.

42. Claus Just, "Stanislawski und das deutschsprachige Theater: Daten, Texte und Interpretationen bis 1940," diss., U Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1970, 4.

43. Benedetti 18. Concerning K. Alekseev's change of surname to the stage name of Stanislavsky, Poliakova (p. 5) reports that the stage name was quite commonplace in the nineteenth-century Russian theater. It might be adopted to replace an unfortunate or unglamorous surname, thereby elevating or transforming a certain image. Or, more rarely, it might permit a genteel actor to indulge incognito in what was then considered an unbecoming pursuit. Stanislavsky adopted his stage name for both reasons. His real surname was not only one of the most common in Russia, but also carried--in Moscow at least--the connotations of hereditary affluence. As a nineteenth-century commentator testified, "So very rich were the Alekseevs that their wealth became a by-word. Anyone wishing to accuse another of arrogance would say: 'Don't think you're an Alekseev.'"

44. Benedetti 27. Stanislavsky relied strongly on Fedotov's advice: "I never saw anyone in this role on stage, and I cannot even imagine how an actor would begin to play the part. Will Fedotov somehow set me on the right path? I will place myself in his hands" (Stanislavsky 132).

45. Benedetti 27.

46. The Russian term "intelligentsia" was coined by the same critic from whom Stanislavsky derived his concept of the artist, Vissarion Belinsky, who believed the contemporary artist was to present the world "in all its truth and nakedness." Benedetti accurately describes the intelligentsia as "that group of artistically, intellectually and socially-aware people who came together, irrespective of social class, to form an elite whose task it was to modernize and liberalize a stagnant and repressive society" ( p. 35).

47. Benedetti 33-37.

48. Benedetti 56. The play received positive reviews from a press which may have been more generous during the festive period of Tsar Nicholas II's coronation.

49. Stanislavsky 187.

50. Poliakova 84.

51. Poliakova 84.

52. Kipa 94. Kipa quotes from "Teatr i muzyka," Russkie Vedomosti 4 Apr. 1896: 3.

53. Stanislavsky 191.

54. Stanislavsky 191-92.

55. Poliakova 84-85.

56. Kipa 101. Nikolai Efros, who also critiqued the Society's staging of Hannele and called Stanislavsky a "great master" and "visionary" for the technical triumph in producing the apparitions, also authored a history of the Moscow Art Theater. See E. Efros, Moskovskij Khudozhestvennyi Teatr (Moscow, 1924).

57. Benedetti 55-56.

58. Poliakova 86.

59. Stanislavsky 212.

60. Stanislavsky 213.

61. Kipa 99. Kipa's source is Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, Iz proshlogo (Moskva: Akademiia, 1936) 123.

62. Kipa 100.

63. Benedetti 65.

64. Benedetti 42.

65. Benedetti 59.

66. Stanislavsky 220.

67. Benedetti 63.

68. Poliakova 96.

69. Benedetti 63-64. The passage from which Benedetti takes her citation from Nemirovich is found in: V. Nemirovich-Danchenko, Izbrannye pis'ma (Moskva, 1979), 1:120.

70. Stanislavsky 227.

71. Stanislavsky 229.

72. Benedetti 43.

73. Nemirovich and Chekhov used the familiar second person singular form of address in a way that Stanislavsky and Nemirovich never did in forty years of collaboration (Benedetti 73).

74. Kipa 103. The author here adds his comments to sources from Stanislavsky and Efros.

75. Kipa 104-05.

76. Kipa 108.

77. Poliakova 106.

78. Kipa 112.

79. Benedetti 81. Also, see Nikolai Riasanovsky's A History of Russia (New York: Oxford, 1969) 433-38 for an account of the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church, which promoted the aims of the tsarist regime.

