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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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DON JUAN IN SLAVIC DRAMA

by Robert Karpiak

Thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Ph.D. in Slavic Studies

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Ottawa, Canada, 1977

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Robert I. Karpiak was born August 14, 1942 in Berlin, Germany. He received a B.A. (Honours) degree in Russian and French in 1965 and an M.A. degree in Slavic Studies in 1967, both from the University of Manitoba. The topic of his M.A. thesis was "Ivan Turgenev and Maria Markovich: A Study of Their Relations."

INTRODUCTION

The foundations of Don Juan studies appear to have been laid more than three hundred years ago when an anonymous French critic pointed out the Spanish origins of Molière's Le Festin de pierre.¹ Since then, interest in Don Juan has evolved into a recognized field of scholarly inquiry devoted to a universal theme which continues to offer the student of literature a wealth of material for research and publication. The body of critical writing on the Don Juan subject now comprises thousands of items and its further expansion appears imminent.² Nevertheless, despite this prodigious accretion of studies on the theme in a world perspective, one will search in vain for a comprehensive elucidation of the heritage of Don Juan in the Slavic literatures. And yet, it would be difficult to imagine that the Don Juan tradition, which attained such popularity in Western Europe, would not have made an impact on the literature of the Slavs. Indeed, the thematic po-

¹"Lettre sur les observations d'une comédie du sieur Molière, intitulée le Festin de pierre" (1665). See G. Gendarme de Bévoite, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), p. 20.

²According to latest statistics, versions and criticism on the Don Juan theme stand numerically as follows: versions -- 2,355; studies on individual versions -- 3,185; general studies -- 685. See Armand E. Singer, "Fourth Supplement to 'The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (1965)'," West Virginia University Philological Papers, XXII (December 1975), p. 70.

tential of the donjuanesque myth has not only engendered numerous versions in a wide variety of genres, but has also inspired the creation of several distinguished classics of Slavic belles-lettres. It is timely, therefore, at the current stage in the development of Don Juan studies, to direct some long due attention to this problem of Slavistics and comparative literature.

The Problem

It has not yet been ascertained precisely how, when, and where the theme of Don Juan first crossed the boundaries of Slavdom in the course of its triumphant sweep through the literatures of Europe. It is possible, however, that this occurred as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.³ What we do know for certain is that by the beginning of the eighteenth century translations of Franco-Italian Don Juan plays were being staged by foreign

³It is known that various plays of the Italian commedia dell'arte were frequently presented in Polish court theatres during the reign of Wladislaw IV (1632-48). As the Don Juan theme had been appropriated by Italian theatrical troupes before the middle of the seventeenth century, it is possible that the highly popular subject of the Spanish seducer became part of the repertoire in Poland. See V.V. Vitt et al. (eds.), Istoriia pol'skoi literatury (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 1968), Vol. I, p. 93.

and domestic troupes in theatres of Russia and, very probably, of Poland.⁴ Thus, for more than a hundred years before Slavic poets and playwrights undertook to adapt the legend of Don Juan to indigenous creative writing, the tradition of Tirso de Molina's prototypal El Burlador de Sevilla was effectively maintained in works of drama, opera, and ballet of foreign provenance.

Pending the discovery of anterior versions, it appears that original Slavic creativity on the Don Juan theme begins in the first half of the nineteenth century with the Russian drama Kamennyi gost' (1830) of A.S. Pushkin. Since then, the donjuanesque tradition continues in the literature of the Slavic nations unto the present day. Bibliographical research undertaken for this study has shown that Don Juan is now represented in five Slavic languages: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, and Croatian, and is reflected in virtually every major genre of modern literature. Nevertheless, despite 150 years of cumulation, the Slavic repertoire of Don Juan is to date little explored. Symptomatic of this neglect is the fact that the incidence of the Don Juan theme in various facets of Slavic artistic creativity -- literature, music, cinema, choreography, and other art forms -- remains both qualitatively and quanti-

⁴See Jack Weiner, Mantillas in Muscovy: The Spanish Golden Age Theater in Tsarist Russia 1672-1917 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1970), p. 12.

x

tatively under-rated.⁵ Despite the allegation of certain critics that the Slavic literary climate is not favourable to Don Juan,⁶ there appears to be no shortage of works deserving of thematic and artistic investigation. Recent bibliographical research has disclosed that from Aleksandr Pushkin's "little tragedy," Kamennyi gost', of 1830 to Aleksandr Guidoni's "novel in verse," Don Zhuan, of 1976 the Slavic repertory of Don Juan versions comprises between twenty-five and fifty works, depending upon the criteria

⁵A case in point is the perpetuation of a basic misconception regarding Don Juan in Russia. Margaret Dalton, in her commentary on A.K. Tolstoi's Don Zhuan, writes that "Tolstoy created one of the few Russian versions of Don Juan . . . the other two [sic] being Pushkin's 'Kamennyi gost'' and N. Gumilev's 'Don Zhuan v Egipte'." Margaret Dalton, A.K. Tolstoy (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 128 and n. 2.

Leo Weinstein, in a popular contemporary monograph on the Don Juan subject, lists four literary and five musical Russian versions. See Leo Weinstein, "Catalogue of Don Juan Versions," in The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 187-214.

Contrary to these minimizations perpetuated by Slavists and Don Juan specialists alike, there are in fact more than thirty Russian Don Juan versions -- at least twenty in literature, the remainder in music, ballet, cinema, etc.

⁶André Meynieux, "Pouchkine et Don Juan," La Table Ronde, No. 115 (November 1957), p. 99. While it is true that Meynieux refers only to Russia's "inhospitality" to Don Juan, it is precisely Russian literature that provides the greatest number of Slavic versions of the theme.

applied in the definition of a "Don Juan version."⁷

Although some renditions of the theme which have attained the status of literary classics now enjoy considerable critical commentary, by far the large proportion of Slavic Don Juan versions remains unstudied. This lack of investigation is all the more acutely felt in the face of an ever increasing interest in the Don Juan theme, as evidenced in the growing rate of scholarly publications, dissertations, of conferences and symposia, and even university courses devoted to Don Juan.⁸

Among the principal causes of the Slavic "vacuum" in Don Juan studies is undoubtedly the problem of language. Inadequate knowledge of the Slavic languages appears to have thwarted on more than one occasion the intent of certain critics to include in their studies some discussion of the Slavic contributions to the evolution of the theme.⁹

⁷The problem of criteria and definition of a "Don Juan version" will be discussed later in this introduction.

⁸See Armand E. Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965) and supplements in West Virginia University Philological Papers, XVII (June 1970), XX (September 1973), and XXII (December 1975).

⁹For example, Martin Nozick, in his Doctoral dissertation which proposes to update Gendarme de Bévotte's La Légende de Don Juan, concedes in his introduction: " . . . I am fully aware of the fact that I may have overlooked some contemporary treatments of the theme, especially those written in the Slavic tongues of which I am ignorant." Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), p. iii.

Nevertheless, the importance of individual Slavic versions has been generally recognized in Western scholarship.

Gendarme de Bévotte, for example, devotes some commentary to the renditions of Pushkin, A.K. Tolstoi, and Stanislaw Rzewuski.¹⁰ The Laffont-Bompiani Dictionnaire des oeuvres lists the versions of Pushkin, Tolstoi, and Lesia Ukrainka among the outstanding expressions of the Don Juan theme in world literature.¹¹ The recent monographs by Leo Weinstein¹² and Oscar Mandel¹³ both make reference to Pushkin and Tolstoi, while Jacinto Grau¹⁴ and Portabella Durán¹⁵ cite Pushkin's drama among the classics of Don Juan literature.

Slavic literary scholarship has also turned its attention on various occasions to the history and evolution

¹⁰G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II.

¹¹Laffont-Bompiani, "Don Juan," Dictionnaire des oeuvres (Paris: D.E.D.E., 1962), II, 84-88.

¹²Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).

¹³Oscar Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan: A Collection of Plays and Views 1630-1963 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

¹⁴Jacinto Grau, Don Juan en el drama: obras de Tirso de Molina, Molière, Goldoni, Pushkin, Zorrilla, Rostand (Buenos Aires: Editorial Futuro, 1944).

¹⁵P. Portabella Durán, Psicología de Don Juan: Practica del Enamoramiento (Barcelona: Ediciones Zeus, 1963).

of the Don Juan theme. Noteworthy as a pioneering study in this line is that of the Russian comparatist Aleksei Veselovskii, which deals primarily with the ante-Don Juan type in medieval literature and discusses the literary and folkloric influences on Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla.¹⁶ Subsequent studies by Margarita Salomon¹⁷ and A. Deich,¹⁸ also in Russian, assume a historical-evolutionary perspective, tracing the development of the theme in European literature into the nineteenth century. I. Nusinov's article emphasizes the social aspects of the theme's development in what appears to be the only general study produced

¹⁶Aleksei Veselovskii, "Legenda o Don-Zhuane," in Etiudy i kharakteristiki (Moscow: A.V. Vasil'ev, 1903), pp. 43-79. This study was published earlier in 1894.

¹⁷Margarita Salomon, "'Don Zhuan' grafa Alekseia Tolstogo (Istoriko-literaturnyi etiud)," Vestnik Evropy, CCXLVII, Nos. 10-11 (1907), pp. 485-519. Devoted essentially to the version of A.K. Tolstoi, Salomon's article provides a cursory history of the theme from Tirso de Molina to Hofmann.

¹⁸A. Deich, "Tip Don-Zhuana v mirovoi literature," Niva (September-December 1911), pp. 251-272; 383-402. Deich's article surveys the evolution of the theme in European literature from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century.

Mention should also be made of an identically titled article by Konstantin Bal'mont, which discusses José de Espronceda's El Estudiante de Salamanca, Stanislaw Przybyszewski's Homo Sapiens, and Gabriele d'Annunzio's Il Piacere as manifestations of the Don Juan theme. See K. Bal'mont, "Tip Don Zhuan v mirovoi literature," Mir Iskusstva (1903), pp. 269-292.

to date in Soviet literary comparativism.¹⁹ The Ukrainian-language article by Ie. Nenadkevych, concentrating primarily on Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar, ranks among the more comprehensive Slavic contributions to Don Juan studies. It surveys the progression of the theme from the origins to the early twentieth century.²⁰

The foregoing review of Slavic criticism on the Don Juan theme is indicative of the fact that despite the presence of studies of broader scope, there has been virtually no attempt made to deal collectively with Slavic Don Juan fiction. The problem thus confronting Slavic literary comparativism and Don Juan studies may be subdivided into the following questions: 1) To what extent do the Slavic literatures, individually and collectively, reflect the influence of the Don Juan theme? 2) What relationships do the Slavic versions bear to each other and to versions in other European literatures? 3) What

¹⁹ I.M. Nusinov, "Istoriia obraza Don Zhuana," in Istoriia literaturnogo geroia (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1958). This article is a re-publication, without appreciable revision, of the earlier "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin i mirovaia literatura (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1941), pp. 147-261.

²⁰ Ie. Nenadkevych, "Ukrains'ka versiiia svitovoi temy pro Don Zhuana v istorychno-literaturnii perspektyvi," in Lesia Ukrainka, Tvory (New York: Tyshchenko and Bilous, 1954), Vol. XI, pp. 7-42.

place do the Slavic interpretations occupy in the history of the Don Juan theme and what is their role in its evolution?

It is in partial response to these questions that the present study has been prepared.

Objective and Scope of the Thesis

The main objective of this study is to present a comprehensive and up-to-date investigation of the Don Juan theme in Slavic dramatic literature. The drama was selected as the standard genre for the following reasons: 1) the highest proportion of Slavic Don Juan literature is represented in the dramatic versions; 2) qualitatively, the best Slavic renditions of the theme are in the genre of drama; and, 3) the largest number of individual Slavic literatures are reflected in the realm of dramatic writing on the Don Juan theme.

In striving to fulfil this objective, this study undertakes the comparative analysis of those dramatic works which are deemed to constitute genuine versions of the Don Juan theme. The approach is therefore essentially thematic, rather than formal or aesthetic. Thus, detailed commentary on specific artistic features of individual versions lies outside the immediate scope of this thesis.

As yet, there are no standardized criteria defining a true "Don Juan version." The problem of definition

is thus invariably left to the discretion of the individual critic. Some of the approaches, however, are instructive to summarize.

Gendarme de Bévotte assumes what is essentially a characterological point of departure. Convinced that "donjuanism exists less in events and in the plot of dramas and novels than it does in the personality of the hero," this critic invests his study with substantial latitude.²¹ Preferring the more restrictive prototypal approach, Oscar Mandel defines his concept of the Don Juan versions as one "which uses, adapts, or alludes to the original legend and the very Don Juan Tenorio created by Tirso de Molina."²² Leo Weinstein appears to have adopted a compromise between the two views. A particular work found a place in his monograph "if a reasonable connection could be detected between the hero and the Don Juan legend as it had crystallized by the time Mozart and Da Ponte treated it."²³ One is strongly inclined to conclude, however, that these decisions, whatever their stated rationale, are in the final analysis purely intuitive.

²¹G. Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., p. xi.

²²Oscar Mandel, op. cit., p. vii.

²³Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. vii.

In this study, the question of what to include and what to exclude is somewhat simplified by the generic restriction to dramatic versions. Discrimination, however, was inevitable. A case in point is Anton Chekhov's untitled play (P'esa bez nazvan'ia) frequently identified by the name of its hero, Platonov.²⁴ In Basil Ashmore's translation, this play is invested with a direct titular connection to donjuanesque literature as Don Juan (In the Russian Manner).²⁵ This drama, however, more rightfully belongs to that broad category of works which might be termed "Don Juan analogues" that is, works which portray a donjuanesque type, but thematically share little in common with the Don Juan legend. Chekhov's play is consequently excluded as a work not convincingly created in the true spirit of the Don Juan myth.

The criteria used for the inclusion of a particular version for intensive discussion in the present study may be itemized thus: 1) the version must be in the genre of

²⁴A.P. Chekhov, "P'esa bez nazvan'ia," in Sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1963), Vol. IX, pp. 5-178.

²⁵A.P. Chekhov, Don Juan (In the Russian Manner), English version by Basil Ashmore (London: Peter Nevill, 1952).

dramatic literature;²⁶ 2) the work must be an original Slavic version;²⁷ and, 3) the work must be a bona fide Don Juan version, that is, it must be thematically and characterologically associable directly with the Don Juan tradition.

Sources: Versions

The embarkation on a pioneering project in the field of Slavic Don Juan literature involved a good measure of basic spadework. Extensive research in numerous catalogues, indices, bibliographies, and follow-up of sundry scattered references culminated in the identification of no less than fifteen Slavic Don Juan dramas. Verification and compilation of these primary sources revealed the following numerical and linguistic configuration: 10 Russian,

²⁶For the purposes of this study, the term "dramatic version" will be understood to include the full-length play, the one-act play, the dramatic sketch, dramatic poem, and dramatic novel.

²⁷In this respect Don Juan literature offers some curious "mistakes in identity." For example, a novel by Mirko Jelušić was long believed to be a Croatian version, known best by its German "translation" as Don Juan: die sieben Todsünden (as listed in the bibliographies of Weinstein, Singer, and Portabella Durán). The present writer has ascertained, however, the exact reverse to be the case: the novel is in fact a German original by Jelušić (Jelusich) which was subsequently translated into Croatian as well as into several other languages. See Mirko Jelušić, Don Juan: sedam smrtnih grijeha, translated from the German by Tomislav Prpić (Zagreb: Binoza, n.d.).

2 Ukrainian, 1 Polish, 1 Czech, and 1 Croatian.²⁸ These versions, of course, vary considerably in length, chronology, quality, and accessibility.²⁹ Whereas some are masterpieces of great artistic merit, others are conceptually and aesthetically less inspired. All of these works, however, their strengths and weaknesses notwithstanding, constitute collectively the Slavic stream of Don Juan drama and, as such, deserve investigation and recognition.

Sources: Criticism

A survey of critical literature has disclosed several trends in the development and current state of research in Slavic Don Juan studies. Quite evident is the fact that, in lieu of general monographs of historical or comparative nature, investigation by Slavists has shown a preference for commentary on individual works. Although useful and enlightening on one hand, such con-

²⁸Regrettably, the only known Croatian play on the Don Juan theme: Ivica Ivanac's Odmor za umorne jahače, ili Don Juanov osmijeh (Zagreb: Zagrebačko Dramsko Kazalište, 1961), a comedy in five acts, was acquired too late for inclusion in the present study.

²⁹While some versions, namely those by prominent writers, are readily accessible in most libraries housing Slavic collections, others are extremely scarce -- available only in rare and obscure editions.

centration of effort on two or three masterpieces at the exclusion of other renditions, contributes only marginally to the formulation of a comprehensive and composite picture of Slavic Don Juan literature.

As might naturally be expected, the classics of Slavic Don Juan literature -- the versions of Pushkin, A. Tolstoi, and Lesia Ukrainka -- continue to attract the attention of critics. Pushkin's Kamennyi gost' still reigns supreme as the most celebrated Slavic version of the Don Juan theme and rarely has a commentator on Pushkin's oeuvre failed to devote several pages to this drama. Since Belinskii extolled Kamennyi gost' as the greatest of Pushkin's poetic creations, a sizeable body of critical literature has developed around the progenitor of Slavic Don Juan drama.

Critical commentary on Pushkin's version reflects basically four points of concentration: 1) the autobiographicality of the drama, i.e. the search for historical prototypes of the fictional characters; 2) the problem of Don Juan's "moral regeneration" in the play; 3) the formal and textological process of the drama's creation; and 4) the relationship of Kamennyi gost' to anterior Don Juan versions in other literatures. It is the fourth category, that is, the studies which focus to some degree on the comparative aspects of Pushkin's version, that are most

relevant to the subject of this thesis. Among these, in addition to the afore-mentioned study by Nusinov,³⁰ we may cite the contributions of Tomashevskii, Corbet, Kučera, Blagoi, and Zagorskii.³¹ Most of these studies devote some discussion to Kamennyi gost' in its relationship to the literature which was most influential in its creation. It is opportune to state, however, that for all its continuing attractiveness to critics, an overview of the more recent publications on Pushkin's Don Juan drama reveals a rather conspicuous degree of reiteration of what is long since general knowledge.

The bibliographical research undertaken in the course of this study testifies to a rise in scholarly interest in the works of Lesia Ukrainka. A variety of monographs and articles has appeared within the past decade and considerable attention has been directed specifically

³⁰ See supra, footnote 19.

³¹ B.V. Tomashevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in A.S. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1935), Vol. VII, pp. 547-578; Charles Corbet, "L'Originalité du 'Convive de pierre' de Pouchkine," Revue de littérature comparée, XXIX (January-March 1955), pp. 48-71; Henry Kučera, "Puškin and Don Juan," in Morris Halle et al. (comps.), For Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1956), pp. 273-284; D.D. Blagoi, Tvorcheskii put' Pushkina (1826-1830) (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1967); and M. Zagorskii, Pushkin i teatr (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo "Iskusstvo," 1940).

to Kaminnyi hospodar.³² Notable are the studies of Ie. Nenadkevych, which focuses on this drama in light of the European literary tradition of Don Juan,³³ and of C. Bida, which views the drama in the context of Lesia Ukrainka's creativity on universal thematics.³⁴

Another important Slavic version, Aleksei K. Tolstoi's dramatic poem Don Zhuan, despite frequent mention in various sources, has not received intensive study and commentary since the efforts of Salomon, Liron-delle, Gendarme de Bévette, and Manning in the early decades of this century.³⁵ Nevertheless, there appears to be a slight revival in interest in this interpretation

³² Among which are: J. Rozumnyj, "Conflicting Ideals in Lesia Ukrainka's 'Stone Host'," Canadian Slavonic Papers, XV, No. 3 (1973), pp. 382-389; A. Kostenko, "Don-Zhuan upershe na Ukraini," in Lesia Ukrainka (Kiev: Molod', 1971); W.T. Zyla, "A Ukrainian Version of Don Juan," The South Central Bulletin, XXX, No. 4 (Winter 1970), pp. 237-239; R. Karpiak, "Lesia Ukrainka's The Stone Host and the Don Juan Myth," in O. Gerus et al. (eds.), The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1976), pp. 249-261.

³³ See supra, footnote 20.