80. Benedetti 88. Benedetti cites Novosti Dnia 1 Mar. 1899.

81. Poliakova 112-13.

82. Benedetti 89.

83. Kipa 113-14. Engl. transl. courtesy A. Kipa, who is translating from Gergart Gaupman, P'esy (Moskva, 1959), 2:561.

84. Kipa 114.

85. A. Kugel, "Zametki o moskovskom khudozhestvennom teatre," Zhizn' 4 (1901): 345-46. Kugel, however, was in no way entirely positive in criticism of this play and had previously cited flaws in its production, especially miscast roles which exhibited traits out of character.

86. V[ladimir] Posse, "Moskovskii khudozhestvennyi teatr," Zhizn' 4 (1901): 345-46.

87. Poliakova 113-14. Benedetti reports that Lenin's endorsement of the theater's policy and his approval of its artistic practice were later to assure the company's survival (Benedetti 98).

88. Poliakova 116.

89. Kipa 117.

90. Kipa 115. Kipa's source is "Teatr i muzyka," Russkie Vedomosti 6 Oct 1899: 3. The article also acknowledges the great success of the actors who interpreted their individual roles. This opinion anticipates the strategy of Stanislavsky and Nemirovich to enhance the performance of the actors through utilizing all the actors' personal qualities to blend into the roles they were to play in Einsame Menschen; Luzhsky's serene sense of humor, Meyerhold's subtly intellectual nature, Lilina's lyrical tenderness, and Knipper's irrepressible spirit of enthusiasm. These actors were certainly no puppets on strings. See E. Poliakova, Stanislavsky, p. 113.

91. Benedetti 98.

92. Benedetti 98. Poliakova offers further information on the theater's concept of the particular significance of Einsame Menschen for Chekhov's approach, stating: "Stanislavsky treated this Hauptmann play in Chekhovian style, as a sequel to The Seagull, giving it the same combination of pedestrian fact and captivating lyricism (Poliakova 120).

93. Maxim Gorki and Frau Andreewa, "Das Tschechow-Hauptmann Moskauer Kunstlertheater. Ein Gespräch," Gerhart Hauptmann und sein Werk, ed. Ludwig Marcuse (Berlin: Franz Schneider, 1922): 108. Subsequent references to this article will be cited as Marcuse (ed.).

94. Kipa 122-23.

95. Constantin Stanislavsky, My Life in Art (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1924) 367. In fact, the tour to the south was arranged for the benefit of Chekhov, whose health did not allow him to travel to Moscow to see his Vania; the company performed four plays on this tour, including Vania and Einsame Menschen. While in the south, Stanislavsky became acquainted with Sergei Rachmaninov and Maxim Gorky (A. Peshkov).

96. C. Stanislavsky 376. Elaborating on this urban intellectual rivalry, Stanislavsky adds: "The new capital [St. Petersburg] considered Moscow to be a provincial town and itself one of the cultural centers of Europe. Everything from Moscow was a failure in St. Petersburg and vice versa. The Moscovites lost little love of the bureaucrats of Petrograd with their formalism and cold affectedness. They lost no love of the city of Petrograd itself, with its fogs, its short and gloomy days, its long winters, and its white summer nights."

97. C. Stanislavsky 330. Owing to the great success of the first tour to St. Petersburg, the Art Theater established close ties to this city, and each year at the end of the season in Moscow, the company would go to the northern capital at Easter or Lent. Both private and imperial theater doors were open; the popularity of the theater's seasons in St. Petersburg grew to such an extent that tickets sold out long in advance. Crowds lined up for days and nights, warming themselves by bonfires while waiting to buy tickets.

98. A. Kugel, "Zametki o moskovskom khudozhestvennom teatre," Teatr i Iskusstvo 10 (1901): 207. Subsequent references to this author in this and other journal numbers of the same title will be by author, number, year, and page.