³⁴ Constantine Bida, "Life and Work," in Lesya Ukrainka (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

³⁵ Margarita Salomon, "'Don-Zhuan' grafa Alekseia Tolstogo," Vestnik Evropy, CCXLVII, Nos. 10-11 (1907), pp. 485-519; André Liron-delle, Le Poète Alexis Tolstoi: l'homme et l'oeuvre (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1912); Gendarme de Bévette, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911), Vol. II, pp. 67-70; Clarence A. Manning, "Russian Versions of Don Juan," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXXVIII (September 1923), pp. 479-493.

in consequence of several relatively recent monographs and dissertations on the works of A.K. Tolstoi.³⁶

Finally, the resurrection of such lesser-known versions as N.S. Gumilev's Don Zhuan v Egipte and V.L. Korvin-Piotrovskii's Smert' Don Zhuana which, until their recent re-publication, lay dormant in obscure editions of the pre-Revolutionary and emigre Russian press, has sparked several commentaries of a preliminary nature.³⁷

The foregoing overview of the present state of research into Slavic dramaturgy on the Don Juan theme

³⁶Margaret Dalton, A.K. Tolstoy (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), based on her dissertation "Aleksij Konstantinovich Tolstoj: A Study of his Life and Work" (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1964). Useful and extensive critical commentary on Tolstoi's Don Zhuan is provided in the thesis by J.A. Gatto "The Dramas of A.K. Tolstoj" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1963). See also V. Putintsev, "A.K. Tolstoi -- Dramaturg," in A.K. Tolstoi, P'esy (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo "Iskusstvo," 1959), pp. 5-23.

³⁷V. Sechkarev, "Gumilev -- Dramaturg," in N. Gumilev, Sobranie sochinenii (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1966), Vol. III, pp. iii-xxxviii; Sam Driver, "Nikolaj Gumilev's Early Dramatic Works," Slavic and East European Journal, XIII, No. 3 (Fall 1969), pp. 326-347; K. Vil'chkovskii, "Literaturnye zametki o poezii V.L. Korvin-Piotrovskogo," in V.L. Korvin-Piotrovskii, Pozdnii gost' (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1969), Vol. II, pp. 223-231; and Iu. Ofrosimov, "Pamiati poeta," Ibid., pp. 249-270.

Some introductory commentary on a more recent Russian Don Juan play, S. Aleshin's Togda v Sevil'e, is found in the article by V. Revutsky, "A New View of Don Juan -- Samuel Alyoshin's Comedy 'At That Time in Seville'," Slavic and East European Review, XLIV, No. 102 (1966), pp. 88-97.

indicates that while a small proportion of the known versions enjoys a notable degree of documentation, the large majority of works have received, if anything, only cursory investigation.

Organization of the Thesis

The problem of classification of the fifteen Slavic Don Juan versions studied in this thesis might, no doubt, be approached from several standpoints. In view of the fact that these works represent four national literatures in four different languages and span two centuries, the lingual-chronological approach was among the earliest alternatives to suggest itself. In the course of research, however, affinities which cut across ethno-lingual and chronological lines began to emerge between one work and another. The rationale ultimately adopted in the classification of versions is thus based on a combination of thematic, generic, and motivational features shared by versions within a specific group.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter I consists of two main parts, each dealing with one of the two basic prototypes of the donjuanesque hero in literature -- Don Juan Tenorio and Don Miguel Mañara. The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical and thematic conspectus of the hero and the myth as a background for the specific study of Don Juan in Slavic dramatic literature.

The legend of Don Juan Tenorio and its adaptations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inspired the three "traditional" Slavic Don Juan dramas. Chapter II focuses on each of these versions from the standpoint of its preservation of traditional and archetypal elements of the Don Juan myth.

The legend of Don Miguel Mañara, which merged with the mainstream of Don Juan literature in the nineteenth century, revolutionized the established conception of the hero and provided a new direction to the myth. This legend lies at the foundation of the three Slavic dramas discussed in Chapter III as "the Slavic Avatars of Miguel Mañara."

Even the early works of Don Juan literature reveal the desire of certain writers to attenuate the fantastic, irrational component of the theme in order to enhance the verisimilitude of their plays. More recently, playwrights have transformed not only the supernatural element, but also the life and adventures of the hero in the interests of greater realism. The four dramas representing this trend are examined in Chapter IV.

Chapter V is devoted to the Slavic "facetiae" of Don Juan. While the tendency to treat the hero in a humorous manner is virtually as old as the theme itself, the simple drolleries of the farce, the puppet-theatre, and the vaude-

ville play yield in time to a more refined brand of ironic and satirical comedy. The five dramatic works discussed in the final chapter reflect this facetiously expository approach to the theme.

Transliteration, Transcription, and Translation

Transliteration. The Library of Congress system has been adopted in this study for purposes of transliterating the Cyrillic alphabet. In the interests of typographic facility, diacritics have been omitted in transliteration.

Transcription. Quotations from and references to Russian sources published in pre-reform orthography have been transcribed to conform to the spelling of modern Russian, both before citation in the original language and before transliteration into Latin characters.

References and excerpts quoted in languages using the Latin alphabet have been rendered exactly as they appear in the sources consulted. Proper names will be rendered as they occur in the original text; for example, the Spanish family name, Mañara, may appear as Manara (the tilde omitted), and in a variety of metathetic forms: Maraña, Marana, Maranna, Marance, and even Armana.

Translation. As a rule, translation (either published or my own) has been used sparingly in this study. It is to be found in most cases only in the context of an English

sentence or paragraph; otherwise, all quotations and extracts appear in the original language of the source. The use of published translations will be referenced accordingly.

CHAPTER I

DON JUAN TENORIO AND DON MIGUEL MAÑARA

Statua: Pentiti!

Don Giovanni: No!

Lorenzo da Ponte,
Don Giovanni

Marthe: Repens-toi, don Juan,
repens-toi!

Don Juan: Pardonnez-moi, mon Dieu!
Je me repens!

Alexandre Dumas,
Don Juan de Marana

In the introduction to Les Ames du purgatoire, Prosper Mérimée observes that there were at one time many Jupiters -- one on Crete, another at Olympia, a third elsewhere -- to the extent that any Greek city of consequence honoured its own Jupiter. So was it, he continues, with Don Juan: Seville alone had several, and many another town boasts of having a Don Juan of its own.¹ The analogy -- Jupiter and Don Juan -- is remarkable, for what the French novelist suggested almost

¹Prosper Mérimée, "Les Ames du purgatoire," in Romans et nouvelles (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), p. 351.

150 years ago, modern scholarship has determined only within the most recent decades and has yet fully to appreciate: Don Juan, like the gods and heroes of antiquity, is myth. Viewed as a mythical figure, Don Juan is no longer identifiable merely as an historical personage or as a fictional hero created by the genius of a specific individual. As myth, the donjuanesque theme is the creation of the collective imagination, the fusion of ancient legends, tales, and ballads of the supernatural with the more recent tradition of artistic literature. Having ascertained the true mythical nature of the hero, investigators in the domain of Don Juan studies might now proceed to reconcile the tremendous thematic divergencies and characterological metamorphoses which emerge in every phase of his literary development.

Although Seville, Madrid, and many a Spanish city besides might indeed have at one time cited its respective Don Juan legend, two of these legends have since established supremacy over the evolution of the myth and have determined the course of its principal thematic currents. The legends revolve around the names and adventures of two heroes: Don Juan Tenorio and Don Miguel Mañara. For all its phenomenal diversity, it is possible to state that the entire universal tradition of donjuanesque literature may be traced directly or in spe to these two prototypes.

The present chapter proposes to examine these heroes and their legends, to identify their salient features, and to

establish their relevance to the subsequent discussion of Don Juan in Slavic drama.

I. DON JUAN TENORIO

In the year 1641, according to tradition, a young nobleman of Seville, Don Miguel Mañara de Vincenteló y Leca, witnessed the performance of El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra -- a play which was creating a sensation throughout Spain.² The fateful encounter between Don Miguel and Don Juan, the hero of the drama, was to profoundly influence the destiny of both. In a bizarre case of reciprocity, Don Miguel became the living incarnation of Don Juan, and Don Juan became the fictional personification of Don Miguel. The theatrical spectacle that unfolded before the audience on that day was a thrilling drama of crime and punishment, of man's sin and God's imminent retribution.

El Burlador de Sevilla begins dramatically, ex abrupto. Don Juan Tenorio, a young Spanish aristocrat pursuing a career of licentiousness, seduction, and deceit, has just enjoyed the favours of the Duchess Isabela by masquerading as her fiancé, the Duke Octavio. Isabela's cries for help, upon discovering she has been tricked, are answered by the king of Naples in whose very palace the nefarious escapade takes place. Rapier at the ready, Don Juan shouts

²Michel Lorenzi de Bradi, Don Juan: la légende et l'histoire (Paris: Librairie de France, 1930), pp. 150-152.

defiance at his would-be captors and is prepared to engage in combat the entire palace guard. "Who dares touch me?" he warns. "If I have to lose my life, I'll sell it so dearly that you will not afford the price."³ By a twist of fate, however, it is Don Juan's uncle, the Spanish ambassador to the Neapolitan court, who is charged with the arrest and custody of the malefactor. In order to spare his nephew certain death and to preserve the honour of the Tenorio name, Don Pedro allows Don Juan to flee. It is the unfortunate Don Octavio who is subsequently arrested for defiling the nocturnal sanctity of the palace.

On the return journey to Spain, Don Juan's vessel is shipwrecked off the coast of Tarragona. Rescued from the waters by his servant, Catalinón, Don Juan is revived and tended by a fisher-girl, Tisbea. However, even gratitude for his life does not deter the seducer from taking advantage of an opportunity to delude a woman: "All of Seville has proclaimed me 'the deceiver' and my greatest pleasure is to deceive a woman and leave her in dishonour!"⁴ Such is

3

"¿Quién ha de osar?
Bien puedo perder la vida;
mas ha de ir tan bien vendida,
que a alguno le ha de pesar." (188)

Tirso de Molina, "El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra," in Arcadio Baquero (ed.), Don Juan y su evolución dramática (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1966), Vol. I. This and subsequent quotations from El Burlador are taken from the Baquero edition.

4

"Sevilla a voces me llama
el Burlador, y el mayor
gusto que en mí puede haber
es burlar una mujer
y dejalla sin honor." (240)

Don Juan's professed raison d'être, which he promptly sets to proving by seducing the ingenuous Tisbea. She is abandoned the next day, hysterical with grief and despair.

Don Juan's next escapade ends in fiasco. Having gained entry into the boudoir of Doña Ana by posing as her lover, the Marquis de la Mota, he is recognized as an imposter. Roused by Ana's screams, the Commander, Don Gonzalo de Ulloa, rushes to the defence of his daughter's honour. The Commander's challenge to Don Juan costs him his life. However, after this murder the days of the seducer are also numbered; he has time for one more deception before the forces of divine justice are set in motion against him. Encountering a village wedding while on his way to exile in Lebrija, Don Juan cannot bear the thought of not personally initiating the young bride, Aminta, in the art of love. "This is going to be my most refined hoax," he chuckles as he proceeds, with well-rehearsed eloquence, to surmount the peasant girl's defences until she ecstatically exclaims "I am yours!"

An atmosphere of impending doom descends as Don Juan, evading his persecutors, seeks refuge in a chapel. Before him is a crypt and the marble statue of the Commander he killed. "Here the most loyal of knights awaits God's vengeance upon a traitor"⁵ reads the inscription on the pedestal.

5

"Aquí aguarda del Señor
el más leal caballero,
la venganza de un traidor." (286)

Affronted by the insinuation that he killed the Commander treacherously, Don Juan mocks the statue and tugs at its stone beard. Then, incredibly, he invites the Commander to supper!

The spirit of Don Gonzalo, in the form of his statue, does indeed attend Don Juan's feast, but, before departing, issues a return invitation. Don Juan accepts and sits down with the Commander in the crypt to a meal of vipers, scorpions, bile, and vinegar. "Give me your hand and fear not," commands the statue.

"Fear you? Not I!" replies Don Juan, defiantly offering his hand which the Commander seizes in an unearthly grip. He is denied even a moment's repentance as with the cry: "I'm burning up!" Don Juan tumbles with the statue through a gaping pit into the flames of Hell.

The moral of the drama was simple and direct: "the wages of sin is death," but fascination with this hero who deceived women and mocked God, who feared no mortal and supped with the dead neutralized its effect upon Don Miguel. Scorning the appeal for timely repentance, he stood up and declared to his entourage: "I shall become Don Juan!"

El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra is almost universally acknowledged to be the earliest literary expression of the Don Juan theme.⁶ First published in 1630

⁶Published in Barcelona in a collection of plays bearing the general title: Doze comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio, y otros autores. Neither Tirso de Molina's authorship of El Burlador nor the date of its composition

under the authorship of Tirso de Molina (pseudonym of Gabriel Téllez), the play enjoyed immense popularity not only in Spain, but on stages across Europe. Translations and adaptations of the Don Juan theme appeared in Italy within several years and by the end of the seventeenth century it had migrated to Holland, France, England, and Germany. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Don Juan had crossed the boundaries of Slavdom: the repertoire of the first public theatre established in Moscow by Peter I in 1702 is known to have included a Komediia o Done Iane i Done Pedre.⁷

The Don Juan Prototype

So successfully did the young Miguel Mañara emulate Don Juan that he became a legend in his own day. He was lionized by the libertines of Seville among whom he became the undisputed champion. In fact, he was regarded as the "real" Don Juan, the living model upon whom Tirso de Molina had patterned the hero of El Burlador de Sevilla. Actors

(presumed to be between 1612 and 1630) have been conclusively proved.

Further complicating the problem surrounding the first Don Juan version was the discovery in 1878 of an undated loose copy of a play entitled Tan largo me lo fiáis, naming the author as Calderón. Calderón's authorship has been almost universally refuted as it is obvious that El Burlador and Tan largo are versions of one and the same play. Although the controversy concerning the relative chronology of the two plays continues, pending the appearance of more convincing evidence, the majority of commentators maintain the first "official" literary manifestation of Don Juan to be El Burlador with Tirso de Molina as author.

⁷ B. Varneke, Istoriia russkogo teatra XVII-XIX vekov (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo "Iskusstvo," 1939), p. 35.

playing the role of Don Juan Tenorio are said to have imitated the mannerisms and adopted the gestures and expressions of Miguel Mañara to enhance their performances.⁸ And yet, his licentious excesses, supplemented by fables about his encounters with the Devil, are not the principal reason why the name of Don Miguel Mañara is preserved in history, why his biography appeared as early as one year after his death,⁹ and why the Church of Santa Caridad in Seville so proudly displays his tomb and other relics of his earthly existence. On the contrary, the main reason for Miguel Mañara's fame is his amazing conversion and the incredible mortification he inflicted upon himself in the course of expiating the sins of his stormy youth. While stories about Don Miguel Mañara were common throughout Spain since the seventeenth century, it was not until 1834 when he appeared as Don Juan de Maraña, the hero of Mérimée's novella Les Ames de Purgatoire, that his legend became formally bound to the theme of Don Juan.

Although long presumed to be the real-life prototype for the hero of El Burlador de Sevilla, simple chronology

⁸ Lorenzi de Bradi, op. cit., p. 169.

⁹ Juan de Cárdenas, Breve relacion de la muerte, de la vida y virtudes de Miguel Mañara (Seville, 1680). See Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 105.

eliminates this possibility quite definitively: Don Miguel was at most four years of age when Tirso's drama appeared in print. The problem of identifying the model for Don Juan Tenorio thus remains the persisting "Gordian knot" of Don Juan studies and the origins of his legend are still enshrouded in mystery.

In 1835, having returned from a journey to Spain, Louis Viardot published the following report:

Don Juan Tenorio était de Séville où sa famille, qui existe encore, tient toujours un rang distingué. Elle occupa constamment une des places de veinticuatro (regidores); et parmi les membres de la municipalité actuelle figure encore un Tenorio. Ce que le drame rapporte du caractère de Don Juan, de ses moeurs, de ses aventures se trouve également dans son histoire. Il tue de nuit le commandeur d'Ulloa dont il a enlevé la fille, et qui fut enterré dans une chapelle du couvent de San Francisco où sa famille avait une sépulture (una capilla). Cette chapelle et sa statue en marbre existaient encore au commencement du siècle passé; depuis elles furent détruites dans un incendie. Les moines franciscains, tout-puissants alors à Séville, voulant mettre un terme aux excès et aux impiétés de Don Juan auquel sa naissance assurait l'impunité, l'attirèrent dans un guet-apens et le mirent à mort. Ils répandirent ensuite le bruit que Don Juan était venu insulter jusqu'en sa chapelle la statue du commandeur et qu'elle l'avait précipité dans l'enfer.¹⁰

It was in the Crónicas de Sevilla that the French art

¹⁰ Louis Viardot, Etudes sur l'histoire des institutions, de la littérature et des beaux-arts en Espagne, cited by G. Gendarme de Bévoite, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), pp. 20-21.

critic believed to have found the key to the enigma surrounding the identity of the historical figure who directly inspired Tirso's El Burlador. For all its apparent verisimilitude, however, Viardot's "discovery" was subsequently discredited as an inadvertent error if not an actual fabrication. Personal investigation by Arturo Farinelli and Gendarme de Bévette confirmed that the Crónicas de Sevilla in effect say nothing either of a Don Juan Tenorio or of a related incident connected with any name whatever.¹¹

The "historical theory" of the origin of the Don Juan legend is not without its supporters, nor has it failed to proffer a veritable list of contenders for the title of "the real Don Juan." Gendarme de Bévette, however, is sceptical. After mentioning in passing Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile (1333-1369), Don Juan, Duke of Braganza and king of Portugal (1603-1656), in addition to several other historical personages bearing the name of Don Juan, he concludes that "the view which attributes an historical point of departure to the legend must be categorically dismissed."¹²

Saint-Paulien is of the opposite mind. "How are we," he asks, "to comprehend a character of the Burlador's stature without knowing anything about the personality of Tirso,

¹¹Ibid., p. 22.

¹²Ibid., pp. 28-29.

anything about his models, or anything of the circumstances surrounding the creation of such a character?"¹³ The Tenorio family did exist in Spain and it has left its mark in history, a mark not totally incongruous with the reputation of the Don Juan of dramatic literature:

La légende de cette famille est longue, cruelle, parfois lugubre. Il se commettait alors beaucoup de crimes au nom de l'honneur des hommes. Les femmes, souvent, étaient placées dans l'impossibilité de garder le leur par la faute de caballeros qui se prétendaient professionnels de l'honneur et se conduisaient comme des voyous. Si tout leur était permis, leurs victimes n'avaient droit qu'au mépris.¹⁴

In addition to the view by Saint-Paulien that Tirso de Molina vindictively portrayed his presumed father -- Don Juan Téllez Giron, Duke of Osuna (1554-1600) -- who illegitimately sired the future dramatist in 1584 after a liaison with Gracia Juliana (a maidservant?), there is another name, another Don Juan, that recurs in critical commentary on the genesis of Tirso's El Burlador -- Don Juan de Tassis, Count de Villamediana (1582-1622). Villamediana, according to Gregorio Marañón, was the model type of Spanish nobleman of the Renaissance -- intelligent, intrepid, possessed of all the physical charms, and profoundly immoral.¹⁵ At the age of

¹³ Saint-Paulien, Don Juan: mythe et réalité (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1967), p. 70.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Gregorio Marañón, Don Juan et le donjuanisme, trans. Marie-Berthe Lacombe (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), pp. 50 ff.

twenty-one he married, without love, a certain Ana de Mendoza y la Cerda who did not figure in his life to the least degree. Expelled from Valladolid by the king for scandalous behaviour, Villamediana, like Tirso's Don Juan Tenorio, was exiled to Naples where he continued to dazzle and outrage the citizens. Philip IV of Spain eventually named Villamediana Gentleman of the Queen, Elizabeth de Bourbon, at which time it became commonly rumoured that he was chevalier servant to her majesty. These indiscretions were apparently committed "in the service of the king" in order that Philip himself might indulge more freely in extra-marital affairs.

Besides his notoriety as a libertine, Villamediana was an accomplished lyrical poet, a master swordsman, and a matador of renown. Nonetheless, his prowess in the martial arts was not able to save him from the bolt of an assassin's crossbow which took his life one night in 1622 as he was alighting from his carriage. It was only after his death that it was revealed that Don Juan de Tassis, Count de Villamediana, whom the ladies extolled as "the most perfect caballero ever to be seen," was the leader of a notorious band of homosexuals in Madrid, some members of which were publicly executed while others fled to Italy and France. Villamediana's legendary romantic liaisons were apparently merely a diversion, a camouflage for his true sexual penchant. Thus, if Tirso did indeed model his Don Juan Tenorio on the

person of Don Juan de Tassis, as Saint-Paulien claims he did, the word el burlador 'the deceiver' assumes a peculiarly ironic twist in the title of the first of the Don Juan plays.¹⁶

There was no dearth of libertines or immoral noblemen in Spain before or during the life of Tirso de Molina and his model for Don Juan might, in theory, have been any one or a composite of these real personages recorded by history or preserved in legend. Nevertheless, the most glaring drawback is the utter absence of any mention of a libertine actually being killed or at least rumoured to have been killed by a statue. It is the inability of the "historical theory" to provide some motivation for Tirso's inclusion of the Stone Guest in his play that has necessitated recourse to other hypotheses.