99. Kugel 10 (1901): 208.

100. Kugel 9 (1901): 186.

101. Posse 345-46.

102. P. Iartsev, "Iskusstvo budnei" (Art of the Humdrum Life), Teatr i Iskusstvo 14 (1901): 284.

103. Poliakova 119-20.

104. Stanislavsky's aforementioned kind words about the majority of the St. Petersburg press were not shared by Chekhov. Actress Knipper, Chekhov's future wife, had been criticized for lack of individual talent. Benedetti notes: "In response to an upset Knipper, Chekhov replied that he had never expected anything but muck from the St. Petersburg press. Only Chekhov and Stanislavsky emerged unscathed. The most grudging critics had to admit their overwhelming talent. By the end of the tour, Stanislavsky was hailed as Russia's greatest actor (Benedetti 110). Stanislavsky had directed both Fuhrmann Henschel and Einsame Menschen on the St. Petersburg tour, and would play the leading role in Michael Kramer that fall.

105. Benedetti 111.

106. Benedetti 112.

107. Poliakova 120.

108. Kipa 152.

109. Kipa 153. He is quoting from "Teatr i muzyka," Russkie Vedomosti 29 Oct. 1901: 2.

110. P. Iartsev, "Moskovskie pis'ma," Teatr i Iskusstvo [vol. unknown] No. 45 (1901): 813-14.

111. Poliakova 121.

112. Maurer 95.

113. Poliakova 121.

114. Poliakova 155.

115. Poliakova 166. Concerning Chekhov's death, Stanislavsky in My Life in Art comments: "Anton Chekhov's light was dying, it was clear that he was not fated to remain long in our midst, and that the new play of which he was dreaming would not see the footlights. More and more often he would repeat: 'I have written a great deal already, a whole library, in fact. I am not a dramatist. Hauptmann is a dramatist, and Naidenov'" (425).

116. C. Stanislavsky 437.

117. Benedetti 140.

118. Benedetti 140.

119. Poliakova 170.

120. Poliakova 172.

121. Poliakova 176.

122. Benedetti 151.

123. Stanislavsky 327.

124. Benedetti 153.

125. C. Stanislavsky 447-49. On Hauptman's reaction to the Art Theater's production of Chekhov's Uncle Vania Poliakova adds: "Hauptmann bawled like a baby and sat with a hanky, and sat with a hanky to his eyes through the whole last act. During the intermission he (that notorious recluse) rushed demonstratively into the foyer and shouted so everyone could hear, 'No theater has ever moved me like this. Those are not people on stage,--they're artistic divinities. Impressive, [or] what?' (181).

126. Kipa 163-64.

127. This information and the following comments on Bok's Theater are based on material from A. Kipa, 164-238.

128. Kipa 252-53.

129. C. Stanislavsky 329-30.

## Chapter Two

1. Sigfrid Hoefert, "Die slawischen Übersetzungen der Werke Gerhart Hauptmanns. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Wirkung in Osteuropa," Studia Historica Slavico-Germanica, Poznan 8 (1979): 104-06. Though of secondary importance to the specific purpose of this study concerning Hauptmann's dramas in Russia, Hoefert reports another highpoint of the German writer's effect in the Soviet Union: In the early 1920s, translations of several of his prose works appeared (Der Ketzer von Soana, Phantom, Die Insel der Grossen Mutter). The publication of these works confirmed that Russia was still receptive to new works by Hauptmann, and, as in tsarist times, just after their original appearance, these works were translated into Russian (p. 106). Except for the following two footnotes, subsequent references to this work by Hoefert will be by page number.

2. Hoefert 111. Citing a Latvian source, Hoefert also observes an unusual occurrence, as a high-quality White Russian translation of Die versunkene Glocke appeared in occupied Soviet territory in 1943. Translated by Natalia Areneva-Kushell, it is not known whether the translation actually went to press, but the play was performed in occupied Minsk.

3. Hoefert 112-13. While Hoefert's comments on Russian publications of Hauptmann's works are of greater importance for this study, his article also offers some interesting comparisons concerning the reception of Hauptmann by Slavic-speaking countries in general. For instance, while Russian translations of Hauptmann far outnumber those in any other Slavic language, Czech interest in Hauptmann (as measured by publication) in the later fifties was even greater than in Russia. Also of note, West and South Slavic countries appear to prefer Hauptmann's prose, whereas Russia has always placed his drama in the forefront. See Appendix C for Hoefert's comprehensive list of Russian translations/publications of Hauptmann's plays.

4. Iurii Sobolev, "Hauptmann und Stanislawski," Berliner Börsen-Courier 15 Nov. 1932.

5. Günther Gerstmann, "Gerhart Hauptmann und die Sowjetunion," Die neue Gesellschaft 5 (1963): 853. This source also contains significant material on the history of the relationship between Hauptmann and Gorky.

6. Benedetti 209.

7. Benedetti 210.
8. Mihail Ostrovsky, "Hauptmann auf unseren Bühnen," Die Sowjetunion heute (Bonn) 8-2 (1963): 23.
9. Grigori Weiss, "Lenin und Hauptmanns 'Weber,'" Die Weltbühne 27 (7 Nov. 1972): 1417-20. Subsequent references to this source are indicated by page number.
10. Sobolev (pagination unknown).
11. Martin Banham, The Cambridge Guide to Theater (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995): 762.
12. Edward Czerwinski, Theater Companies of the World, eds. Colby W. Kullman and William C. Young (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986): 285.
13. Riasanovsky 542.
14. "Maxim Gorki für das hungernde Russland. Ein Notruf an Gerhart Hauptmann," Vossische Zeitung 18 Jul. 1921: 1.
15. Ostrovsky 23.
16. Banham 763.
17. N. Zornaia and G. Zorina, "Vakhtangovtsy i 'vakhtangovskoe,'" Teatr 9 (1957): 98.
18. Lunacharsky 111.
19. Lunacharsky 112.
20. Lunacharsky 114.
21. Marcuse, ed., 108-09.
22. Vengerova 121-22. The author adds that only Dostoevsky sensed the interflow and blend of elements of heaven and hell in the human soul as beauty and mystery, and as such held sacred.
23. Andrew MacAndrew, ed., 20th Century Russian Drama (New York: Bantam,

1963) 13. Statistics and other pertinent information on the early history of the Soviet theater are taken from this source.

24. MacAndrew 12.

25. "Hauptmann spricht," Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger 10 Oct. 1930. Hauptmann's radio interview concerned his personal impressions of the stagings of his works in Germany.

26. Banham 763.

27. Maurer 118.

28. Iu. Iuzovsky, "Pered zakhodom solntsa," Teatr 4 (1954): 171.

29. Maurer 118. Maurer is quoting from C. F. Behl's Zwiesprache mit Gerhart Hauptmann: Tagebuchblätter (Munich: Desch, 1949) 25.

30. Herwarth Walden, "Der letzte Haupt--Mann," Das Wort (Moskau) 7 (1938): 155.

31. Walden 155.

32. V. R., "Der Hauptmann griff zur Exekution," Das Wort 1 (1938): 155-56.

33. Franz Leschnitzer, "Sechs Akrosticha," Das Wort 5 (1938): 142. Only the first four lines of the first stanza are presented here.

34. Evg[enii] Gakkel', "Pered zachodom solntsa" (Before Sunset), Rabochie i Teatr 11 (1940): 23. Subsequent references to this article are by page number.

35. F. Nikitin, "Sushkevich-Klauzen," Iskusstvo i Zhizn' 11 (1940): 27.

36. Nikitin 27.

37. Nikitin 29.

38. "Hauptmann-Aufführung in Moskau," Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung 5 Feb. 1941.

39. I. Berezark, "Egor Bulychev i Mattias Klauzen," Literaturnyi Sovremennik

(Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaia literatura: 1941), 3:149-53.