The "historical theory" is thus only one of several approaches to the problem of the Don Juan prototype. For lack of a convincing real-life Don Juan figure, investigators turned to the natural alternative -- fictional literature, resulting in the formulation of the "auto sacramental theory."

In 1665 Dorimon changed the sub-title of his tragedy about Don Juan, Le Festin de Pierre, from le fils criminel to l'athée foudroyé.¹⁷ A decade later in England

¹⁶Saint-Paulien, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁷Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., p. 49.

Thomas Shadwell, in the preface to his Don Juan play, The Libertine, makes reference to a certain Ateista fulminato originating in Italy and enacted there in churches as part of the religious services.¹⁸ The precise nature of this dramatic work, the existence of which was strongly suggested by Dorimon's title change and by Shadwell's reference, remained unknown until 1901 when F. de Simone-Brouwer published the text of an Ateista fulminato he had discovered in Rome among a collection of manuscripts of religious scenarios.¹⁹

The action of this undated, anonymous auto sacra-mental takes place in Sardinia. The principal figure is the young Count Aurelio, leader of a band of brigands which plunders the countryside and terrorizes the peasants. Aurelio has abducted from a convent Leonora, an orphan and sister of the Duke Mario. Leonora, however, manages to fall in love with her abductor. In a temple, Aurelio encounters the statues of Leonora's mother and father, and proceeds to taunt them. The statues warn their tormentor:

Leave the dead to rest in peace...
He who lives by the sword dies by the sword...²⁰

Aurelio scorns this admonishment. He soon tires of

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰"Non disturbare la quietà a i morti...
Chi di coltel ferisce di coltel perisce..."
Ibid., p. 51.

Leonora and acquires a new mistress, Angela; however, by this time he is being hunted by the Duke Mario and the king's soldiers. Having forced a hermit to exchange clothes with him, Aurelio eludes his persecutors, but once again he is confronted by the statues who warn him to repent or be prepared to die before sundown. A challenge is issued and as the sun sets Aurelio returns to the temple to do battle. He no sooner raises his sword against the statues than the heavens break and a bolt of lightning crashes down upon him. Aurelio tumbles through a gaping hole into Hell.

The problem of dating the Ateista fulminato casts some doubt upon its admissibility as a precursor of and possible model for Tirso's play. According to Leo Weinstein, "this drama, far from having inspired the Burlador, contains numerous borrowings which prove that it dates from about the end of the seventeenth century."²¹ This, however, does not preclude the existence of an anterior version of this auto sacramental which might have been known to Tirso de Molina.

Chronologically less precarious is the connection between El Burlador and an allegorical school-drama often referred to as the Ingolstadt Play.²² The oldest version of

²¹Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. 9.

²²So named because it was performed in the Jesuit school of Ingolstadt. The full title is: Von Leontio, einem Grafen welcher durch Machiavellum verführt, ein erschreckliches End genommen. See Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.

this drama is a scenario, part Latin and part German, dating from 1615. The first part of the Ingolstadt Play bears no particular relevance to the subject of Don Juan and simply describes the process by which the hero, Count Leontio, corrupted by the doctrine of Machiavelli, becomes an incorrigible atheist and totally amoral. At no point, however, is he represented as a coureur de femmes. It is the second part of the Play which reveals a noteworthy thematic similarity to El Burlador.

One day, while passing by a graveyard, Leontio encounters a human skull lying on the ground. He taunts the death's head, gives it a kick, then sarcastically invites it to sup with him. What arrives at Leontio's feast is not a skull, but a revenant from Hell. The spectre identifies itself as his grandfather on a mission of divine retribution: "I have come, by order of God, to apprise you that after this wretched existence there is a life eternal. I am your forebear, Gerontius, condemned to infernal suffering, and I must drag you with me to Hell." This said, the dead man dashes Leontio against the wall and pulls the corpse of his grandson to the netherworld.

What is remarkable about the Ateista fulminato and the Ingolstadt Play is the fact that each contains specific thematic features and motifs which recur in El Burlador. In the former we encounter basically a donjuanesque type of hero, outraged statues of parents of an abducted daughter, and

punishment of the villain in the presence of the statues. In the latter, there is the motif of the insult to the dead, the motif of the supper invitation, and of the arrival of the revenant from beyond the grave. For all the apparent similarities, there are, nevertheless, obvious incongruities which give rise to sceptical views regarding the "auto sacramental theory" and adherence of some scholars to a third important theory.

Almost a century ago Felipe Picatoste remarked that "Tirso de Molina indicates in his double title that he is dealing with two distinct although ultimately related fictions -- El Burlador de Sevilla, the legend of the joker, or seducer, of Seville; and Convidado de piedra, the stone guest -- legend of the Invitation."²³ The thematic duality Picatoste observes in the earliest Don Juan version is confirmed by the very structure of the play. Tirso's drama consists of three jornadas; the first two describing Don Juan's adventures with four women and the murder of the Commander in the process, while the third jornada is devoted almost fully to the encounters of Don Juan with the Commander's statue, the insult to the dead, the reciprocal supper invitation, and Don Juan's punishment.

²³Felipe Picatoste, "Don Juan Tenorio," Estudios literarios (Madrid, 1883), cited by John Austen, The Story of Don Juan: A Study of the Legend and the Hero (London: Martin Secker, 1939), p. 19.

The thematic dichotomy of El Burlador can be regarded as a series of oppositions: the secular versus the religious, the real versus the supernatural; and, from the point of view of provenance, the literary versus the folkloric. The theory which arises from these observations contends that Tirso de Molina drew upon literary sources for the basic character of Don Juan as a profligate, a womanizer, and blasphemer, but turned to folklore for the supernatural conclusion of the drama. For ease of reference in the present study, these two distinct themes which Tirso de Molina brought to unprecedented contiguity in the first literary expression of the Don Juan theme will be termed "the burlador theme" and "the convidado theme."

The Burlador Theme

"Sensuality is as old as man's problem of self-control. There is nothing original about debauch, nothing unique about transgression," writes Dorothy Epplen MacKay in maintaining that least original in Tirso's El Burlador de Sevilla is the character of the hero. "Don Juan," she continues, "is one of many personalities who have attracted attention -- sympathy, admiration, disgust, indignation, envy -- by a bold defiance of convention. His immoralities are interesting, not singular, in the ideological history of mankind."²⁴

²⁴Dorothy Epplen MacKay, The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943), p. 4.

Indeed, it is in the depths of the Middle Ages that we encounter the profligate knight who, enjoying the impunity of noble rank, professed a cult of wilfullness and erotic love. Depicted in song, fabliau, in religious and secular play -- often the only recourse of the petit peuple he victimized -- this ante-Don Juan pursued a career of licentiousness and seduction, making incursions into the countryside, conquering a pretty peasant-lass with craft, lies, even force, only to abandon her in dishonour at the prospect of a new amorous adventure. This type of "grand seigneur méchant homme" flourished in Europe long before he was christened Don Juan Tenorio.²⁵

In his informative article on the legend of Don Juan, Aleksei Veselovskii cites some interesting precursors of the donjuanesque hero found in the literature of medieval France.²⁶ The twelfth-century poem "Auberi li Bourgoing" depicts the erotic pursuits of the dissolute pleasure-seeking knight. Likewise in sharp contrast to the Tristan figure and the glorification of l'amour courtois are the ballads and plays of Adam de la Halle in which the constancy and virtue of

²⁵ A list of donjuanesque heroes antedating Tirso's El Burlador is to be found under the heading "The Don Juan-like Figure in Literature" in Armand Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), pp. 22-25.

²⁶ Aleksei Veselovskii, "Legenda o Don-Zhuane," Etiudy i kharakteristiki (Moscow: A.V. Vasil'ev, 1903), pp. 43-79.

peasants are pitted against and triumph over the seductive intrusions of the chevalier. Medieval superstition and fantasy were also prone to endowing historical personages with various supernatural powers, engaging them in pacta diabolica, a prime example of such wizardry being Robert I, Duke of Normandy and father of William the Conqueror. Renamed in legend as Robert the Devil, this semi-human, semi-demoniac mutant ravages the countryside and ravishes any beauty he encounters, be she matron or virgin. In despair the barons of Normandy seek justice, lamenting: "From one end of the country to the other there is not one monastery he has not pillaged; not one daughter, niece, or wife he has not violated!"²⁷

Later, among the large number of dramas de capa y espada of the Spanish Golden Age we find numerous examples of the ante-Don Juan hero. At least two plays are particularly noteworthy and are frequently cited as potential sources of Tirso de Molina's treatment of the burlador theme. In Juan de la Cueva's Comedia del Infamador (1581),²⁸ the credo of the hero, Leucino, is that wealth procures anything, including any woman he might desire. His is also a career of

²⁷ Ibid., p. 59. Veselovskii underscores the role of the legend of Robert the Devil in the development of the Don Juan theme and its probable influence on Tirso and his successors. Besides referring to the existence of the 1509 Spanish translation of the tale Espantosa y admirable vida de Roberto el Diablo, he draws provocative parallels between this legend and the Don Juan plays of Tirso and Molière.

²⁸ Gendarme de Bévoite, op. cit., pp. 37ff.

seduction by false promises and deceptions until he too is punished for his crimes. Leucino's final adventure with the virtuous Eliodora is foiled by the intervention of the goddess Diana, protectress of feminine chastity, who condemns the libertine to burial alive.

Leonido, the hero of Lope de Vega's La Fianza satisfecha (1612),²⁹ is a brutal and lascivious reprobate who tramples the laws of God and man underfoot, who horsewhips his own father, attempts to rape his own sister, and prides himself on having committed the most unspeakable acts of perversity. It must be realized however, that although such acts of utter degradation and viciousness are certainly within the capacity of some Don Juans (Don John of Shadwell's The Libertine), they are foreign to Tirso's burlador who is, as it were, a refinement of his cruder and sometimes odious literary ancestors. Thus, in the absence of a specific literary or historical model, criticism has admitted that any of a multitude of legends and dramas containing various and sundry libertines, voluptuaries, debauchers, and daredevil adventurers might have provided Tirso with a "rough sketch" for Don Juan Tenorio and the burlador theme.

In creating El Burlador Tirso de Molina launched the Don Juan myth upon its literary career. As Oscar Mandel observes: "When Don Juan took shape in that Renaissance which equaled the ancient world in fecundity of myth-making he embodied, probably beyond his author's guess or intention,

²⁹ Ibid.

an aspect of being forever interesting to mankind. Don Juan became a myth representing the triumph of sensuality [italics in the original]."³⁰ Indeed, for all his moral purpose and didactic intent, Tirso de Molina did not create an unsympathetic figure or an anti-hero in the person of Don Juan Tenorio. It is thus small wonder that the burlador became the object of admiration and emulation by many a young aristocrat of Renaissance Spain and eventually rose to assume his place among the universal heroes of world literature.

Tirso portrayed his Don Juan as a sinner; of that there is no doubt. However, he endowed him with a lusty joie de vivre, a flippant attitude toward life and death, and, above all, with a contempt for danger that could not fail to impress an audience. However deceitfully he might seduce his women, however transitory his liaisons with them, and however unceremoniously he might abandon them to their dishonour, Don Juan is nonetheless the daring mortal who invited the dead to sup with him and who, in his turn, readily partook of the feast of scorpions, vipers, and bile he was served in their tombs. Even when there is not the slightest doubt that the Commander's Statue is animated by supernatural powers, he brazenly proclaims: "What? I afraid? If you were Hell itself I would offer you my hand."

³⁰ Oscar Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 12.

There lies an admirable, reckless courage in these sacrilegious transgressions, a redeeming courage which absolves him and endears Don Juan to generation upon generation of readers and viewers. The inexplicable mystique with which Tirso, perhaps unwittingly, endowed his hero is no doubt largely responsible for the empathy he evokes and for the unwaning success of the theme of Don Juan.

Who is the Don Juan Tirso conceived and what are his most distinguishing features? Returning to the title of the play, we find the appellative el burlador highly revealing: Don Juan is at once a joker, a deceiver, and a seducer. As the hero himself proudly divulges, his greatest pleasure is to play a trick on a woman and leave her in dishonour. This avowal has led Leo Weinstein to conclude that "the most important part of his amorous adventures is the trick, the joke he plays on the woman," suggesting that sexual gratification is only ancillary to the pleasure of deriding the female.³¹ In reality, however, mockery, deception, and seduction are motivations quite inseparable in the mentality of Don Juan. Love, like life itself, is a joke or game to be played and he refuses to take either seriously. In fact, even death and the hereafter is of no appreciable concern to him. He parries each admonition and exhortation to repent

³¹Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. 13.

with his flippancy "¿Qué largo me lo fáiis!" -- a motto which betrays the credo and life philosophy of Don Juan Tenorio. If his pleasure and amusement is to cost him his life, so be it. He is prepared to risk death because he is a knight:

Resuelto en morir estoy,
porque caballero soy
del embajador de España.

By proclaiming his noble rank, Don Juan of Tirso asserts this inalienable feature of the classical Don Juan. Don Juan must be an aristocrat, free from the constraints of practical considerations and mundane responsibilities:

If the idea of sensuality is to be embodied in a man for literary purposes, this man must be at perfect leisure. He cannot be working in a factory or in an office, or writing books, or making agricultural experiments. As soon as this happens, he descends (or rises) into the realm of realistic, complex, ambiguous literature; he ceases to be a universal symbol.³²

The portrait that Tirso paints of his hero is one of corporeal fortitude and valour together with dashing handsomeness. To men, Don Juan is "the Hector of Seville," so numerous and famous are his heroic exploits.³³ To women,

³² Oscar Mandel, op. cit., p. 13 n.

³³ Don Diego:

"que, aunque mozo, gallardo y valeroso,
y le llaman los mozos de su tiempo
el Héctor de Sevilla, porque ha hecho
tantas y tan extrañas mocedades, . . ."

he is the most handsome of men.³⁴ However, it is his misdirected courage and prostituted physical allure that eventually cause the destruction of Don Juan. Three of the four female victims in El Burlador submit to him voluntarily, only to find imposture, deceit, and mockery behind a facade of masculine beauty. But Catalinón sees clearly the price that must ultimately be paid for such wilful abuse of God's creatures:

Los que fingís y engañáis
las mujeres de esa suerte
lo pagareis con la muerte.

It is, above all, the brazen profanation of the dead that ultimately brings the inexorable wrath of the Almighty to bear against him. It is a headstrong boldness which verges on sheer folly that compels him to desecrate the remains of a dead victim, to taunt and make sport of a spirit which is already in a state of grace. Don Juan pays with his earthly existence for this profanation, and Tirso's moral is unequivocally underscored by Catalinón as he reiterates the Statue's terrible pronouncement at the point of culmination of the drama:

Dios
me manda que así te mate,
castigando tus delitos.
Quien tal hace, que tal pague.

³⁴Tisbea: Mancebo excelente,
 gallardo, noble y galán.

Don Juan is punished according to his deserts. And yet, one is left with the strong implication that nothing short of a revenant from beyond, possessed of supernatural power and motivated by God Himself could have brought the hero to his knees. Don Juan is by no means an atheist, and this fact serves to increase his grandeur when one realizes that he defies God in full recognition of the fact. "None of Tirso's imitators can rival him in this scene," writes Manuel de la Revilla, "none has been able to understand the personage in these terrible moments as well as he did:"³⁵

The Convidado Theme

Unlike the theme of the burlador, which was born of the social, moral, and religious ambience peculiar to medieval Catholic Europe,³⁶ the origins of the convidado theme are traceable, according to some scholars, to the dawn of human civilization.³⁷ The long and widespread folkloric traditions

³⁵Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁶Gendarme de Bévotte devotes a substantial portion of Chapter I of his La Légende de Don Juan to arguments claiming that only the specific combination of circumstances peculiar to the Spain of the Inquisition were capable of producing the figure of Don Juan as we understand him.

³⁷John Austen, The Story of Don Juan: A Study of the Legend and the Hero (London: Martin Secker, 1939), and Victor Saïd Armesto, La Leyenda de Don Juan (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1946).

of man's relations with the dead, of which the theme of the Guest of Stone in Tirso's play is simply a more recent redaction, have been seen to derive from the primitive funeral rituals of placing victuals at the graves of departed relatives.³⁸ In medieval Europe, where they came to be known variously as el dia de los difuntos, le jour des morts, All Souls' Day, and Strava, these practices connected with the dead became, at least in Spain, "an occasion for the most wild orgies."³⁹ The ritualistic contact between the living and the dead based on a sharing of food and drink is readily recognizable as a distant archetypal situation which engendered the motifs associated with that component of the convidado theme known as the "Double Invitation."

In her informative study devoted to the theme of the Double Invitation in European folklore, Dorothy Epplen MacKay indicates three principal motifs in the sequence of the reciprocal meal between a living man and a corpse: (1) the supper invitation of a living man to one dead, which involves an insult; (2) the appearance of the dead man at the host's supper, and his return invitation; (3) the appearance of the

³⁸ John Austen traces these rituals from ancient Egyptian festivals of Osiris (6000-1000 B.C.) through the Greek celebrations of the Anthesteria and festivals of Dionysius which came via Etruria to Rome and thence to medieval Europe.

³⁹ John Austen, op. cit., p. 102.

living man at the rendezvous with the dead man and his punishment or warning.⁴⁰

All of the above motifs are incorporated in the convidado theme as it appears in Tirso's El Burlador with a number of remarkable improvisations not encountered in the simple popular ballads. The dead man or rather the spirit of the dead man in the drama assumes the form of a statue which has physical properties and supernatural powers. At this juncture there occurs a fusion of the theme of the Double Invitation with another theme of more recent provenance -- that of the Avenging Statue.

⁴⁰ Dorothy Epplen MacKay, The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943), p. 11.

In addition to an analysis of the "Double Invitation" theme, this study quotes in toto eighty-one ballads and folk-tales on the subject beginning with the fourteenth century. Included are English translations of three "Slavic" versions (Nos. 78-80), all of which are Russian. Curiously, all three contain the meal motif but no deliberate or accidental insult to the dead.

An interesting example of the "insult to the dead" motif appears in the bylina entitled "Smert' Vasil'ia Buslaeva" of the Novgorod cycle. In this bylina Vasilii Buslaev leads his druzhina on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Climbing atop Mount Zion, he encounters a "dry bone" (*kostochka sukhoialovaia*) lying at his feet. Vasilii sets to kicking the bone which cries to him in a human voice:

" - Не пинай-ко, Василий Буславьевич!

- Ты будешь лежать со мной

- На матушке Сион-горе век по веку. - "

After paying his respects to the Holy Sepulchre, Vasilii bathes his naked body in the Jordan River, for which he is again threatened with death by the "dark-haired maiden" (*devushka Chernavushka*), and returns to Mount Zion to see the bone. He finds in its place the "white burning stone" (*bel goriuch kamen'*). Jumping over the stone, Vasilii Buslaev trips and fatally injures his head. See Pesni sobrannye P.V. Rybnikovym (Moscow: Sotrudnik Shkol, 1909), Vol. I, pp. 374-376.

Although organically closely associated with the insult to the dead, the Avenging Statue was not brought to contiguity with the Double Invitation theme until their juxtaposition was effected in El Burlador. The Avenging Statue theme is itself by no means recent; literature and legend of Greek antiquity reveal various episodes in which statues wreak vengeance on their murderers or tormentors.⁴¹ Neither was the animated statue foreign to the Romance drama of Tirso's age. Already encountered in the Ateista fulminato, such effigies appear in El Negro del mejor amo by Antonio Mira de Amescua (1577-1660) and in several plays of Lope de Vega including the frequently cited "precursor" (?) of El Burlador -- Dineros son calidad.⁴² It is primarily Tirso's unique integration of the Double Invitation and the Avenging Statue that saves the latter from appearing as a spectacular, but unmotivated deus ex machina come to punish

⁴¹A number of references to the Avenging Statue theme in ancient literature are found in: A. Veselovskii, op. cit., p. 62, Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., p. 34, and A. Singer, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

Veselovskii draws some interesting parallels between the ghosts and phantoms of the northern countries and the statues of the south. He regards both as manifestations of the "transitional state" of the soul related to the conception of Purgatory. As such, the soul awaits the opportunity to redeem itself through a benevolent act but may also take vengeance for an insult.