40. Berezark 151.

41. Berezark 152.

42. Berezark 153.

43. Gerstmann 854.

44. Ostrovsky 22.

45. Ostrovsky 22.

46. Ostrovsky 22.

47. Nikolai Stor, "Umolknuvshyi kolokol," Ogonek (1976) 14: 18-19.

48. Gerstmann 854. Hauptmann received food from the Soviet military authority, and General Rokossovsky sent the heart-weakened writer twenty bottles of the best Caucasian cognac for comfort. See Dick, 631.

49. Ostrovsky 23.

50. Gerstmann 854.

51. The explosion of new plays for Soviet repertoires strongly indicates either a change of official policy (more than likely linked to Stalin's death) concerning permitted Soviet repertoires or, at least, a circumstance perceived by Soviet artists as less restrictive for theatrical productions. Indeed, a period known as "The Thaw" (1954-56) was the training period for a new generation of directors, including Nemirovich-Danchenko's former student and Sovremennik Theater head Oleg Efremov, who in 1972 reluctantly became the Moscow Art Theater's new artistic director. As founder of the Sovremennik Theater (1958), the Soviet theater of the 1960's, Efremov and his young company had tried to speak for and to their generation via new drama and styles. Efremov appears to have guided the Chekhov Moscow Art Theater more successfully than actress Tatiana Doronina has led the Gorky MAT, the original theater's rival subdivision. See Banham 763.

52. Zorkaia 104. It is also noteworthy that an East German delegation, touring Moscow in 1954, attended a performance of Vor Sonnenaufgang at this same

Vakhtangov Theater. In reply to a member of the group who asked why this play by Hauptmann was being staged there, the answer was that the humanistic content appealed to the Russians. See Ilse Weintraud, "Moskau spielt Gerhart Hauptmann," Tägliche Rundschau 155 (1954).

53. Zorkaia 116. The authors also give a brief history of the Vakhtangov theater and indicate that it faced serious challenges (which are not specified): "The Vakhtangov element" in the Vakhtangov theater was developed over a protracted period and in a complex manner. Having sprung from the rich soil of the creative views of Evgenii Vakhtangov, it has endured 35 years [to 1957], crystalized in tradition. But this tradition has not become dated. Vakhtangov himself protected the theater form this, having persistently implanted in his students the valuable sense of contemporaneity. Vakhtangov saw the aesthetic expression of contemporaneity in the organic blending of truth of life and precise theatricality. Without this synthesis the "Vakhtangov element" dies. Therefore the Vakhtangov theater simply struck non-distinction ["featurelessness"] and dullness with the greatest force. The theater survived bad times, when it bashfully hid its face. These times should not be repeated. The theater earned the right to be its very self, because the mighty arsenal of diverse Soviet art needs this Vakhtangov weapon" (117).

54. T. Sil'man, "Gergart Gaupman. K 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia." Inostrannaia Literatura 11 (1962): 268.

55. Sil'man 269.

56. Sil'man 269.

57. Sil'man 269.

58. I. Bliumberg, "Neizvestnaia p'esa Gaupmana." Teatr 1 (1970): 159-64. Subsequent references to this article are by page number.

59. Sigfrid Hoefert, "Einige Bemerkungen zu einer Leningrader Aufführung von Hauptmanns 'Vor Sonnenuntergang,'" Schlesien 18-3 (1973): 160-62.

60. "Malyi teatr v Ufe," Vecherniaia Ufa 21 Apr. 1977.

61. "Dolgaia zhizn' spektaklia," Vecherniaia Moskva 3 Dec. 1980.

62. "Pered zakhodom solntsa," Vecherniaia Moskva 19 Sept. 1981.

63. "Pered zakhodom solntsa," Vecherniaia Moskva 2 Nov. 1987.

64. "Pered zakhodom solntsa," Vecherniaia Moskva 5 Nov. 1987.

65. D. Riasanov, "Gerhart Hauptmann--ein Dichter, der Russland nahestand," Die Sowjetunion heute 4 (1959): 20-21. Another source on the West German film version of Die Ratten implies that the film is well-made and a possible danger to Soviet audiences: "When we discuss the bourgeois film industry, more often than not, frankly, we cite the primitive gangster movies. With Krysy (The Rats) the matter is more complex. Here we have a work made by talented people, and because of this the film makes a greater impression than the ganster films. But this influence is pernicious, this is the influence of bourgeois artists, and it follows that one should keep this in mind." See Iu. Dmitriev, " 'Tendentsioznost' osobogo roda," Iskusstvo Kino 12 (1957): 78-81.

### Chapter Three

1. Petr Kogan, "Gauptman, Gergart," Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia, ed. K. Arsenev, vol. 12 (St. Peterburg: Brokgauz, 1911).

2. I. Ansimov, "Gauptman, Gergart," Literaturnaia entsiklopediia, ed. I. M. Bupalov, vol. 2 (Moskva: Izd-vo kommunisticheskoi akademii, 1929).

3. P. Kogan, "Gauptman, Gergart," Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia, ed. N. I. Bukharin, vol 14 (Moskva: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1929).

4. Kogan 272.

5. Kogan 272.

6. "Gauptman, Gergart," Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia, ed. B. A. Vvedensky, vol. 10 (Moskva: Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1952).

7. I. A. Bernshtein, "Hauptmann, Gerhart," [The] Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd ed. (1970), chief ed. A. M. Prokhorov, vol. 6, (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1970).

8. Bernshtein 541.

#### Chapter 4

1. In compliance with regulations set by the University of Kansas Advisory Committee on Human Experimentation (ACHE), all survey responses were anonymous, voluntary, and without material compensation, and survey results have been sent to the reporting institution (Moscow State University).

2. As may easily be assumed from the student responses, the two Hauptmann works on the current reading list are The Sunken Bell and The Weavers. The list of works by Hauptmann had varied, but the chairman did not recall the specifics of these reading list changes.

3. V. M. Tolmachev, personal interview, 11 May 1995.

4. Iusuf Mamedov, fax to the author. Inna Vladimirovna, Kandidat iskusstvovedeniia, Bibliograficheskii otdel tsentral'noi biblioteki Rossii, 14 Jan. 1997.

APPENDIX A

PRODUCTIONS DIRECTED OR SUPERVISED AND ROLES PLAYED BY  
K. STANISLAVSKY AT THE SOCIETY OF ART AND LITERATURE AND  
THE MOSCOW ART THEATER: 1898-1901 (J.Benedetti, op. cit.)

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Year and Date	Productions Directed or Supervised	Role
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THE SOCIETY OF ART AND LITERATURE

1896

April 2            The Assumption of Hannele

1898

January 28        The Sunken Bell                    Heinrich

(APPENDIX A)

THE MOSCOW ART THEATER

October 19	The Sunken Bell	Heinrich
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1899

October 5	Drayman Henschel	
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December 16	Lonely People	
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1901

October 27	Michael Kramer	Kramer
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## APPENDIX B

### SURVEY FORMS DISTRIBUTED TO SELECTED FACULTY AND STUDENTS AT MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY (Spring, 1995)

#### I. For Faculty:

##### Literary Questionnaire

1. University, Department
2. Surname, First Name, Patronymic (unreported, only for author's use)
3. Specialization, Position
4. Which courses are you teaching this semester?
5. Do any of these courses include the German writer Gerhart Hauptmann?  
If so, which courses and which works by Hauptmann?
6. How many master's theses and doctoral dissertations have been written on Gerhart Hauptmann in the last twenty years?
7. Which works by Hauptmann not tied directly to your work have you read?
8. What induced you to read these works?
9. What impression did they make upon you?