⁴²The relevant plays by Lope de Vega are, besides Dineros son calidad, El Infanzón de Illescas, El Marqués de las Navas, and El Rey Don Pedro en Madrid. Gendarme de Bévotte's hypothesis that Tirso was influenced by Lope's Dineros son calidad (1623) has not been supported in recent studies (although the play is invariably mentioned) since the admission that El Burlador may have been written as early as 1616.

the hero in the final moments of the play. Tirso did not neglect to devise a logical link between the burlador theme and the convidado theme by means of the "transitional motif" -- the murder of the Commander. He thus provided a motivation for the presence of the statue. Don Gonzalo is killed by Don Juan, after which the king himself decrees the erection of an effigy over the decedent's tomb with an epitaph crying out for vengeance against ignominy:

Y al comendador, con cuanta
solemnidad y grandeza
se da a las personas sacras
y reales, el entierro
se haga; en bronce y piedras varias
un sepulcro con un bulto
le ofrezcan, donde en mosaicas
labores, góticas letras
den lenguas a sus venganzas.

With the epitaph, Tirso also provides motivation for the taunt, the bearding by Don Juan who resents the insinuation that his victory was dishonourable. What appears to have been beyond even the author of El Burlador was the rationalization of the enigmatic, yet ubiquitous, supper invitation. He nevertheless did not refuse to capitalize on a bizarre, but theatrically effective moment and both lugubrious repasts are vividly depicted on stage. The statue arrives and demands Don Juan's hand in pledge of a return invitation. Don Juan accepts, arrives at the tomb, and once again obliges the statue by defiantly offering his hand, at which time he is calcinated. It is at this point that Leo Weinstein indicates an incongruity in the behaviour of the statue:

There is something in this procedure of the statue that seems unworthy of a messenger from beyond. Don Juan is its guest and a handshake is an expression of confidence, agreement, and mutual good faith. However effective this scene may be dramatically, it leaves one with the uncomfortable afterthought that Don Juan has been ignominiously tricked by the very man who, just a few lines above, has accused him of having behaved cowardly when he fled after the duel. One would think that mighty, supernatural forces would not have to resort to such means; . . .⁴³

In this very punishment there rings a note of latent triumph of Don Juan over the non-terrestrial forces which apparently had to rely on the hero's sense of honour and courage in order to attain that lethal physical contact by which he is laid low.

II. DON MIGUEL MAÑARA

It has not yet been conclusively proved that Don Miguel Mañara was directly inspired by a performance of El Burlador de Sevilla to pattern a life of crime and debauchery on the theatrical model of Don Juan Tenorio. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Don Miguel existed in Spain at the precise time that Tirso's drama was enjoying its greatest triumphs.⁴⁴ Visitors to the Church of Santa Caridad in Seville will be shown such relics as his sword, a portrait

⁴³Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. 19.

⁴⁴The biographical works on Don Miguel Mañara consulted for the purpose of the present study are: Esther van Loo, Le Vrai Don Juan - Don Miguel de Mañara (Paris: SFELT, 1950), and Michel Lorenzi de Bradi, Don Juan - La Légende et l'histoire (Paris: Librairie de France, 1930). Also the article by Esther van Loo, "La Conversion et la mort du Don Juan historique," La Table Ronde, No. 119 (November 1957), pp. 40-49.

by Valdez Leal, the cell in which he expiated his sins as a penitent monk, and, above all, the tomb of Miguel Mañara which once bore the epitaph he personally dictated:

Aqui yazen los huessos y cenizas
Del peor hombre que á avido en el mundo.
Rueguen á Dios por él!⁴⁵

Paradoxically, these words of supreme humility and self-denigration betray a note of arrogance and hyperbole, for when considered alongside the unearthly abominations of a Gilles de Retz or a Vlad Tepes, the crimes of Miguel Mañara appear no more serious than felonies and misdemeanours. Nevertheless, so profound was the change in his life after his conversion, that it was regarded no less than miraculous in consequence of which Don Miguel is now venerated as a saint.⁴⁶

Don Miguel Mañara was born between 1626 and 1627 in Seville, the scion of ancient noble lineage descending from the Roman princes Colonna. The warlike temperament of Ugo Colonna, who liberated Corsica from the Moors in the ninth century, was inherited by Miguel's father, Don Tomaso Mañara,

⁴⁵Besides dictating his own epitaph, Miguel Mañara requested to be buried under the porch of the church in order to be trod upon by all who enter. His tomb was subsequently placed under the main altar. Ester van Loo, "La Conversion et la mort du Don Juan historique," La Table Ronde, No. 119 (November, 1957), p. 49.

⁴⁶One year after his death, petition was addressed to Rome for the canonization of Miguel Mañara. In 1778 Pope Benedict XV accorded him the title of Venerable. See Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 100 ff.

who spared no effort to train his son in the martial arts. Miguel's mother, Geronima Anfriani, no less Corsican in her own right, was a devoutly pious woman who could conceive of no greater blessing than to see her son a pillar of the Church. Thus torn between "the Red and the Black," Miguel's childhood was a forecast of the extremes his later life would epitomize. Soon, however, it became clear which side would prevail:

L'épée à la main, il était d'une souplesse, d'une audace, d'une précision que redoutaient les plus forts. Son coup d'oeil était sûr comme la balle qui atteint son but. Il était courageux sans témérité. Il était évident, et Tomaso s'en réjouissait, qu'il préférerait les armes aux oraisons.⁴⁷

It is at this juncture that fact and fiction relating to Don Miguel's adventures and crimes become undistinguishable. Besides his own confession to having "served Babylon and the Demon, its prince, with all kinds of abominations, haughtiness, adulteries, blasphemies, scandals, and robberies," we have the testimony of a contemporary biographer, Juan de Cárdenas, who, in Breve relacion de la muerte, de la vida y virtudes de Miguel Mañara (1680), simply states that Don Miguel's life was "very stormy."⁴⁸ Here, the inventiveness of legend takes over to embellish and supplement reality

⁴⁷Michel Lorenzi de Bradi, Don Juan - La Légende et l'histoire (Paris: Librairie de France, 1930), p. 145.

⁴⁸Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 105.

with the following episodes:⁴⁹

Satan's Cigar Episode. One evening, while returning from a feast along the bank of the Guadalquivir, Don Miguel hailed a passer-by on the opposite shore for a light for his cigar. The stranger's hand stretched until it spanned the river, offering Don Miguel a lit cigar. His request had been answered by Satan himself!

The Bullfight Episode. Although the profession of bullfighting was regarded as being below the dignity of a grandee, Don Miguel became envious of the glory famous matadors enjoyed among the public. He entered the arena and drove the crowds to a frenzy with his incredibly close passes to the enraged beast. He was, of course, under the protection of the devil.

The "Donna Anna" Episode. Having infatuated a young girl of noble family, Don Miguel gained admission to her bedchamber one night. Suddenly, the girl's father appeared on the threshold, sword in hand, barring Don Miguel's passage. This challenge cost the father his life.

This last adventure was apparently the cause of Don Miguel's hasty departure from Spain and his enlistment as a soldier in Flanders. So heroic were his exploits on the battlefield that he was pardoned and permitted to return to

⁴⁹These episodes are taken from various sources, fictional and non-fictional, dealing with the Mañara legend. Among the important ones are the works by Van Loo, de Bradi, Mérimée, Weinstein, and Gendarme de Bévette.

Spain. Now coarsened and dehumanized by war and debauchery, Don Miguel was yet to commit his most heinous crimes.

The Incest Episode. Among the most despicable acts perpetrated by Don Miguel was the seduction of his half-sister. Having discovered that his father had left an illegitimate daughter in Corsica, Don Miguel sailed to the island and began to court her under an assumed name. At the very moment she succumbed to his seduction, the villain could not resist the impulse of shouting "I am Miguel Mañara!" This done, he was obliged to kill a relative who rushed to her defence.

The Catalogue Episode. It is said that while recuperating from an illness, Don Miguel passed the time in drawing up a list of all his victims-- the seduced women on one side and the cuckolded men on the other. When someone remarked that God was missing from the list, Don Miguel was reminded of Teresita, a nun whom he had abducted from a convent.

The Sign from Heaven. The episode that presumably steered Don Miguel on the road to conversion is one that related how one evening, while proceeding to a rendez-vous, he stopped to hear funereal chants issuing from a church. Suddenly, he was felled by a mysterious blow on the head and in a state of semi-consciousness heard the words: "Bring on the coffin; he is dead." Returning home, he learned that he had just escaped certain death at the hands of assassins who awaited him at his intended destination.

The incidents cited above are those most frequently encountered in the legend of Don Miguel Mañara. There are, of course, many others--for instance his addressing the statue surmounting la Giralda and receiving a reply; departing from a house a moment before its downfall; entering a mistress' chamber only to find a laid-out corpse framed by tapers, and similar supernatural and gothic narrations.

~~Returning to the realm of fact, however, we know~~ that Miguel Mañara married the beautiful Doña Jerónima Carillo de Mendoza, reformed, and became a respectable citizen. When his wife, whom he cherished, died in 1661, he almost went mad with grief, fell into a morbid depression, and suffered from terrifying hallucinations of witnessing his own funeral and being visited by his wife as a skeleton. Recovering from this crisis, he entered the Hermandad de la Caridad, dedicated his fortune to the construction of a hospital for beggars and outcasts, and devoted the rest of his life to penance and charity of the highest order. Miguel Mañara Vincentelo y Leca died in 1679 as Superior of the Brotherhood of Charity and the church he built is now his shrine.

The life-story of Don Miguel Mañara is the subject of a rather lengthy, but fast-paced biographical novel, Don Juan: život a smrt Dona Miguela z Mañary, by Josef

Toman, a contemporary Czech writer of the "older generation."⁵⁰ As this work is not in the dramatic genre, its analysis lies outside the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, some preliminary comment, with a view to identifying this important Slavic contribution to Don Juan literature, is not amiss at this point in the discussion.

Written between 1939 and 1944, Toman's Don Juan was dictated, according to the author's admission, by the German occupation of Czechoslovakia wherein the writer observed a dreadful analogy of the Spanish Inquisition. "My novel," writes Toman, "is an ardent protest against the darkness and terror that reigned at that time over my homeland."⁵¹ "Its aim is the aspiration toward the rule of justice and humane relations among all people in the world."⁵² Despite this avowal there appears to be no attempt to contemporize this adaptation of the Don Juan theme. On the contrary, the novel strives to recreate the atmosphere, ambience, and local colour of seventeenth-century Spain with all its

⁵⁰ Josef Toman, Don Juan: život a smrt Dona Miguela z Mañary (Prague: Československý Spisovatel, 1968). Translated into a number of languages, this novel is available in English in a translation by Edith Pargeter as Don Juan: The Life and Death of Miguel de Mañara (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1958), and in Ukrainian in a translation by Dmytro Andrukhiv as Don-Zhuan: zhyttia i smert' Dona Mihelia de Man'iara (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Khudozhn'oi Literatury "Dnipro," 1969).

⁵¹ Iozef Toman, Don-Zhuan: zhyttia i smert' Dona Mihelia de Man'iara (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Khudozhn'oi Literatury "Dnipro," 1969), p. 3.

⁵² Ibid., p. 4.

peculiar incongruities and contrasts. The focal point is the personality of Don Miguel, his psychological and spiritual conflicts, and the motives which lead him progressively to the depths of sin and debauchery and thence to conversion and salvation through love for mankind.

Interestingly, Toman's hero is a nineteenth century Don Juan, indeed a Romantic Don Juan. He is a reincarnation of both the Hoffmannesque ideal-seeker⁵³ and of the "prodigal son" type of Don Juan conceived by Mérimée,⁵⁴ Dumas,⁵⁵ and Zorrilla.⁵⁶ Disposing of unlimited wealth, possessed of a charismatic beauty, Miguel's self-image is that of a superhuman being, invincible to men and irresistible to women. As each conquest becomes more facile and more disappointing than the previous one, he sinks into a sullen depression, a tedium vitae illusorily relieved only by the orgiastic and pornocratic banquets in his castle. Only the Ideal Woman -- the quintessence of all womanhood -- will be worthy of his love and constancy. In his frenzied search

⁵³As portrayed in E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), Vol. I. Hoffman's hero will be discussed more fully in Chapter II of this study.

⁵⁴Prosper, Mérimée, "Les Ames du purgatoire," in Romans et nouvelles (Paris: Gallimard, 1951).

⁵⁵Alexandre Dumas, "Don Juan de Marana ou la chute d'un ange," in Oeuvres de Alexandre Dumas (Brussels: Société Belge de Librairie, 1843), Vol. V.

⁵⁶José Zorrilla y Moral, "Don Juan Tenorio," in Don Juan y su evolución dramática, Arcadio Baquero, editor (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1966), Vol. II.

for "her" in city and village, boudoir and brothel, he leaves a trail of suicides, duel-victims, and broken hearts. Finally, the earthly incarnation of his ideal is found in Girolama Carillo de Mendoza after whose premature demise the remainder of Miguel Mañara's life follows the established path via redemption to apotheosis.

Besides integrating the essential idea of E.T.A. Hoffmann's interpretation of Don Juan with the legend of Miguel Mañara, Toman makes an interesting departure from the Mañara tradition. The source of Miguel's internal crises, traditionally attributed to the conflicting aspirations of a sensual, virile father and an overly pious mother, is transferred to the influence of two clerics who guide his early development. The "negative" sphere of influence is personified in Padre Trifon, a misogynist and obscurant who preaches blind obedience to his own perverse conception of Christian dogma and, above all, fear of and aversion to the opposite sex. On the other hand the erudite Padre Gregorio tries to instil in his protégé a philosophy of love and pleasure in all God's creation. Gregorio's "positive" influence ends all too soon when he is banished from the Mañara estate. It is, however, when his beloved mentor is burned as a heretic that Miguel's cynicism, misanthropy, and brazen defiance of God take their ugliest turn.

Despite its anti-clerical, anti-dogmatic tenor, To-

man's novel is imbued with a highly religious and humanitarian spirit. "If you want to find God -- serve mankind. If you want to find happiness -- serve mankind" is the great secret revealed to Don Miguel. This is the philosophy of Padre Gregorio and the message of the entire novel.

Toman's Don Juan bears the unmistakable stamp of extensive research and broad familiarity with Don Juan literature, both fictional and critical. As regards the former, besides the obvious echoes of Hoffmann and of Tirso de Molina,⁵⁷ there is evidence indicating the influence of the great nineteenth century interpreters of the Mañara legend -- Mérimée, Dumas, and Zorrilla and possibly of T'Serstevens⁵⁸ and Delteil⁵⁹ in the twentieth century. The basic plan of the novel appears to be founded directly on the account of Mañara's life by Lorenzi de Bradi,⁶⁰ supplemented,

⁵⁷ The presentation of El Burlador de Sevilla and, for that matter, of Calderón's La Vida es sueño with Don Miguel in attendance are episodes in Toman's novel. By coincidence (?) Don Miguel's servant is called Catalinon.

⁵⁸ A. T'Serstevens, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Jean Gonet, 1946). This novel was first published in 1923 or 1924.

⁵⁹ Joseph Delteil, Don Juan (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1930).

⁶⁰ M. Lorenzi de Bradi, op. cit. Cf. also Iozef Toman, op. cit., p. 383. Toman's novel antedates by only a few years the most definitive study to date on Miguel Mañara: Esther van Loo, Le Vrai Don Juan - Don Miguel de Mañara (Paris: SFELT, 1950).

no doubt, by factual material gathered by Toman himself when he visited the Hospital of La Caridad in Seville in 1936.⁶¹

The legend of Miguel Mañara is also the narrative substance of the short story Les Ames du purgatoire by the hispanophile Prosper Mérimée who, in naming his hero Don Juan de Marañá, established the rapport between the Tenorio and Mañara legends. The conception of the "converted Don Juan" which we find in the Mérimée version was simply another manifestation of the Romantics' search for new ways and means of reinterpreting an old, but nonetheless popular and topical theme. Some two decades earlier, in 1814, E.T.A. Hoffmann had conceived of Don Juan as a tragic hero, an anguished idealist tormented and eventually destroyed by the pursuit of a vision of "the divine on earth." By so doing, Hoffmann had embarked Don Juan on his sojourn in literary Romanticism. Mérimée, in his turn, demonstrated that the thematic parameters of the Don Juan myth were not restricted to the conception of a dissoluto punito and introduced the theme of salvation. This was but another creative approach to the problem of Don Juan, an approach which was so typically Romantic that it reinforced, even as strongly as Hoffmann's interpretation, the Don Juan theme in the literature of the nineteenth century. The re-

⁶¹Iozef Toman, op. cit., p. 3.

percussions of Mérimée's novel interpretation were immediate and far-reaching. Within two years it had inspired Alexandre Dumas' five-act play Don Juan de Marana, which in turn laid the foundations for one of the most renowned of Don Juan dramas -- Don Juan Tenorio (1844) by José Zorrilla y Moral.

It was in the Age of Romanticism, the period of characterological and thematic transformation and innovation in Don Juan literature, that the earliest original Slavic version of the theme appeared. Aleksandr Pushkin, the first among the Slavic writers to adapt Don Juan to a dramatic rendition, adhered largely to the Classical conception of the hero and the theme. Pushkin was simply too early to take into account the innovation of Mérimée and so had the Don Juan of Kamennyi gost' (1830) tumble with the Statue into Hell. However, the very next Slavic version after that of Pushkin, namely the first variant of Aleksei Tolstói's dramatic poem Don Zhuan of 1862 was already highly influenced by the growing tradition of the Mañara legend. On the other hand, in the conclusion of a later variant of the drama (1867), the author reverted to the original Tenorio legend where, in place of the saintly demise of "Brother Juan," atoning for his sins in a Sevillian monastery, we find an incensed, unrepentant rebel shouting defiantly at the Statue: "As I was unyielding in my faith-

lessness, so I remain unyielding even in faith."⁶²

As exemplified in the versions of Pushkin and Tolstoi, the two basic trends in the Don Juan theme established by Tirso de Molina and Prosper Mérimée found their reflection and perpetuation in the earliest of the Slavic interpretations. Later, whether created in the spirit of twentieth-century Modernism, such as Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar (1912), or in the ambience of Soviet literature, such as Samuil Aleshin's Togda v Sevil'e (1947), some Slavic versions continued to echo the Tenorio legend regardless of how far they might have diverged from the original plot of El Burlador de Sevilla. On the other hand, a version such as Stanisław Rzewuski's Ostatni dzień Don Juana (1888) or Boris Zaitsev's Don Zhuan (1924) spring from the current of Don Juan literature which claims as its ultimate source the legend of Don Miguel Mañara.

⁶²И как в безверье я не покорялся,
Так, верящий, теперь не покорюсь!

A.K. Tolstoi, "Don Zhuan," in Sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1963), Vol. II, p. 120.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL VERSIONS

Enfin il n'y a rien de si doux
que de triompher de la résistance
d'une belle personne, . . .

Molière,
Dom Juan

Don Juan: Aquesta noche a cenar
os aguardo en ~~ma~~ posada
y allí el desafío haremos,
si la venganza os agrada.

Tirso de Molina,
El Burlador de Sevilla

Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra, as we have observed, divides into two principal themes. By juxtaposing the "burlador theme" and the "convidado theme" in a single work, the author of the earliest Don Juan play established a thematic dichotomy which would not only remain unaltered almost without exception throughout the entire Classical period of Don Juan literature, but would also recur in certain renditions of Don Juan drama in the ensuing Romantic and Modern periods.

The burlador theme is the very essence of the bona fide : Don Juan version: Don Juan must, above all, be Don Juan. However, in order to be at least a donjuanesque type, a hero must be, or, be reputed as being, a seducer of women -- many women --

and because of their sheer number he must by necessity be true to none. The real burlador is, by definition of the Spanish substantive, both a seducer and a deceiver.

The convidado theme, in the context of Don Juan literature, is a somewhat more complex phenomenon. Introduced to the stage in the seventeenth century for its dramatic effect and religious significance, exploited in the eighteenth century for its comic potentialities, the theme of the Stone Guest, as it encountered the literary currents of the nineteenth century, was in real danger of being dismissed as an unwieldy and irrelevant anachronism. Rehabilitated in the operatic masterpiece of Mozart and Da Ponte, modernized by the Romantic interpretation of Hoffmann, the theme of Don Juan became once again the subject of serious artistic endeavour. However, fiction and criticism alike began to find it increasingly more incommodious to reconcile the conception of an Avenging Statue with prevailing literary tastes. As one student of the theme has expressed it, "a tale of supernatural relations with the dead -- a statue which comes to life, dines with the living, and avenges itself -- wears badly in serious literature,"¹ In a more synchronous commentary, the critic Vissarion Belinskii, while hailing Kamennyi gost

¹Dorothy Epplen MacKay, The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943), p. 1.

as "the greatest of Pushkin's creations," was at the same time obliged to "excuse," as it were, the supernatural finale of the tragedy:

Это фантастическое основание поэмы на вмешательстве статуи производит неприятный эффект, потому что не возбуждает того ужаса, который обязано бы возбуждать. В наше время статуй не боятся, и внешних развязок *deus ex machina* не любят; но Пушкин был связан преданием и оперою Моцарта, неразрывною с образом Дона Хуана. Делать было нечего.²

Belinskii's regrets notwithstanding, the literary history of Don Juan discloses an interesting paradox. Had the convidado theme indeed lost its dramatic effectiveness as soon as the Statue lost its credibility or its power to inspire terror, it would hardly have survived the early Italian adaptations of Tirso's drama, not to speak of the buffo treatments by the commedia dell'arte. On the contrary, the convidado theme continued to sustain Don Juan on the stage for more than two centuries until eventually, as one editor of Don Juan plays observes:

When times and tastes changed . . . the very Statue which had given the play its seriousness to begin with, and which was responsible for its survival, was the first object to be dismissed. And yet the best versions of the Don Juan play are still those which have remained somehow true to the folktale [*italics not in the original*].³

²V.G. Belinskii, Estetika i literaturnaia kritika (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1959), Vol. II, p. 565.