(APPENDIX B)

II. For students:

Undergraduate/Graduate Student Questionnaire

1. Are you familiar with the German writer Gerhart Hauptmann?
2. Have you read any of his works?
3. If so, which ones?
4. Have these works been part of the academic curriculum?
5. What impression did these works make upon you?

## APPENDIX C

### RUSSIAN TRANSLATIONS/PUBLICATIONS OF HAUPTMANN'S DRAMAS (S. Hoefert, op. cit.)

#### General Works and Publications

1. Dramaticheskiia sochineniia. Perevod pod redaktsiei i s predisloviem K. Bal'monta. Moskva: izd. Knizhnago Magazina „Trud" 1900. xiii+452 pp. The volume also contains: Gannele [Hanneles Himmelfahrt], Izvozhchik Genshel' [Fuhrmann Henschel], Odinokie [Einsame Menschen], Prazdnik primireniia [Das Friedensfest], Potonuvshii kolokol [Die versunkene Glocke].
2. Sobranie sochinenii. Perevod pod redaktsiei K. Bal'mont. T 1-2. Moskva: Izd S. Skirmunta 1902. xiii+441, 555 pp. Vol. 1 contains the following works: Gannele [Hanneles Himmelfahrt], Izvozhchik Genshel' [Fuhrmann Henschel], Odinokie [Einsame Menschen], Prazdnik primireniia [Das Friedensfest], Potonuvshii kolokol [Die versunkene Glocke].  
Vol. 2 contains: Kollega Krampton, Michael' Kramer, Pered voskhodom solntsa [Vor Sonnenaufgang], Shluk i Jau [Schluck und Jau], Bobrovaia shuba [Der Biberpelz], Zheleznodorozhnyi storozh Til' [Bahnwärter Thiel], Apostol [Der Apostel], Tkachi [Die Weber]. Izd. 2-e, Moskva: Izd. S. Skirmunta 1903. xviii+441, 599 pp. Izd. 3-e, Moskva: Izd. S. Skirmunta 1908. XXII+439, 469 pp.
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 Vol. 2 contains: Prazdnik mira [Das Friedensfest], Odinokie [Einsame Menschen], Kollega Krampton, Michael' Kramer, Gannele [Hanneles Himmelfahrt], Potonuvshii kolokol [Die versunkene Glocke], Bednyi Genrikh [Der arme Heinrich].  
 Vol. 3 contains: Florian Geier, Zalozhnitsa Karla Velikago [Kaiser Karls Geisel], El'ga, Shluk i Jau [Schluck und Jau], A Pippa pliashet [Und Pippa tanzt!], Devy iz Bishofsberga [Die Jungfern vom Bischofsberg], Gelios [Helios], Pastusheskaia pesn' [Das Hirtenlied] and an afterword from the writer.
  
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9. Izbrannye dramy [Selected Plays]. Red. i kommentarii D. O. Gorbova. Moskva, Leningrad: Gos. Izd-vo "Krasnyi proletarii" 1930. 322 pp. (Russian and world classics. Under the general editorship of A. V. Lunacharsky and N. K. Piksyanov).
10. P'esy. Perevod s nemetskago. T 1-2. Moskva: Gos.Izd-vo "Iskusstvo" 1959. 575, 525 pp. This edition is provided with an introductory essay by A. Dymshits and with remarks by A. Levinton.  
Vol. 1 contains the following works: Pered voskhodom solntsa [Vor Sonnenaufgang], Odinokie [Einsame Menschen], Tkachi [Die Weber], Bobrovaia shuba [Der Biberpelz], Potonuvshii kolokol [Die versunkene Glocke], El'ga.  
Vol. 2 contains: Vozchik Genshel' [Fuhrmann Henschel], Michael' Kramer, Roza Bernd, Magnus Garbe, Doroteia Angerman, Pered zachodom solntsa [Vor Sonnenuntergang]. The quality of translation of some of these plays, particularly G. Snimitskova's work on Vor Sonnenaufgang, drew sharp criticism from N. Vil'mont ("Gaupman i ego perevodchiki," Inostannaia Literatura 9 (Sept. 1960: 268-70), who cited instances of poor or questionable translations and who hoped the publishing house "Iskusstvo" would "learn a needed lesson from the unparalleled case of the two-volume work on Hauptmann." (270)

#### Editions With Two Works:

11. Bobrovaia shuba [Der Biberpelz]. Komediia v 4-kh deisviiakh. - Krasnyi petukh [Der rote Hahn]. Komediia v 4-kh deistviiakh. Perevod s nemetskago Emanuila. S.-Peterburg: Gershunin 1902. 70, 68 pp. A new edition appeared in 1912 (Obshcheobrazovatel'naia Biblioteka).

Separate Editions (Original and Non-original works):

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13. Ganna [Hanneles Himmelfahrt]. Dramaticheskaia fantaziia v dvukh kartinakh. Perevod s nemetskago Grafini E. V. Tizengauzen. S.-Peterburg: Tipografiia M. Paikina i I. Fleitmana 1898. 74 pp.
14. Gannele. Izd. konfetn. f-ki Vasil'eva. 1904. 56 pp. No further details on this edition.
15. Gannele. (Mrak i svet). Fantasticheskoe predstavlenie, perez. i dlia russ. stseny priposoblennoe S. Mel'nikovym. Moskva: Sokolova 1905. 36 pp.
16. Gannele. Dramaticheskoe videnie v dvukh chastiakh. Perevod Iu. Baltrushaitisa. Moskva: Pol'za 1911. 60pp.  
Izd. 3-e, Moskva: Universal'naia Biblioteka [1918]. 59pp. (Universal'naia Biblioteka, Nr. 338).
17. Odinokie liudi [Einsame Menschen]. Drama v piati deistviiakh. In; Severnyi Vestnik (S.-Pb.), 1895, Nr. 7, pp. 192-261.
18. Odinokie [Einsame Menschen]. Drama v piati deistviiakh. Perevod N. Efrosa. Moskva: Izd. S. Razsochina 1899. 129 pp. (Stsena, vypusk 13).
19. Odinokie liudi. Drama v piati deistviiakh. Perevod O. N. Popovoi. S.-Peterburg. Popova 1899. 132 pp.  
Izd. 2-e, S-peterburg: Popova 1902. 131 pp.
20. Odinokie liudi. Drama v piati deistviiakh. Perevod L. i P. Teplovych. Moskva: Pol'za, V. Antik i Ko [1907]. 114 pp.  
Izd. 2-e, Moskva: Pol'za 1909. 112 pp. (Universal'naia Biblioteka, Nr. 25).  
Izd. 3-e, Moskva: Universal'naia Biblioteka [1915]. 112 pp.
21. Tkachi [Die Weber]. Drama v piati deistviiakh. Perevod s nemetskago. Izdanie - - - Tipografiia - - - 1895. 94 pp.  
The omitted words after "Izdanie" should read: " - - - gruppy narodovol'tsev". This is a case of an illegal Petersburg edition which was translated by P. Kudelli.

22. --- . Drama v piati deistviiakh. Perevod s nemetskago. Moskva 1895. 25, 30, 34, 34, 37 pp. On the copy presented here there is the remark "tsensuroi ne dozvoleno". This is an illegal Moscow edition which was translated by Lenin's sister.
23. --- . Drama v piati deitsviiakh. Perevod s nemetskago. Izdanie sotsialdemokraticheskoi organizatsii "Zhizn". Zheneva: Tip. "Zhizni" 1902. 96 pp. (Biblioteka Zhizni, Nr. 1).  
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24. --- . Drama iz 40-kh godov. Perevod s nemetskago L. K. [Larisa Kosach-Lesia]. Rostov n/D: "Donskaia rech'" 1905. 96 pp.
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This same edition appeared simultaneously by the publisher "Zemlia" in Petrograd.
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