³Oscar Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 9.

Three dramatic works in the Slavic repertory of Don Juan literature have remained "somehow true to the folktale" in that they have preserved the traditional bi-thematicism inherited from the Classical adaptations of the legend. These three dramas -- Aleksandr Pushkin's Kamennyi gost', Aleksei Tolstoi's Don Zhuan, and Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar -- constitute the "traditional versions" of Slavic Don Juan literature. They are at the same time qualitatively the best Slavic interpretations of the Don Juan theme.

The Don Juan versions of Pushkin, Tolstoi, and Lesia Ukrainka⁴ are the subject of investigation in the present chapter. These works will be examined essentially from the perspective of the traditional and archetypal features they reflect.

I. A.S. PUSHKIN: KAMENNYI GOST'

It has been said that Russia does not afford Don Juan a hospitable climate, being neither a land of meridional heat like Spain or Italy, nor one of rationalized libertinage like France.⁵ Whether or not we concur in this view, it is precisely here, on an estate not far from Nizhnii-Novgorod, that the first Slavic version of the Don Juan legend was created.⁶

⁴Lesia Ukrainka -- pseudonym of Larysa Petrivna Kosach.

⁵André Meynieux, "Pouchkine et Don Juan," La Table Ronde, No. 115 (November 1957), p. 99.

⁶This is, of course, only a tenable assumption based on the fact that no original Slavic Don Juan version anterior to Kamennyi gost' has been discovered to date.

Aleksandr Pushkin's Kamennyi gost' (The Stone Guest) thus enjoys the multiple distinction of being not only the earliest, but also the most famous, the most intensively studied and, no doubt, the most controversial of all the Slavic renditions of the Don Juan theme.

Dated by the author's hand November 4, 1830, the drama lay dormant until its posthumous publication in 1839.⁷ Despite the seven year span between its composition and Pushkin's death, the majority of Pushkinists tend to agree that Kamennyi gost' is to some extent incomplete, or rather "unfinished" -- a viewpoint shared by no less notable a textological analyst of Pushkin's works than Boris Tomashevskii who does not equate the extant manuscript of the play with a "fair copy."⁸ Charles Corbet finds the unattainment of a "fully definitive form" justifiable on the assumption that Pushkin could hardly have entertained hopes of seeing "a play of such flagrant immorality" published.⁹

⁷In a collection entitled Sto russkikh literatorov. Izdanie A. Smirdina. Tom I. Sanktpeterburg, 1839, pp.49-85. See B. Tomashevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1935), Vol. VII, p. 547.

⁸Ibid., p. 549. Also, by the same author, see "Kamennyi gost': pervonachal'nye chernovye chteniia," in Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1948), Vol. VII, pp. 307-316.

⁹Charles Corbet, "L'Originalité du 'Convive de pierre' de Pouchkine," Revue de littérature comparée, XXIX (January-March 1955), pp. 49-50.

Even if it were released by the censor, the appearance of such a "deeply personal and individual work"¹⁰ on the eve of Pushkin's marriage to his alleged "hundred and thirteenth love" which, according to several critics, inspired its very creation, would have constituted the epitome of ill-timing.¹¹ Nevertheless, despite the "several metrical imperfections and a syntactical incoherence,"¹² Gendarme de Bévotte describes the Russian Don Juan version as "a powerful and concentrated

¹⁰ A.A. Akhmatova, "'Kamennyi gost'" Pushkina," in M.P. Alekseev (ed.), Pushkin: Issledovaniia i materialy (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1958), p. 195.

¹¹ The autobiographicality of Kamennyi gost' is the central point of several studies, and rarely has a commentator on the play failed to make at least a token mention of this aspect. The hypothesis that Pushkin's acquaintances served as real-life prototypes for the main characters in the drama was proffered at the turn of this century by I. Shcheglov in Novoe o Pushkine (St. Petersburg, 1902), cited and supported by Nestor Kotliarevskii in his article "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin, S.A. Vengerov, editor (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Brokgauz-Efron, 1909), Vol. III, pp. 135-146.

Among the more recent studies examining the autobiographical are: André Meynieux, "Pouchkine et Don Juan," La Table Ronde, No. 115 (November 1957), pp. 90-107; Henry Kučera, "Puškin and Don Juan," in Morris Halle et al. (comps.), For Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1956), pp. 273-284; also, Natan Nevo, "Don Gouan: Essai d'interprétation du 'Convive de pierre' de Pouchkine," Comparative Literature Studies, IX, No. 3 (March 1972), pp. 283-290.

Although the autobiographical motivation is not without precedent in Don Juan literature (Goldoni, Byron, Lenau), a critical approach to Pushkin's version based on this method is not without danger of placing undue constraints on the interpretation of the hero's character and motives.

¹² C. Corbet, op. cit., p. 49.

drama which ranks among the most vigorous and original of its author's creations."¹³ This renowned authority on Don Juan also credits Pushkin with being the first great writer to have rehabilitated the hero after Hoffmann and Byron.¹⁴

By the time Pushkin conceived the idea of writing a Don Juan play -- possibly as early as 1826¹⁵ -- the figure of the "deceiver of Seville" was already more than two hundred years old and was featured in almost as prodigious a number of works of European literature, music, and performing arts.¹⁶ In addition, we recall that Don Juan had been introduced to the Russian stage long before he appeared in the original version of Pushkin. It is known that the "Komedial'naia Khramina" built by Peter I on Red Square in 1702 entertained Muscovite audiences with a play entitled Komediia o Done Iane i Done Pedre.¹⁷ The

¹³G. Gendarme de Bevette, La Legende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, p. 14.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁵B. Tomashevskii, op. cit. (1935), p. 550.

¹⁶See "Chronological List of Versions" in Armand E. Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), pp. 352-370.

¹⁷The full title of this play was Don Pedro, pochi-tannyi shliakhta i Amarillis, doch' ego ili Komediia o Done Iane i Done Pedre. See Jack Weiner, Mantillas in Muscovy: The Spanish Golden Age Theater in Tsarist Russia 1672-1917 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1970), p. 10.

staging of this play was not later than 1706, as the Komedial'naia Khramina ceased to exist that year.¹⁸ Regrettably, only a fragment of the fifth act of the kome-diia has been preserved, but from its text as well as the dramatis personae Don Pedro (the Commander) and Amarillis (his daughter), it has been conjectured that it is a Russian adaptation or translation (perhaps through Polish) of de Villiers' Festin de Pierre of 1659.¹⁹

While it is unlikely that Pushkin knew this Don Ian of the Petrine theatre, it is quite possible that he was acquainted with the works of Dorimon and de Villiers in the domain of Don Juan dramaturgy.²⁰ What is beyond

¹⁸ Actually, this Don Juan play was probably first presented no later than 1703 -- the year the director, Johann Kunst, died. It was on the orders of Peter himself that Kunst was directed to select plays from the contemporary European repertoire. See Marc Slonim, Russian Theater From the Empire to the Soviets (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 20.

¹⁹ B. Tomashevskii, op. cit., p. 556, n. 2. Also, D.D. Blagoi, Tvorcheskii put' Pushkina 1826-1830 (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1967), p. 637.

²⁰ According to Gendarme de Bévotte, the works of de Villiers were known in Russia. See Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., p. 15. This view is also expressed in E. Haumant, La Culture française en Russie 1700-1900 (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1913), p. 32.

In an early redaction of the poem "Usy," Pushkin makes reference to Dorimon, a contemporary of de Villiers and author of Le Festin de Pierre (1658). Both the Dorimon and de Villiers versions are presumed to be French adaptations of the lost Italian version Il Convitato di Pietra (1652) by Onofrio Siliberto. Cf. Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., p. 109.

doubt, however, is that Pushkin had read Molière's Dom Juan and, as evidenced by the epigraph to Kamennyi gost', the Mozart-da Ponte opera Don Giovanni.²¹ Although the question of Pushkin's familiarity with the profusion of Don Juan versions already extant in his day has been hotly debated and remains as yet unresolved, we may conclude that in knowing Molière and Mozart-da Ponte, the Russian poet was cognizant of the most powerful and artistically effective expressions of the myth since Tirso's El Burlador.²²

Although Pushkin knowingly undertook, during that

²¹B. Tomashevskii, op. cit., p. 553.

²²What Pushkin knew or did not know about Don Juan in earlier versions is one of the major points of contention surrounding Kamennyi gost'. Arguing on behalf of the total originality and independence of Pushkin's version, Nestor Kotliarevskii restricts the potential influence on the author of a two-hundred-year-old tradition to nothing more than a school-days recollection of Molière's Dom Juan. See N. Kotliarevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in S. A. Vengerov (ed.), Pushkin (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Brokgauz-Efron, 1909), p. 138.

In a mordant polemic with Kotliarevskii, I. Nusinov claims that Pushkin "knew all the principal works on Don Juan of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [i.e. Tirso de Molina, Dorimon, de Villiers, Molière, Goldoni, Zamora, Mozart-da Ponte -- R.K.]" and, of course, Hoffmann and Byron in the nineteenth. However, this critic, likewise intent upon demonstrating the independence of Pushkin's version, avoids any meaningful connection between Kamennyi gost' and the broad knowledge of Don Juan literature he so liberally bestows upon its author. Cf. I. Nusinov, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin i mirovaia literatura (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1941), pp. 227-228.

The middle position, and the most reasonable, is taken by Tomashevskii who credits Pushkin with the certain knowledge of Molière, Mozart-da Ponte, Byron and, quite possibly, of Hoffmann. See B. Tomashevskii, op. cit., pp. 553 ff.

fecund "Boldino autumn" of 1830, what he knew to be a well-established universal theme, he approached the subject of Don Juan as an innovator. Some traditional episodes were deleted, others transformed; new motifs were introduced as totally original. The very brevity of the "little tragedy" -- a mere 542 unrhymed iambic pentameter lines -- was in itself a notable departure from the lengthy productions of his forerunners. Nevertheless, Kamennyi gost' is a play created fully in the spirit of the donjuanesque tradition.

The feature Kamennyi gost' most immediately shares with its important precursors of the Classical period is the bi-thematicism which separates into the burlador theme -- the theme of compulsive infidelity -- and the convidado theme, the theme of the Stone Guest. This thematic dichotomy, which remained virtually unchanged throughout the entire Classical age of Don Juan drama, had formal and structural ramifications. Constructed with remarkable symmetry, Kamennyi gost' divides readily into two principal parts: scenes I and II in which the burlador theme predominates, and scenes III and IV in which the convidado theme assumes prevalence. Thus, in the first part of the play Pushkin establishes the donjuanesque nature of his hero, while in the second part he reinterprets the traditional motifs of the insult and invitation to the Commander's statue, the arrival of the Stone Guest, and the climactic punishment of Don Juan.

The Burlador Theme

The hero of Kamennyi gost' was cast by Pushkin in the mould of the classic donjuanesque type. The epithets of Donna Anna -- "sly seducer," "godless libertine," and "veritable demon"²³ -- leave little doubt that this Don Juan derives from the prototypal deceiver who is prepared to employ every stratagem of deception and dissimulation in order to conquer the woman he desires, whose guiding principle in the pursuit of sensual pleasure is the Machiavellian precept according to which the end justifies the means.

Among the striking features of the Classical Don Juan play is the immediate, sometimes violent positing of the hero as a seducer and deceiver, a master of disguise, stealth, impersonation, fraud, and double-cross. It will be recalled that as the curtain rises on Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla, Don Juan has just made love to Isabela, disguised as her fiancé, the Duke Octavio. Later in the play he will repeat this imposture by posing as the Marquis de la Mota in his attempted seduction of Doña Ana.

23

О, Дон Гуан красноречив -- я знаю,
Слыжала я; он хитрый искуситель.
Вы, говорят, безбожный развратитель,
Вы сущий демон. (397)

A.S. Pushkin, "Kamennyi gost'," in Sochineniia (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudoshestvennoi Literatury, 1958). All subsequent quotations from the text are excerpted from this edition.

In the very first scene of Molière's Dom Juan, Sganarelle thus describes to an open-mouthed Gusman his master's modus operandi in the art of deception:

Un mariage ne lui coûte rien à contracter;
il ne se sert point d'autres pièges pour
attraper les belles, c'est un épouseur à
toutes mains. Dame, demoiselle, bourgeoise,
paysanne, il ne trouve rien de trop froid
pour lui et si je te disois le nom de toutes
celles qu'il a épousées en divers lieux ce
seroit un chapitre à durer jusques au soir.²⁴

The Mozart-da Ponte opera begins with Don Giovanni, concealed under cape and mask, struggling to free himself from the clutches of the frenzied Donna Anna whose honour he has just violated. In her despair she later confides to her fiancé, Ottavio, the subterfuge by which she was deceived:

Era già alquanto avanzata la notte
quando nelle mie stanze, ove soletta
mi trovai per sventura, entrar io vidi,
in un mantello avvolto,
un uom che al primo istante
avea preso per voi,
ma riconobbi poi
che un inganno era il mio!²⁵

In Kamennyi gost, the motifs of deception and seduction are introduced in the first scene of the play.

The first words Don Juan utters are:

²⁴Molière, "Dom Juan ou le festin de pierre," in Théâtre (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1912), Vol. II, p. 113.

²⁵All quotations from the opera are taken from the libretto accompanying the London release of Don Giovanni. London Stereo OSA 1434.

Дождемся ночи здесь. Ах, наконец
 Достигли мы ворот Мадрита! Скоро
 Я полечу по улицам знакомым,
 Усы плащом закрыв, а брови шляпой --
 Как думаешь? узнать меня нельзя? (370)

Night is the element favoured of Don Juan; it is the time of his most daring escapades and amorous adventures. Indeed, it was at night that he was wont to meet the ill-fated Inez near the monastery;²⁶ it is at night that he speeds to Laura; and it is a nocturnal rendezvous he elicits from Donna Anna at her villa. In fact, all four scenes take place either in twilight or at night.

The allusion to the concealment of "moustache under cape and brows under hat" and the incognito pose in the first cemetery scene are but a rudimentary camouflage, a mere foretaste of the double deception -- disguise (as a monk) and imposture (as Diego de Calvado) -- Don Juan perpetrates in scene III to confound the widow of Don Alvar. The scenario he stages in order to overcome the resistance of Donna Anna is a trick well worthy of the old master, Tirso's burlador himself.

²⁶Pushkin's ambiguity in the connection between the Inez episode and Leporello's identification of the monastery as a site once frequented by Don Juan has led to several interpretations. Although it is highly probable that the monastery's environs served as the location of Don Juan's encounters with Inez, it is also possible that this is simply her burial place. Were this so, Leporello's flashback: "You used to come here while I would hold the horses in this grove," might suggest that Don Juan would ride here to seduce the nuns -- a pastime by no means foreign to his precursors (Molière's Elvire was abducted from a convent). On the other hand, the appearance of a monk immediately following this episode suggests that St. Anthony's is a male monastery, not a convent for nuns. The Russian word "monastyr" makes no distinction between the two.

There is indeed a great deal of the prototypal Spanish burlador in the Don Juan Pushkin created. He is possessed of that joie de vivre and insouciance with which neither the early Italian nor the subsequent French versions proved capable of endowing their Don Juans, and which did not return to the hero until the Mozart-da Ponte opera. Although he is in some respects more refined, the Don Juan of Kamennyi gost' is in others, as we shall see, more insidious and depraved than his ancestor of the Spanish stage. He is, in the epithet of D. Blagoi, a "monomaniac of sensual passion."

-- Герой "Каменного гостя" -- мономан любовной страсти в ее чистом виде -- непрерывно следующих одно за другим и стремительно сменяющих друг друга любовных увлечений, которые составляют все содержание, цель и смысл его жизни.²⁷

Although Pushkin's hero is free from the sadistic lechery and brutality of the Dorimon, de Villiers, and Shadwell versions, he is not yet, as N. Dashkevich would suggest, "an ennobled worshipper of love . . . a butterfly flitting from one flower of feminine love to another . . . capable of a complete moral regeneration."²⁸ No, the Don Juan Pushkin conceived is a deliberate, calculating, goal-

²⁷D. Blagoi, Tvorcheskii put' Pushkina (1826-1830) (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1967), p. 637.

²⁸N. Dashkevich, "A.S. Pushkin v riadu velikikh poetov novogo vremeni," in Pamiati Pushkina (Kiev, 1899), pp. 133-140, cited by A. Deich, "Tip Don-Zhuana v mirovoi literature," Niva (September-December 1911), pp. 267-268.

oriented pleasure-seeker motivated, above all, by the need for sensual gratification. The Inez episode, frequently cited in testimony of the sentimental and romantic side of Don Juan, in effect simply serves to reconfirm the ephemeral and essentially destructive nature of his love relationships.²⁹ Don Juan is capable of tenderness, but he is not sentimental. His exclamation of apparent fondness and regret:

Бедная Инеза!
Ее уж нет! Как я любил ее! (372)

is with revealing sarcasm placed in its proper context by the reply of a servant who knows his master well indeed:

Ну, развеселились мы.
Недолго нас покойницы тревожат.³⁰ (373)

What Don Juan remembers most vividly of Inez is the "strange pleasure" she afforded him during their nocturnal trysts near the monastery graveyard. The pattern is typically and traditionally donjuanesque: he courted her (three months, according to Leporello's calculations), enjoyed her, and then abandoned her to the mercy of the stern, cruel, and vindictive

²⁹ Short of stating it directly, Pushkin seems to imply that the death of Inez is somehow connected with, if not an immediate result of her illicit love affair with Don Juan. Similarly, several critics, among them Blagoi, are convinced that Donna Anna perishes together with her lover in the finale of Kamennyi gost'.

³⁰ Don Juan's profession of love for Inez is also flagrantly contradicted by the hero himself in the following dialogue from Scene IV:

Дона Анна: Вы судий демон. Сколько бедных женщин
Вы погубили?

Дон Гуан: Ни одной доньне
Из них я не любил. (397)

husband she had deceived in the arms of Don Juan.

The transitory nature of the hero's romantic liaisons, the sine qua non of Classical donjuanism, is further underscored by a vestige of the traditional "catalogue motif." Introduced for the first time in the Convitato di pietra of Cicognini (pre-1650), the motif of la lista became a convention of the Don Juan theatre and found its culmination, of course, in the spirited "Catalogue Aria" with which Mozart's Leporello torments the anguished Donna Elvira.³¹ Pushkin ostensibly adapted the motif of the catalogue less to his donjuanesque hero than he did to himself.³² However, one is invariably reminded of this popular feature of the Don Juan play in the following terse dialogue which is so exemplary of the consistent laconicism of Kammenyi gost':

³¹In the play of Cicognini Don Juan's servant, Passarino, maliciously hands the fishergirl, Rosalba, a list of his master's conquests. The Biancolelli scenario (ca. 1657), representative of the commedia dell'arte treatments of the theme, has the valet, Arlecchino, throw a list among the spectators. In later versions, Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio for example, the catalogue motif loses its originally facetious coloration and becomes a document of proof of superiority in violence and debauchery in the contest between Don Juan and Don Luís.

³²Pushkin's appropriation of the "catalogue motif" has a more intimate foundation than its occurrence in his Don Juan play would indicate. The poet himself is known to have kept a record of his many romantic liaisons in a so-called "Don Juan list." Cf. N. Lerner, "Don -Zhuanskii spisok," in Pushkin, S.A. Vengerov, editor (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Brokgauz-Efron, 1910), Vol. IV, pp. 88-103.

Дон Гуан: . . . Бедная Инеза!..

Лепорелло: Что ж, вслед за ней другие были.

Дон Гуан: Правда.

Лепорелло: А живы будем, будут и другие.

Дон Гуан: И то. (372-373)

The reason for Pushkin's deliberate attenuation of the time-honoured "catalogue motif" is clear. There was simply no episode in Kamennyi gost' analogous to the original Passarino-Rosalba scene in Cicognini, the Briguelle-Amarante and Philipin-Oriane scenes in Dorimon and de Villiers respectively, nor the Leporello-Donna Elvira scene in Mozart-da Ponte. In the absence of such an episode, it would have been an unmotivated act on the part of Leporello to enumerate to his master a list of conquests, the contents of which would have been sufficiently familiar to Don Juan.

Typical of Classical donjuanism is the hero's instinctively acute sensitivity to the presence of the female sex and the penchant to respond instantly to a potential seduction. Don Juan is endowed with remarkable powers of perception; his senses are ever on the alert for even the slightest stimulus generated by the proximity of a woman. A fine example of the degree of refinement to which these senses have been honed is reflected in the following dialogue from Don Giovanni, evoked by the presence of Donna Elvira:

Giovanni: Zitto! Mi pare sentir
odor di femmina!

Leporello: Cospetto! Che odorato perfetto!

Giovanni: All'aria mi par bella!

Leporello: E che occhio, dico!

There is an interesting analogy between this dialogue and that which takes place between Don Juan and Leporello in the first cemetery scene of Pushkin's play. Here, as Donna Anna passes them almost imperceptibly, Leporello pays tribute to his master's perspicacity.

Дон Гуан: Её совсем не видно
Под этим вдовьим черным покрывалом,
Чуть узенькую пятку я заметил.

Лепорелло: Довольно с вас. У вас воображение
В минуту дорисует остальное;
Оно у нас проворней живописца.
Вам все равно, с чего бы ни начать,
С бровей ли, с ног ли. (375-376)

Not only in this regard is Pushkin's Don Juan perceptive, imaginative, and creative. He is an artist of the word -- a poet. Laura, herself a talented actress and chanteuse, discloses to her enraptured admirers that the creator of her song was none other than Don Juan.³³

Второй: Какие звуки! сколько в них души!
А чьи слова, Лаура?

Лаура: Дон Гуана.

.
Их сочинил когда-то
Мой верный друг, мой ветреный любовник. (377)

³³It has been suggested that the lyrics of Don Juan's song are in fact the poem-serenade "Ia zdes' Inezil'ia" written by Pushkin in 1830 and possibly intended for incorporation in Kamennyi gost'. The donjuanesque motifs of the song, the reference by name to Inezilla (Inez of the play?), and an obvious analogy to the Laura scene, render this view quite plausible. The poem merits citation in extenso:

Despite the assertion by A. Akhmatova that "no one else ever conceived of making his Don Juan a poet,"³⁴ there exists in the burlador theme a veritable tradition of poetic and musical creativity. The power of eloquent, even poetic, speech is a quality possessed of even the unreflective, impulsive burlador of Tirso de Molina, a fact rarely acknowledged by commentators. The seduction of Aminta culminates in a serenade-like apostrophe which compels Batricio's bride-to-be to throw caution and marriage vow to the winds and exclaiming "I am yours," fall into the deceiver's arms. By

"Я здесь, Инезилья,
Стою под окном!
Объята Севилья
И мраком, и сном!
Исполнен отвагой,
Окутан плащом,
С гитарой и шпагой
Я здесь, под окном!
Ты спишь ли? Гитарой
Тебя разбужу!
Проснется ли старый --
Мечом уложу.
Шелковые петли
К окошку привесь....
Что ж медлишь?... Уж нет ли
Соперника здесь?
Я здесь, Инезилья,
Стою под окном!
Объята Севилья
И мраком и сном."

A.S. Pushkin, Sochineniia (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1958), Vol. I, pp. 299-300.

³⁴A.A. Akhmatova, "'Kamennyi gost'" Pushkina," in Pushkin -- Issledovaniia i materialy, M.P. Alekseev, editor (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1958), Vol. II, p. 187.

sheer virtue of the genre in which they created, Mozart and Da Ponte could not fail to endow their Don Giovanni with a poetic and musical gift. The serenade "Deh! vieni alla finestra . . . ," by which he aspires to entice Elvira's maidservant, ranks among the most famous of operatic selections. This quality, reinforced by Pushkin, was to become a recurring feature in the succeeding Don Juan versions of Slavic provenance, notably those of Tolstoi, Lesia Ukrainka, Gumilev, and others.

The pivotal motif around which the burlador theme revolves is, of course, the seduction of Donna Anna. This fact is established by Don Juan in the very first scene of the play when he declares: "Listen, Leporello, I must get to know her," where one must, as Leporello indeed does, understand the word "know" (poznakomit'sia) in the don-juanesque sense of the term. Why is Don Juan so instantly smitten by Donna Anna? Is it her alleged beauty? -- but he has not yet so much as laid eyes on her. Is it her ostensible fidelity to the memory of her dead spouse? -- but why would such "foolish" sentimentality impress Don Juan? The answer, it appears, is suggested in Leporello's sarcastic rejoinder to his master's proposal to "acquaint" himself with Donna Anna:

Вот еще!
Куда как нужно! Мужа повалил
Да хочет поглядеть на вдовьи слезы. 35 (376)

³⁵This rings remarkably like a deliberate echo of Leporello's sarcasm after the murder of the Commander in Don Giovanni: "Bravo! Due imprese leggiadre! Sforzar la figlia, ed ammazzar il padre!"

It is precisely because she is who she is -- the wife of a vanquished opponent, the widow of the man he has killed -- that Don Juan resolves to pursue the courtship of Donna Anna despite all risks involved. She represents to him at once the spoils of his victory and the forbidden fruit of moral and social taboo. Henceforth, all Don Juan's thoughts and actions are directed toward the attainment of his goal. Even the digression to the boudoir of Laura and the clash with Don Carlos inevitably lead the hero back to the monastery graveyard, to the precise location where his path and that of Donna Anna first crossed.

Все к лучшему: нечаянно убив
Дон Карлоса, отшельником смиренным
Я скрылся здесь -- и вижу каждый день
Мою прелестную вдову, и ею,
Мне кажется, замечен. (384)

The clever disguise as a monk not only aids him in eluding the authorities, but also legitimizes his presence in the cemetery, a vantage point from which he is assured daily observation of his "charming widow." "It's high time," he decides, and begins to mount the assault. His first recourse is to the most conventional of donjuanesque devices -- flattery:

Смотрю на вас, когда, склонившись тихо,
Вы черные власы на мрамор бледный
Рассыплете -- и мнится мне, что тайно
Гробницу эту ангел посетил.... . (385)

But Pushkin's Anna is neither the trusting Elvira, nor the ingenious Tisbea or facile Zerlina. The eloquence of this extraordinary friar merely intrigues her and piques

her curiosity. At the opportune moment Don Juan discards his monastic garb, now an impediment to their nascent romance, and emerges under the alias of Don Diego de Calvado. The standard flattery motif continues, in the course of which Don Juan does not fail to identify himself as a man of wealth and nobility. As such, he can offer her rank, luxury, and happiness -- another stock device by which many a Don Juan of the Classical tradition effected a successful seduction.

Мой сан, мои богатства, все бы отдал,
 Все за единый благосклонный взгляд;
 Я был бы раб священной вашей воли,
 Все ваши прихоти я б изучал.
 Чтоб их предупреждать; чтоб ваша жизнь
 Была одним волшебством непрерывным. (393)

The transition from one seductive stratagem to another culminates, near the end of the play, in the abandonment of all façade. At the moment of Anna's greatest weakness, having driven her to distraction with the intimation of a "terrible, murderous secret," Don Juan applies the tour de force and reveals his true identity:

Я Дон Гуан.

 Я убил
 Супруга твоего; и не жалею
 О том -- и нет раскаянья во мне. (396)

As expected, the effect of this confession is devastating -- Anna collapses from shock -- but such was its intended, calculated intent. Had he not decided only a moment before that "things are coming to a head"? The

shock tactic, followed by assurances of his "rebirth" and sincerity of his love result in the definitive disarming of Donna Anna and her capitulation:

О Дон Гуан, как сердцем я слаба. (398)

The "confession episode" is, according to Blagoi, a masterstroke well worthy of Don Juan's ancestor, the Spanish "demon-seducer."

Возбудить до предела женское любопытство, ошеломить своим невероятным признанием, поднять бурю противочувствий, чтобы тем легче завладеть потрясенной, захваченной ею душой -- таков не совсем обычный, но вполне достойный знаменитого испанского демона-обольстителя путь, которым идет Дон Гуан к сердцу своей "преlestной вдовы".³⁶

Blagoi's interpretation of Don Juan's confession finds itself in diametric opposition to that of many Russian critics and relates directly to one of the major controversies surrounding Kamennyi gost'. The question whether Don Juan's courtship of Donna Anna is merely the final episode in his search for new sensual experiences or whether it represents the burgeoning of true love and a genuine moral conversion is of relevance to the understanding of Pushkin's treatment of the burlador theme and a brief focus on this area of contention is in order.

The "moral regeneration theory," as we shall call it,

³⁶D. Blagoi, Sotsiologiya tvorchestva Pushkina (1929; rpt. Vaduz-Lichtenstein: Europe Printing Est., 1969), p. 218.

stems not as much from the words of Pushkin's hero, the sincerity of which is the first to be questioned, as from the rather vague but undeniably Hoffmann-inspired suggestion by Belinskii:

Самым естественным наказанием Дону Хуану могла бы быть истинная страсть к женщине, которая или не разделяла бы этой страсти, или сделалась бы ее жертвою. Кажется, Пушкин это и думал сделать: по крайней мере так заставляет думать последнее из глубины души вырвавшееся у Дона Хуана восклицание: "О, донна Анна!"³⁷

Since Belinskii, the moral regeneration hypothesis has found many adherents among Russian commentators of the pre-Revolutionary period and appears to have been adopted as somewhat of an "official position" in Soviet criticism. Among the former, N. Dashkevich and N. Kotliarevskii both conclude that Don Juan "is truly ennobled and resurrected by Donna Anna."³⁸ B.P. Gorodetskii sees precisely in the moral rebirth of Don Juan the most important innovation introduced by Pushkin to the Don Juan theme.³⁹ In her article, A. Akhmatova

³⁷ V.G. Belinskii, op. cit., p. 566. Boris Tomashevskii suggests that Pushkin may have known E.T.A. Hoffmann's story "Don Juan" which appeared in a French translation in Revue de Paris in 1829. Although this critic doubts the influence of Hoffmann's interpretation on Kamennyi gost', he does not deny the possibility of such influence. See B.V. Tomashevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1935), Vol. VII, p. 573.

³⁸ Nestor Kotliarevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin, S.A. Vengerov, editor (St. Petersburg: Brokgauz-Efron, 1909), Vol. III, p. 146.

³⁹ B.P. Gorodetskii, Dramaturgiia Pushkina (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1953), p. 289.

arrives at an analogous conclusion and, once again suggesting a Hoffmannesque interpretation, sees the tragedy of Kamennyi gost' in the sincere but unconsummated love between Don Juan and Donna Anna.⁴⁰

In distinct contrast to the position adopted by Soviet criticism (with the notable exception of Blagoi), many commentators on Kamennyi gost' in the West have for the most part refuted the moral regeneration hypothesis. Charles Corbet, not without a sarcastic quip directed at an eminent expert on Don Juan, remarks that it is precisely the acceptance on faith of a confirmed seducer's vow of sincerity that constitutes a fundamental error in the interpretation of Pushkin's Don Juan:

Mais venir nous parler de la candeur naïve de Don Juan! de l'ingénuité de Don Juan! C'est confondre ces qualités morales avec leur magistrale imitation. Voilà bien le suprême triomphe du héros de Pouchkine. Au-delà d'Inès et d'Anna, il a réussi à duper la postérité elle-même, dans la personne

40

"Последнее восклицание Дон Гуана, когда о притворстве не могло быть и речи . . . убеждает нас, что он действительно переродился во время свидания с Доной Анной и вся трагедия в том и заключается, что в этот миг он любил и был счастлив, а вместо спасения, на шаг от которого он находился, пришла гибель."

A. Akhmatova, op. cit., p. 190 . . .

d'un respectable Inspecteur, de l'Instruction publique [i.e. Gendarme de Bévotte -- R.K.]!⁴¹

The significance of the question of Don Juan's moral rebirth must be duly recognized. It is a fundamental issue not only in the understanding of Pushkin's interpretation of the burlador theme, but also in the full appreciation of the place Kamennyi gost' occupies in the historical evolution of the Don Juan theme. If Don Juan's profession of love and devotion to virtue is but another stratagem of deceit, Pushkin's protagonist reincarnates the archetypal dissoluto punito. In fact, he becomes the last of the classic Don Juans in the Tenorio line, for only four years later Prosper Mérimée would revolutionize the theme in popularizing the converted Don Juan of the Mañara legend. If, on the other hand, the hero of Kamennyi gost' is indeed converted by true love; if his renunciation of donjuanism is genuine, then he emerges the prototype of the Romantic Don Juan on the road to redemption and salvation, anticipating the interpretations of Dumas and Zorrilla.

There is a certain temptation to credit Pushkin with this innovation, particularly on the part of commentators who view the drama from the autobiographical perspective. The chronological proximity in the writing of Kamennyi gost' and Pushkin's marriage has led N. Kotliarevskii,

⁴¹ Charles Corbet, "L'Originalité du 'Convive de pierre' de Pouchkine," Revue de littérature comparée, XXIX (January-March 1955), p. 64.

among others, to conclude that "the words Don Juan speaks to Donna Anna were not addressed to her, but to Natalia Nikolaevna Goncharova."⁴² From such a shallow view of Kamennyi gost' as Pushkin's own "swan song" as a Don Juan, the candour of both author and hero is, perhaps, beyond suspicion. It is, however, perhaps timely to recall at this juncture that Pushkin conceived the creation of a Don Juan play as early as 1826; his first meeting with Natalia Goncharova took place in 1828. Thus, to view Don Juan as Pushkin himself, to view the burlador theme in terms of Pushkin's own romantic liaisons, and in fact to regard the entire drama as an artistic expression of his state of mind on the eve of his impending marriage places the undue constraints of a priori reasoning on the interpretation of Kamennyi gost'.⁴³

The problem surrounding the moral regeneration theory raises yet another fundamental issue. The motivation for Don Juan's rebirth, if he is indeed to be reborn, must by

⁴²N. Kotliarevskii, op. cit., p. 138.

⁴³A recent article: Natan Nevo, "Don Gouan: Essai d'interprétation du 'Convive de pierre' de Pouchkine," Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. IX, No. 3 (March, 1972), pp. 283-290, testifies to the persisting appeal of the autobiographical approach to Kamennyi gost'. Nevo even goes as far as to establish a far-fetched relationship between a bronze statue of Catherine, the sale of which was to provide the dowry for Natalia's marriage, and the Stone Guest of the drama (p. 286).

necessity be Donna Anna. She alone, within the context of Pushkin's play, might conceivably embody the qualities necessary to effect Don Juan's conversion and cause him "to bow on trembling knees before virtue." The question arises: is Donna Anna the reflection of the Ideal Woman who, like the heroine of Hoffmann's vision, "had been destined by Heaven to make Don Juan recognize the divine nature within him through love?"⁴⁴ Does Don Juan himself, as Janko Lavrin suggests, harbour "an unconscious craving for the perfect woman?"⁴⁵ In concurrence with Blagoi, for whom Pushkin's Donna Anna does not bear the least kinship with the ideal Hoffmann envisioned,⁴⁶ Frank Seeley dismisses the heroine of Kamennyy gost' as "quite an ordinary woman" who proves a much easier conquest than Inez and who is much less interesting than Laura.⁴⁷ For all her self-proclaimed devotion to the memory of her dead husband, Donna Anna is "as consolable a widow as the Matron of Ephesus."⁴⁸

⁴⁴E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), Vol. I, p. 85.

⁴⁵Janko Lavrin, Pushkin and Russian Literature (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1947), p. 176.

⁴⁶D. Blagoi, Tvorcheskii put' Pushkina (1826-1830) (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1967), p. 654.

⁴⁷Frank Friedeberg Seeley, "The Problem of Kamennyy Gost'," The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. XLI, No. 97 (June 1963), p. 360.

⁴⁸Oscar Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 27.

"Don Juan," writes André Meynieux, "not only does not nurture an ideal love of a spiritual nature for Donna Anna, but is utterly incapable of such sentiment."⁴⁹ "What is more," adds Blagoi, "if Pushkin's Don Juan indeed proved capable of loving one woman forever, he would ipso facto cease to be Don Juan. The problem of psychologically analyzing a character of this type would thus be eliminated, and yet, this problem is the immediate objective of Pushkin's little tragedy."⁵⁰

Blagoi's view reaffirms the notion of the Little Tragedies as "studies in obsession or mania."⁵¹ In painting the psychological portrait of Don Juan, Pushkin's objective was to reveal new dimensions in the hero's personality as witnessed by the innovations he introduced in the scenes with Laura, Donna Anna, and the Stone Commander. His basic model, however, was the Don Juan he knew best; he re-created the hero of Kamennyi gost' in the spirit of the classic Don Juan of the Tenorio legend as suggested to him by Mozart-da Ponte and Molière. The introduction of the motif of a volte-face shift from compulsive infidelity to sincerity in love, even if it did occur to Pushkin, is

⁴⁹ André Meynieux, "Pouchkine et Don Juan," La Table Ronde, No. 115 (November, 1957), p. 101.

⁵⁰ D. Blagoi, op. cit., p. 653.

⁵¹ Frank Seeley, op. cit., p. 359.

neither justified by Don Juan's patently donjuanesque character nor convincingly motivated by the nature of Donna Anna.

Pushkin stands astride two great literary epochs, both of them rich in Don Juan literature. His Kamennyi gost' is quite naturally a synthesis of the Classical Don Juan tradition and of the nascent Romantic conception of the hero. It is, therefore, perhaps simplest of all to regard Pushkin's Don Juan as "a character of transition between the frivolous and sentimental libertine conceived by Mozart and the avid seeker for a supreme prize as envisioned by the Romantics."⁵² The question nevertheless remains: did Pushkin herald a new era in the evolution of Don Juan literature; is the hero of Kamennyi gost' the prototype of the Romantic Don Juan capable of regeneration, conversion, and, eventually, of salvation? Or, did Pushkin, although probing and disclosing hidden, but nonetheless inherent characterological traits of the classic burlador, write the final chapter in the history of the Classical Don Juan? An examination of Pushkin's reinterpretation of the convidado theme may assist in the clarification of this problem.

⁵²G. Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., p. 13.

The Convidado Theme

In the dramatic repertory of Don Juan one rarely encounters a play betraying as strong an authorial pre-occupation with the theme of the Guest of Stone as does Pushkin's Kamennyi gost'. In the very title of this drama it is neither the world-famous name of the hero, nor his reputation as a seducer, deceiver, or libertine that stands out in relief, but rather the mystical, supernatural component of the legend -- the Avenging Statue.⁵³ As if in deliberate confirmation of this predilection, Pushkin chose as the epigraph to his Don Juan play precisely the opening lines by which Mozart's terrified Leporello addresses the invitation to the Commander's stone effigy.⁵⁴ From that moment on, sepulchral images of doom and finality recur at frequent intervals and in every scene. The omnipresent spectre of

⁵³It is noteworthy that neither of the two Don Juan versions Pushkin knew directly -- Mozart-da Ponte and Molière -- contain reference to the Stone Guest in their titles (we note that Molière's alternate title, Le Festin de pierre, translates as "The Feast of Stone," not as "The Guest of Stone").

Although Pushkin's title suggests acquaintance with Tirso de Molina's drama, Tomashevskii has persuasively pointed out that this title might have been adapted either from a Russian translation of Molière's play staged in St. Petersburg in 1816 as Don Zhuan ili Kamennyi gost' or from a popular ballet of the same name. See B. Tomashevskii, op. cit., p. 557.

⁵⁴In Pushkin's slightly inaccurate citation:

Leporello: O statua gentillissima
Del gzan' Comandator!...
.... Ah, Padrone!

B. Tomashevskii, "Kamennyi gost': pervonachal'nye chernovye chteniia," in A.S. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1948), vol. VII, p. 307.

castigation -- the Avenging Statue. A compositional departure from tradition, however, occurs in a certain displacement of the duel motif which, until Molière's version, marked a distinct point of transition from the burlador theme to the convidado theme. In Kamennyi gost', as in Dom Juan, the episode of the duel and the Commander's death, which furnishes the statue's raison d'être and partial motivation for its subsequent acts, occurs only as a flashback to occurrences anterior to the beginning of the drama.⁵⁶ Such compression of events not only responds to the celebrated laconism of Kamennyi gost', but also supports our hypothesis that Pushkin had a peculiar predilection for the convidado theme and, in order to expedite its evolvment, begins his play ex post facto.

The traditional on-stage murder of the Commander is substituted in Scene II of Kamennyi gost' by the duel with Don Carlos who is presumably, although this is not explicitly

⁵⁶In Dom Juan the reference to the Commander's murder occurs also very early in the play (Act I, sc. 2) in the words of Sganarelle:

"Et n'y craignez-vous rien, Monsieur, de la mort de ce commandeur que vous tuâtes il y a six mois?"

Molière, "Dom Juan," in Théâtre (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1912), Vol. II, p. 114.

There is also a displacement of the duel motif to the very beginning of the action in Don Giovanni; however, the duel actually takes place on stage. In Don Juan Tenorio of Zorrilla the murder episode is once again restored to its traditional position near the middle of the play as the point of demarcation between the two principal themes.

stated, the brother of Don Alvar.⁵⁷ The "Laura episode" in which the duel takes place has tended to perplex commentators by its apparently tenuous connection with the main line of action.⁵⁸ Blagoi, however, in an earlier study of Kamennyi gost', sees the direct relevance of Scene II as a foreshadowing of the events in Scene IV and the drama's climax. In the second scene the love-making of Don Carlos and Laura is abruptly curtailed by the appearance of Don Juan and the ensuing death of Don Carlos; in the fourth scene, the intimacies of Don Juan and Donna Anna are suddenly brought to an end by the entry of the stone Commander and the perdition of Don Juan.⁵⁹ Thus, the key to the understanding of Scene II, according to Blagoi, lies in its provision of the motivation for Don Juan's invitation to the Commander's statue:

⁵⁷Pushkin's Don Carlos is the successor of a full line of traditional persecutors of Don Juan, seeking satisfaction or revenge: the Marquis de la Mota and Duke Octavio in Tirso's drama, Ottavio in Cicognini's, Dom Philippe in the Dorimon and de Villiers versions, Molière's Dom Carlos (an onomastic connection?), and finally Don Ottavio in Mozart-da Ponte.

Although several critics (Akhmatova, Blagoi) offer sound argumentation in favour of the blood-tie between Don Carlos and the Commander, it is also conceivable that Don Alvar, the brother of Carlos, and the anonymous man who precipitated Don Juan's exile from Spain constitute three separate murders.

⁵⁸Cf. D. Blagoi, Tvorcheskii put' Pushkina (1826-1830) (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1967), p. 645.

⁵⁹D. Blagoi, Sotsiologiya tvorchestva Pushkina (1929; rpt. Vaduz: Europe Printing Est., 1969), p. 224.

Сцена у Лауры, подготовляющая заключительную сцену трагедии, является в то же время скрытой мотивировкой странного каприза Гуана -- приглашения им статуи командора к Донне Анне в час его любовного свидания с последней.⁶⁰

Don Juan submits to the compulsion of repeating the "strange pleasure" he found in making love to Laura in the presence of the corpse of a man he has killed. He therefore "creates" -- deliberately -- a fully analogous situation.⁶¹

If Blagoi's interpretation of this enigmatic scene is accepted, we have in Kamennyi gost' one of the most unique and unprecedented phenomena in Don Juan literature, that is, the full episodic coincidence of the burlador and convidado themes, two separate themes heretofore related only by a single common feature -- the hero himself.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 225.

⁶¹ "Дон Гуану доставляет 'странную приятность' ласкаться с Лаурой при трупке только что убитого им человека. . . . Его манит особая острота любовных упоений 'при мертвом', перед лицом смерти, у самого ее рубежа."
Ibid., p. 222.

⁶² Blagoi's unorthodox but provocative interpretation of Scene II was vehemently opposed by I. Nusinov who views the Laura episode as the highlighting of a new feature of Don Juan's personality -- sincerity in his relationships with women. Cf. I. Nusinov, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkina i mirovaia literatura (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1941), p. 249.

In a more recent "sanitized" article on Kamennyi gost' Blagoi retracts much of the "overtly sociological" approach of his earlier Sotsiologičeskii tvorčestva Pushkina. Reference to the strong motivic connection between Scenes II and IV is all but absent in the latter study. See D. Blagoi, Tvorčeskii put' Pushkina (1826-1830) (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1967), pp. 636-658.

The actual transition from the burlador theme to the convidado theme occurs precisely at the structural mid-point of the drama, specifically in the monologue which opens Scene III. Now a fugitive in consequence of Don Carlos' murder, Don Juan has assumed the guise of a monk and finds refuge in the cemetery of St. Anthony's monastery. He prepares a decisive move in his design to conquer Donna Anna:

До сих пор
Чинились мы друг с другом; но сегодня
Впущуся в разговоры с ней; пора. (384)

But this strategy of seduction is planned in the very shadow of the Commander's marble effigy which towers above him:

Каким он здесь представлен исполином!
Какие плечи! Что за Геркулес!... (384)

From that moment onward, the dead Commander becomes Don Juan's idée fixe. It is clear that in Kamennyi gost' Don Juan perceives Don Alvar as being somehow "alive" -- possessed of a consciousness, of sensibility and emotions. Lingering in the presence of the Statue, Don Juan remarks that the Commander "must be longing" for the return of his widow, that he "feels" her "divine breath" and "tears of love" on his cold tombstone:

Я дивлюсь безмолвно
И думаю -- счастлив, чей холодный мрамор
Согрет ее дыханием небесным
И окроплен любви ее слезами... (385)

In contrast to his precursors, the Pushkinian Don Juan perceives the stone Commander not merely as a revenant

from beyond the grave who arrives unexpectedly in the final moment to destroy him, but rather as a rival whose spiritual presence haunts him throughout the play. In no previous version of the Don Juan theme has this been so manifestly the case.

In introducing the peculiar motif of rivalry between the living and the dead, Pushkin, for what is clearly the first time in the historical development of the Don Juan theme, altered the archetypal relationship between the Commander and Donna Anna. The original paternal-filial relation is substituted by a conjugal bond. Pushkin thus presented an entirely new configuration of character relationships and created what is now a tradition in its own right.⁶³

Deserving of particular attention in Pushkin's reinterpretation of the convidado theme in Kamennyi gost' is the "invitation motif." The enigmatic, yet ubiquitous act of summoning the Statue to supper in Classical Don Juan drama was apparently as perplexing to the playwrights of that time as it is to modern literary scholars and folklorists who seek to explain its rationale. "Why, of all things, a meal?" puzzles one critic. "Why -- unless the 'hero' is going to

⁶³ Slavic versions of Don Juan appear to have been particularly strongly influenced by Pushkin's innovation and reflect a common preference for the husband-wife relationship between the Commander and Donna Anna. These include the dramatic versions of Aleshin, Cherkasenko, Gumilev, Korvin-Piotrovskii, Lesia Ukrainka, Mordvin-Shchodro, and the poem of Blok.

a banquet -- an invitation to a meal?"⁶⁴ Tirso de Molina and the majority of his successors offer at least a token attempt to motivate such an incomprehensible act on the part of Don Juan by engraving an allegedly "offensive" inscription on the Statue's pedestal. In other versions, among them Molière's, the inscription is absent and the invitation appears as no more than a brash display of misdirected bravado. Nevertheless, for all the facetiousness, sarcasm, even mocking contempt with which the Statue is addressed, there remains in the original invitation a vestige -- however perverse -- of "hospitality." After all, Don Juan is extending an invitation to supper, to a feast at which he personally will play the host. What is more, as reflected in the "double invitation" versions, the bizarre code of etiquette demands a reciprocal meal hosted by the Statue in the sepulchre. Only then, after the banquet of the dead, is punishment meted out to Don Juan.

Pushkin's departure from tradition and novel treatment of the invitation motif must be viewed in the context of the altered configuration of character relationships in Kamennyi gost' and of the significance of the Stone Guest in the drama. Don Juan's invitation is no longer provoked by an epitaph, but by the Statue's "angry glare." In the presence of the "marble spouse" Don Juan issues his command to Leporello:

⁶⁴O. Mandel, op. cit., p. 7.

Ступай же, Лепорелло,
 Проси ее пожаловать ко мне --
 Нет, не ко мне, -- а к Доне Анне, завтра. (390)

He commences with what would appear to be the traditional supper invitation, but suddenly, almost as an afterthought, he changes the context to an invitation more "fitting" to the occasion.

Проси статуя завтра к Доне Анне
 Прийти попозже вечером и стать
 У двери на часах. (390)

No longer is Don Juan inviting a mere stone effigy to dine with him. He is brazenly summoning a defeated rival to stand guard at the door, to play the porter, whilst he, the victor, claims the spoils. He is inviting the spirit of Don Alvar to witness the seduction of his widow:

Я, командор, прошу тебя прийти
 К твоей вдове, где завтра буду я,
 И стать на стороже в дверях. (391)

With these words the last traces of hospitality implicit in the invitation to a meal vanish, and what remains is stark taunting and provocation to retribution. Don Juan's mortal punishment comes in reprisal for the peculiar depravity of this summons which constitutes "the most terrible, the most unforgivable of his offences."⁶⁵ The motive for the invitation, explains Blagoi, proceeds from Don Juan's perverse predilection for the presence of death at the moment of a romantic encounter:

⁶⁵D. Blagoi, op. cit., (1929), p. 217.

Приглашения это вытекает не из чего иного, как из особого извращенного характера сладострастия. Гуана, ведущего свои романы на кладбище, находящего "дикую приятность" в "посинелых губах" своей возлюбленной.

Это специфическое сладострастие Гуана является той основой, на которой вырастает жуткое приглашение им Командора.⁶⁶

Whether or not we concur in the contention that the invitation arises from Don Juan's necrophiliac tendencies, from his compulsion to re-create the Laura episode with lover and corpse, it is not difficult to appreciate the desecratory nature of the invitation itself as sufficiently grave an offence to warrant the violent termination of Don Juan's earthly existence. The prevailing view among writers on the subject (among them Dashkevich, Kotliarevskii, Gendarme de Bévotte, Weinstein) that the invitation in Kamennyi gost' is merely a boyish prank, hardly justifies such drastic retribution and seemingly supports Belinskii's opinion that the motif of punishment by the Avenging Statue in Pushkin's drama was more a concession to the tradition of great Don Juan literature than a fully motivated thematic component.

The Commander, in the form of his statue, does indeed present himself at the appointed hour during Don Juan's nocturnal rendezvous with Donna Anna:

Я на зов явился: (399)

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 225.

Donna Anna collapses from shock; Don Juan struggles to conquer the terror that wells up within him. He is a grandee of Spain with courage and honour:

Я звал тебя и рад, что вижу. (399)

And, like the classic Don Juan, he unhesitatingly responds in the ritualistic offering of the hand to the Guest of Stone:

Статуя: Дай руку.

Дон Гуан: Вот она...о, тяжело

Пожатье каменной его десницы!
Оставь меня, пусти, пусти мне руку...
Я гибну -- конечно -- о Дона Анна! (399)

There is no ultimate warning, no opportunity to repent, only a cry of despair and the plunge with the Statue into the abyss.⁶⁷

The Avenging Statue destroys Don Juan in accordance with the original legend. This agent of retribution, however, no longer represents an emissary of God come to extract.

⁶⁷In the interpretation of Blagoi, Pushkin's concluding remark "they sink through the ground" ("provalivaiutsia") applies not only to Don Juan and the Statue, but to Donna Anna as well. See D. Blagoi, *op. cit.* (1929), p. 221.

Although the inclusion of Donna Anna in the scene of common destruction holds important implications not only in the interpretation of her role, but also in regard to Pushkin's broader conception of the theme, this problem has not been given particular attention. Most commentators have no doubt glossed over the question on the assumption that only the traditional duo -- Don Juan and the Statue -- tumble into Hell. V.L. Korvin-Piotrovskii, as will be seen later in this study, bases his Don Juan versions on the assumption that Donna Anna remains alive to pursue new romantic affairs.

repentance, nor is it the image of an outraged father come to seek vengeance on behalf of a dishonoured daughter. It is the spirit of Don Alvar himself, the rival so insolently deprived of life, stripped of honour, and dispossessed of his wife. Various critics (Seeley, Kučera, Akhmatova, Blagoi) concur in the Statue's representation of the husband returning to punish the lover and reclaim his wife. This view lends support to the hypothesis of the death of Donna Anna who perishes either for her infidelity or in order to be reunited with her spouse in the next world.

Nusinov, however, seeks a social rather than an individual rationalization of the Statue's vengeance. Don Juan, he contends, perishes in consequence of "the rift between the aesthetic-hedonistic and the ethical-social principles."⁶⁸ This rift is manifest most poignantly in his conduct with the Commander "who shielded his wife from all Spanish Don Juans and whom this Don Juan summons to stand guard during a romantic rendezvous."⁶⁹ The social symbolism of the Statue has been more recently reinterpreted in the following terms:

The statue of the commander is symbolic of society's idea of what constitutes greatness, of society's values, traditions, norms, constraints. The commanders of this world exist

⁶⁸I. Nusinov, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin i mirovaia literatura (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1941), p. 256.

⁶⁹Ibid.

within statues which are much larger than they are themselves, imputing much of their worth not from any store of inherent value but from the role they are cast in.

But valid or not, the societal values represented by the statue are indeed powerful.⁷⁰

The Statue is no doubt to some degree representational of all these social and moral forces, conflicts, and laws, and perhaps of others besides. What is certain, however, is that Kamennyi gost', as Anna Akhmatova asserts, is a "tragedy of retribution" and the Statue is its symbol of vengeance.⁷¹ D.S. Mirsky goes as far as to qualify this drama as "one of the most impressive and ultimate expressions of Pushkin's fundamental idea of inherent Nemesis."⁷² This very fact binds Kamennyi gost' inextricably to the Don Juan dramas of the Classical tradition, all of which are in the final analysis "tragedies of retribution."

Pushkin's interpretation of the convidado theme thus helps to shed some light on the problem of the position Kamennyi gost' occupies in the periodization of Don Juan literature. It is to be acknowledged that this drama is a

⁷⁰James G. Connell Jr., "Freedom and the Don Juan Tradition in Selected Poetic Works and The Stone Guest of Alexander Pushkin" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1973), p. 177.

⁷¹A.A. Akhmatova, "'Kamennyi gost'" Pushkina," in M.P. Alekseev (ed.), Pushkin: Issledovaniia i materialy (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1958), Vol. II, pp. 186, 191.

⁷²D.S. Mirsky, Pushkin (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1963), p. 164.

highly original adaptation, which accounts for the recognition it enjoys among the classics of Don Juan literature. It is remarkably free from the imitative quality often encountered in the pre-Romantic versions and equally free from the eclecticism typifying many of the ensuing Romantic renditions. By virtue of its conciseness and brevity, Kamennyi gost' is a distillate, as it were, of the donjuanesque tradition which preceded it. What is not stated directly in the plot of the drama is evoked by the suggestiveness of Pushkin's poetry. The Pushkinian Don Juan himself appears to epitomize his ancestors; he has inherited from them their best and their worst. If he is endowed with an emotional superiority over his precursors in the donjuanesque line, he is at the same time capable of manifesting a greater moral depravation, as Blagoi has adequately demonstrated.

As a culminant work in the evolutionary process of the Classical Don Juan, Kamennyi gost' itself remains essentially a Classical version. The Romantics of Pushkin's day had already seized upon the notion of Don Juan the ideal-seeker or of Don Juan the pardoned prodigal son. Pushkin's hero, however, is still the dissoluto punito of the Tenorio line, the direct avatar of the classic, archetypal Don Juan. The retention of the structural and thematic division of the burlador and convidado sub-themes testifies to the traditional spirit with which the drama was inspired and conceived.

II. A.K. TOLSTOI: DON ZHUAN: VARIANT OF 1867

One encounters in the bountiful literature on Don Juan a category of works which do not constitute "versions" in the strict sense of the term, but emerge rather as "belletristic commentaries" thematically bound to the myth. More often than not, these fruits of fanciful reflection yield in magnitude and distinction to the expansive canvases of donjuanesque drama and opera. However, there exists among them one such interpretative creation which, despite its unimposing length, constitutes a monumental turning-point in the evolution of the theme. This work is E.T.A. Hoffmann's Don Juan -- a short tale which appeared in 1813 and marks one of the earliest manifestations of the Don Juan theme created in the spirit of the Romantic movement.⁷³

The impact of Hoffmann's Don Juan lies in the extraordinary interpretation the author offers of Mozart and Da Ponte's Don Giovanni. Where the libretto of this dramma giocoso portrayed the sensual hedonist, the traditional punished libertine, Hoffmann, under the spell of Mozart's music, envisioned a tormented, misguided demi-god, a desperate idealist tragically condemned to destruction by his own spiritual pre-eminence. The distance between the two conceptions is immense and not without reason does Gendarme de Bévoite claim

⁷³ E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), Vol. I, pp. 73-88.

that Hoffmann "ascribed to Mozart an interpretation which is purely subjective." The characters and motives of the original opera are almost unrecognizably transformed:

Il dramatise, assombrit, fait du libertin écerelé un homme fatal et méphistophélique; de la jeune première qu'est donna Anna, une femme ardente, ravagée par une passion contre laquelle luttent douloureusement sa pureté et son sentiment du devoir. Par cette première transformation, il donne aux caractères une gravité profonde et mystérieuse, une mélancolie et une exaltation malades qui rappellent les René, les Manfred, les Lara, tandis que la légende changeant une fois de plus de signification, symbolise un de ces conflits entre l'homme et le destin, si chers aux imaginations romantiques.⁷⁴

Glancing in retrospect, it is clear that the Hoffmann tale accomplished most efficaciously what it apparently set out to do, that is, leave with its reader an impression which would persist and, consciously or subconsciously, colour any subsequent view of the hero. "Hoffman's interpretation," acknowledges Leo Weinstein, "was like a fresh breath of air in the evolution of the Don Juan subject, and for two reasons: it opened the way to new treatments of the hero and the story, and it was in basic accord with the new attitudes of the young romantics."⁷⁵

Whether or not Pushkin knew Hoffmann's revolutionizing conception of Don Juan has not been conclusively ascertained.

⁷⁴ G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), pp. 424-425.

⁷⁵ Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 78.

Although there exists the possibility that he might have read Don Juan in a French translation which appeared in the Revue de Paris in 1829,⁷⁶ not even with the application of great latitude in interpreting the hero of Kamennyi gost' does any concrete affinity with the Hoffmannesque ideal-seeker emerge. However, if the influence of Hoffmann is minimal, if not totally absent in Pushkin's play, it is conversely the very foundation of what is chronologically the next Slavic version of Don Juan -- Aleksei Konstantinovich Tolstoi's Don Zhuan.⁷⁷

Completed in Paris in the early part of 1860, Don Zhuan is a rather lengthy dramatic poem which, in the author's estimation, "with slight modifications might readily be presented on the stage."⁷⁸ The work divides structurally

⁷⁶ See B. Tomashevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1935), Vol. VII, p. 573.

⁷⁷ The edition of Don Zhuan used predominantly in this study is found in A.K. Tolstoi, Sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1963), Vol. II, pp. 9-120. All excerpts from the text are taken from this edition.

⁷⁸ According to a letter dated 1 April 1860 published in Russian translation of the original French in A.K. Tolstoi, Sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaia Literatura," 1964), Vol. IV, p. 114. The drama was indeed staged for the first time in Russia by the Adelheim brothers in 1905. Subsequent attempts to produce the play apparently proved unsuccessful.

For a discussion of the dramatic poem as an expository genre and argumentation in favour of its particular suitability for Tolstoi's psychological exploitation of the Don

into two main parts and is written in rhymed and unrhymed blank verse -- Tolstoi's favoured prosodic metre in his dramatic creativity. Acknowledging his indebtedness to his famous precursors, Tolstoi dedicated his version of the Don Juan theme to the memory of Mozart and Hoffmann. Furthermore, he cites as the epigraph to Don Zhuan that particular passage from the Hoffmann tale which the Russian poet perceived as the very core of the tragedy of Don Juan. This is the point of departure of the drama and the key to the understanding of its philosophical basis:

Aber das ist die entsetzliche Folge des Sündenfalls, dass der Feind die Macht behielt, dem Menschen aufzulauern, und ihm selbst in dem Streben nach dem Höchsten, worin er seine göttliche Natur ausspricht, böse Fallstricke zu legen. Dieser Konflikt der göttlichen und dämonischen Kräfte erzeugt den Begriff des irdischen, so wie der erfochtene Sieg den Begriff des überirdischen Lebens.

Tolstoi's Don Zhuan is known to exist in two variants. The first variant appeared in the April 1862 issue of Russkii vestnik;⁷⁹ the second, five years later in a collection of the author's poetic works.⁸⁰ The essential difference be-

Juan subject see the article by Margarita Salomon, "Raznostoronnost' i glubina soderzhaniia 'Don-Zhuana'," in V.I. Pokrovskii (ed.), A.K. Tolstoi: Ego zhizn' i tvorchestvo (Moscow: V. Spiridonov i A. Mikhailov, 1908), pp. 255-264.

⁷⁹Russkii vestnik, No. 4 (April, 1862), pp. 581-692. Three months later this journal published a revised section titled "Peredelannaia stsena iz Don Zhuana," (July, 1862).

⁸⁰A.K. Tolstoi, Stikhotvoreniia (St. Petersburg, 1867), pp. 239-388.

tween the two variants lies in the denouement and in the deletion in the 1867 edition of the Epilogue which concluded the "journal text." In the latter variant Don Juan is struck down by the Statue in the traditional manner, whereas in the earlier version he enters a monastery where he ends his days in extreme piety.⁸¹ It is clearly evident from these contrasting resolutions of the plot -- damnation in one and salvation in the other -- that Tolstoi responded to each of the two prevailing currents of Don Juan literature: the old and established Tenorio legend and the more recently popularized Mañara legend. It is proposed in the present chapter to examine the "traditional" version, the 1867 variant of Don Zhuan.

In distinction to Pushkin's reticence regarding Kamennyi gost', Tolstoi left no dearth of auto-commentary about his Don Zhuan. The drama is a recurring topic in his correspondence between 1860 and 1864 and is the subject of a spirited epistolary exchange with his friend B.M. Markevich. It is also the focal point of a long letter to the editor of Russkii vestnik in which Tolstoi championed the cause of "art for art's sake" and offered his Don Zhuan as an example of this aesthetic philosophy.⁸² Nevertheless, for all the elu-

⁸¹The 1862 variant of Don Zhuan is analyzed in the chapter "The Slavic Avatars of Miguel Mañara" in the present study.

⁸²"Pis'mo k izdateliu," Russkii vestnik, No. 7 (July, 1862), reprinted in A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 449-453.

cidation and explanation the author provides in both private and public documents, Don Zhuan remains a complex, rather tendentious drama, a work whose psychological, philosophical, and mystical infrastructure defies simplification. It was and still is a creation for the few.

The immediate source for Tolstoi's Don Zhuan and its ideological inspiration is, as avowed by the author himself, the interpretation of E.T.A. Hoffmann "who was the first to perceive Don Juan as a seeker of the ideal rather than a mere playboy."⁸³ "There is probably nothing on earth," wrote Hoffmann, "that so exalts man's inner nature as love;. . .By the cunning of man's arch-enemy the thought entered Don Juan's mind that through love, through the enjoyment of woman, he might obtain on earth what dwells in our hearts merely as a heavenly promise, namely that infinite longing which brings us into direct contact with the supernatural."⁸⁴ Accordingly, in Tolstoi's Prologue to Don Zhuan the soul of the hero becomes the pawn in a primordial cosmic conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness. Satan, in the guise of the Black Angel, discloses to the

⁸³Letter to B.M. Markevich dated 1 April 1860. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV. p. 114.

⁸⁴E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), Vol. I, pp. 83-84.

Heavenly Spirits the diabolical stratagem which will divert his victim from the path of virtue. The Arch-fiend will reveal to Don Juan but a glimpse of the Ideal Woman whom he will henceforth seek in every woman:

Пусть в каждом личике, хоть несколько годящем,
 Какое бы себе он ни избрал,
 Он вместо копий все зрит оригинал,,
 Последний вывод наш в порядке восходящем.
 Когда ж захочет он, моим огнем палим,
 В объятиях любви найти себе блаженство,
 Исчезнет для него виденье совершенства,
 И женщина, как есть, появится пред ним. (18-19)

Don Juan's quest for the sublime, for "the heavenly on earth" is, however, doomed to failure. The agony of his vain strivings, according to Hoffmann, will drive him to despise the platitude of life and loathe the imperfection of man:

Vom schönen Weibe zum schönern rastlos fliehend;
 bis zum Überdruß, bis zur zerstörenden Trunken-
 heit ihrer Reize mit glühendsten Inbrunst genies-
 send; immer in der Wahl sich betrogen glaubend,
 immer hoffend, das Ideal endlicher Befriedigung
 zu finden, musste doch Juan zuletzt alles irdische
 Leben matt und flach finden, und indem er über-
 haupt den Menschen verachtete, lehnte er sich auf
 gegen die Erscheinung, die, ihm als Höchste im
 Leben geltend, so bitter ihn getäuscht hatte.⁸⁵

However strongly the influence of Hoffmann might pervade this drama, Don Zhuan is not merely the dramatization of the German writer's views on the universal hero. It is also the artistic exposition of Tolstoi's own preoccupation with cabalistic beliefs, with mysticism and the occult. The omnipresence of cosmogonic forces in collision with one

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 84.

another, ~~the~~ philosophical argumentation expounding on the indispensability of evil, the flux and counterflux of invisible astral energies as determinants in the fate of men endow the drama with an unprecedented metaphysical profundity never again to be expressed with such fervour either in the creativity of Tolstoi or in the ensuing development of the Don Juan theme.

In contrast to this weighty philosophical cerebration, the narrative component of Don Zhuan is surprisingly uncomplicated. Tolstoi himself allowed that there are only two principal characters: Don Juan and Donna Anna.⁸⁶ The supporting dramatis personae -- Leporello, the Commander,⁸⁷ and Don Octavio -- are evidently appropriated from the Da Ponte libretto. The person of Boabdil the Morisco, the "chorus" consisting of Satan and the Heavenly Spirits, and the members of the Inquisition in the Casa Santa scene are original to Tolstoi. The plot, when divested of its metaphysical complexity, is but an adaptation of the Tenorio legend: Don Juan's pursuit of Donna Anna, the murder of the Commander, and the ensuing encounters with the Statue. In view of such reliance upon the original legend for the nar-

⁸⁶Letter to B.M. Markevich dated 1 April 1860. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 113.

⁸⁷In what appears to be an echo of Pushkin's Kamennyi gost', the Commander is called Don Alvar. We note, however, that in Tolstoi's version the Commander resumes his traditional role as the father of Donna Anna.

rative substance of the drama, it is small wonder that Tolstoi retained the essential features of the "traditional" version, that is the thematic partition of the burlador theme and the convidado theme. It will be of interest to observe how these thematic elements are dealt with against the background of Romantic idealism on the one hand, and of the cosmological theories of the Magnetists on the other.

The Burlador Theme

It is somewhat ironic, if not paradoxical, to speak of Tolstoi's conception of Don Juan in terms of the burlador theme, for there is nothing more contrary to the innermost nature of the true ideal-seeker than compulsive infidelity. "Were he to realize his dream," declares Théophile Gautier, "Don Juan would make the best husband in all Spain."⁸⁸ He seeks in his love-union with woman not the banality of carnal pleasure, but a sacred communion with the universe, "the fountainhead of every truth and the primal cause of all great deeds."⁸⁹ Unable to find this supreme love, of which all

⁸⁸ Théophile Gautier, Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), Vol. IV, p. 36.

⁸⁹

(А кажется, я понимал любовь!

Она меня роднила со вселенной,
Всех истин я источник видел в ней,
Всех дел великих первую причину.
Через нее я понимал уж смутно
Чудесный строй законов бытия,
Явлений всех сокрытое начало. (31)

womankind holds promise but every woman forswears, it is Don Juan himself who becomes not the deceiver, but the deceived:

О, если бы из тех, кого любил я,
Хотя б одна сдержала обещанье!
Я им не изменял -- нет, нет, -- они,
Они меня бесстыдно обманули,
Мой идеал они мне подменили,
Подставили чужую личность мне,
И их любить, на место совершенства --
Вот где б измена низкая была! (32)

In adhering to the Hoffmannesque conception of Don Juan, Tolstoi made a radical departure from the established, traditional view of the hero. The ideal-seeker emerges as the very antithesis of the classic donjuanesque type; he is, in other words, a manifestation of the anti-Don Juan. In contrast to the archetypal burlador who seduces for the pure sport of the chase, the Romantic idealist would gladly surrender the chore of scaling walls at midnight, the tedium of feigning rapture in the boudoir and of dispatching Commanders to the next world. To him, donjuanism is a role into which he has been cast perforce by the divine and demoniac powers which vie for his soul. He is an actor whose stage fame has totally effaced his true identity by virtue of the excellence to which he has mastered the art of hypocrisy. But, ironically, the first and foremost victim of his delusion is Don Juan himself:

Воображенью дать лишь стоит волю,
Оно меня на крыльях унесет,
Минутной верой мне наполнит душу,

Arch-devil himself who is enchanted by the allure of the fifteen-year-old Don Juan de Maraña:

Как он хорош в толпе придворной,
Одетый в бархат и атлас,
Когда он клонит так притворно
Свой взор при встрече женских глаз!
Зато как иногда он смело
На них украдкой глядит! (17)

Ten years later, the nascent idealist of the Prologue has long since become the notorious seducer, the champion and mentor of all the libertines in Seville. It once again befalls Leporello to keep a record of his master's conquests and to recite the catalogue of Don Juan's victims before the rapacious officials of the Inquisition:

Да с кем в интриге не был дон Жуан?
Подумать страшно! Верите ль, сеньор,
Из сил я выбился носить записки
И на часах стоять то тут, то там.
Мы ездили с ним вместе по Европе;
Не пропустил нигде он никого;
Что город, то интрига; а в иных
По десяти, по двадцати случалось.
Уж я ему, бывало, говорю:
Сеньор, остепенитесь! Так вот нет же!
Вот так и прет его в интриги, право;
И точно будто ищет он чего-то;
Попробует одной, давай другую! (25)

in die Physiognomie, das, ohne dem Gesicht die Schönheit zu rauben, einen unwillkürlichen Schauer erregt. Es ist, als könnten die Weiber, von ihm angeblickt, nicht mehr von ihm lassen und müssten, von der unheimlichen Gewalt gepackt, selbst ihr Verderben vollenden."

Ibid., pp. 75-76.

This prodigious record of seductive exploits is not, however, borne out in the direct action of the drama itself. The romantic intrigue is restricted to and concentrated in a single pathological obsession -- the violation of Donna Anna, although his pursuit of the Commander's daughter is not motivated by a lustful craving, but rather by something akin to therapeutic necessity. Don Juan believes that when Donna Anna ultimately proves to be spiritually no less shallow and disappointing than her predecessors, the phantom of happiness will vanish and some measure of peace will return to his restless soul.⁹²

Contrary to the legend, and even to Hoffmann's narration, Tolstoi's Donna Anna offers virtually no resistance to Don Juan's overtures. She in fact openly confesses her love for Don Juan in the opening scene of the drama, albeit not without a reference to his notoriously dissolute past. She writes in her letter:

Успехи ваши, нрав непостоянный,
Отчаянье и слезы стольких жертв,
К несчастью, мне давно уже известны.
Для вас легко любить и разлюбить...
Ужель вы также и меня хотели б
Игрушкой сделать прихоти своей? (33)

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Тогда и этот призрак счастья
Исчезнет, как все прежние. Да, да,
Я излечусь; но это излечение
Тяжеле будет самого недуга,
И я куплю спокойствие мое
Еще одной потерей идеала! (79)

Despite these recriminations, Donna Anna readily becomes the fiancée of Don Juan, even though it means the rejection of the virtuous and devoted Don Octavio and the contravention of her father's wishes. It is clear that Donna Anna not only loves Don Juan, she reveres and idolizes him as a superhuman creature, and her love, she feels, has equalled her to him. It is in the name of this great love that she will later offer her soul for the salvation of Don Juan.

Although the Romantic "homme fatal" has little need of the primitive tricks and ruses of his more earthy Classical ancestor, there remains some vestige of the original burlador in his behaviour with Donna Anna. The donjuanesque deception he perpetrates consists in the false promise of marriage which he not only has no intention of honouring, but also breaks in a most despicable manner. Instead of keeping his rendezvous at the fountain with Donna Anna and the Commander, who has since proclaimed the banns, Don Juan publicly serenades Niceta, the town harlot, supposedly "in order to teach the old man not to insist on marriage." This dishonour to his daughter precipitates Don Alvar's challenge to Don Juan. In this fashion Tolstoi preserves the traditional motif of the Commander's murder and the transition from the burlador to the convidado themes.

In addition to these episodes, there are several other features of Tolstoi's hero in which we recognize traces of the pre-Romantic Don Juan: his contempt for and defiance of civil

and ecclesiastical authority,⁹³ his recklessly impulsive and adventuresome spirit, and his prowess in the art of swordsmanship. He single-handedly rescues the Morisco Boabdil from the henchmen of the Inquisition; he kills not only the Commander, but also Don Octavio and Don Cesar, Don Juan's companion in debauchery. Upon his departure from Spain, he will roam the seas as a pirate. Although he is infinitely more reflective, spiritually and philosophically more profound than, say, the hero of Kamennyi gost' or of Don Giovanni, he is no less insouciant of his past love affairs and, failing to find in them ultimate satisfaction, abandons women without remorse as easily as he conquers them. His pursuit of the perfection of femininity is as frenzied and fa-

⁹³ Asked by the Inquisitors whether his master is religious and whether he attends church, Leporello replies:

Да! часто ль ходит в церковь?
 Коль правду говорить -- не слишком часто;
 Так, разве для забавы; да и то
 Когда в кого влюблен, то встречи ради. (25)

Interestingly, the motif of the protagonist going to church not to hear mass but to see the ladies is found exclusively, according to Dorothy Epplen MacKay, in Spanish ballads relating to the double invitation and punishment by a revenant from beyond the grave, i.e. the convidado theme. Two excerpts are cited below:

Pa misa diba un galán -- caminito de la iglesia,
 no diba por oír misa -- ni pa estar atento a ella,
 que diba por ver las damas -- las que van guapas y frescas.

En la corte da Madrid -- va un caballero a la iglesia,
 mas va por ver a su dama -- que no por ver las completas.

See Dorothy Epplen MacKay, The Double Invitation in the Legend of Don Juan (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943), pp. 121 ff.

natical as the burlador's pursuit of sexual gratification and the enlargement of his catalogue:

Мечтатель я --
 Но я хочу мечты осуществленья,
 Неясных положений не терплю.
 Я не могу туманным обещаньем
 Довольствоваться в жизни. От нее
 Я исполненья требую. (79)

Eventually, Don Juan is to realize that the woman he so desperately sought was within his reach in the person of Donna Anna. Tolstoi's heroine, the sole female participant in the burlador theme is a composite figure, having inherited features of Mozart-da Ponte's Donna Anna and Donna Elvira, of José Zorrilla's Doña Inés, and foremostly of E.T.A. Hoffmann's Donna Anna. It was Hoffmann who proposed that Donna Anna had been destined to make Don Juan recognize the divine nature within him through love. But, it was too late: he saw her when he had already reached the pinnacle of vice and could find enjoyment only in the diabolical pleasure of ruining her.⁹⁴ This interpretation is highly analogous to the role Tolstoi had envisioned for the heroine. Satan, who had hitherto strewn Don Juan's path with counterfeits of the ideal is himself amazed and disturbed by the degree to which Donna Anna approaches the prototype of feminine perfection:

⁹⁴"Wie, wenn Donna Anna vom Himmel dazu bestimmt gewesen wäre, den Juan in der Liebe, die ihn durch des Satans Künste verdarb, die ihm inwohnende göttliche Natur erkennen zu lassen und ihn der Verzweiflung seines nichtigen Strebens zu entreissen? -- Zu spät, zur zeit des höchsten Frevels, sah er sie, und da konnte ihn nur die teuflische Lust erfüllen, sie zu verderben."

E.T.A. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 85.

Она точь в точь на свой походит идеал,
 И даже самому мне страшно,
 Что в форму вылилась так чисто донна Анна.
 Когда б ее сумел он оценить,
 Свершилось бы неслыханное чудо,
 Моих сетей разорвалась бы нить
 И со стыдом бы мне пришлось бежать отсюда.
 Но слеп он, словно крот. (85)

Don Juan is indeed blind. He desecrates the pure and ennobling love she offers him, for steeped in cynicism, he cannot rise spiritually to its level. On the eve of a union that would purify him, the "old Adam" prevails and Don Juan can only destroy his last chance for a moral rebirth. Performing his last act in the role of the burlador, Don Juan violates Donna Anna in her villa even after she has refused to betray him, her father's killer, to the officers of the Inquisition. At last, Don Juan is able to revel in his victory:

Свершено!
 Полуобман и полуоткровенность,
 Обратное движение бурной страсти,
 Которому так сладко уступать,
 Мне предали в объятия донну Анну.
 Я победил! (100)

But his is a bitter, pyrrhic victory and his seduction of Donna Anna was in fact a violation. It is here that the wide gap between the instinctual burlador, who would have found even such a conquest highly palatable, and the philosophical Don Juan of the idealistic tradition is once again underscored:

Я победил. Но удовлетворенья
 Ожидаемого я не нахожу.
 Она мне отдалась без сознания;
 Мне помогли: внезапность и расплож;
 Победу я украл, как вор. Не так
 Мне овладеть хотелось этим сердцем! (102)

The Donna Anna of Tolstoi's drama also departs substantially from the traditional image of the female victim of Don Juan's excesses. Transformed into a complex, tragic heroine, consumed and ultimately destroyed by the intensity of her passions, she parallels the drastic changes Tolstoi wrought upon Don Juan under the inspiration of Hoffmann. Central to the German story and to the Russian drama is the bizarre love-hate relationship in which the hero and heroine engage with each other: Don Juan is torn between his idealization of "Woman" and his contempt for "woman," while Donna Anna struggles against a fatal passion which clashes with her obsession for revenge. It must, however, be admitted that in the episodes directly related to the theme of vengeance Donna Anna sinks into a spiritual shallowness inconsistent with her destiny as a personification of the feminine ideal. Oblivious to the love he bears her, she mercilessly sends Don Octavio to his death on a mission of vengeance against Don Juan.⁹⁵ It would appear that she who

⁹⁵ Here, Tolstoi makes a curious departure from Hoffmann and the opera in the characterization of Donna Anna and Don Octavio. Unlike the operatic heroine, who personally takes the lead in the pursuit of her father's assassin, Tolstoi's Donna Anna merely pines in her retreat and scorns her admirer, Don Octavio, for his tardiness in dispatching the villain.

Don Octavio, whom Hoffmann had contemptuously characterized as "frigid, effeminate, prosaic" and "a delicate, over-dressed fop of twenty-one at most," fares much better under the pen of Tolstoi. Not only does he magnanimously forgive the humiliation of his rejection, but also pursues Don Juan and duels with him thrice, the last one costing him his life.

was created to reveal superhuman virtues wears human frailties rather badly.

When Don Juan reappears before her, she succumbs to him and subsequently takes her own life. Dying from a dose of poison, Donna Anna finally perceives the mystery of Don Juan's tragic life:

Как все мне стало ясно и понятно!
С моих очей как будто спал туман,
И без труда я различаю нить
Запутанных событий и дорогу,
Которой вы к гибели пришли. (114)

Покайтесь, дон Жуан! Еще не поздно!
Я знаю, что в вас веру погубило:
Искали вы блаженство -- есть оно!
Но на земле гнались вы напрасно
За тем, что только в небе суждено. (116)

In arriving at the final hour to warn Don Juan of his impending perdition and in exhorting him to repent, Donna Anna recalls to mind Molière's Elvire and Mozart-da Ponte's Donna Elvira. However, her true ancestors are the Romantic heroines of Dumas and Zorrilla, who offer up life and eternity in the name of love.⁹⁶ Only at the cost of Donna Anna's supreme sacrifice is the true meaning of love revealed to Don Juan. But now it is too late: the supernatural forces he himself set in motion in inviting the Statue are about to descend upon him and destroy him.

⁹⁶The relationship of Tolstoi's Donna Anna to the heroines of Dumas and Zorrilla is elaborated in Chapter III of the present study.

In the light of his relationship with Donna Anna -- his solitary victim in the entire drama -- it becomes evident that the ideal-seeker has lost all but the most superficial affinity with the original burlador. Tolstoi, in recreating the visionary of Hoffmann rather than the hedonist of Mozart and Da Ponte, succeeded in transforming the very essence of the theme of compulsive infidelity. It might be reasonably expected that he would do no less with the theme of the Stone Guest.

The Convidado Theme

Tolstoi's Don Zhuan undoubtedly ranks among the most "recherché" of Don Juan versions. It has, in fact, been suggested that the drama was created expressly in order to elaborate a philosophical argument.⁹⁷ There is, to be sure, no dearth of philosophical argumentation in the author's rationalization of evil's necessity, of man's aspiration to the sublime, and of love's enlightening virtue. There are, however, parameters in the drama which extend beyond religious and moral philosophy and penetrate to the realm of mysticism and the occult. "Tolstoi's mystical beliefs," writes Margarita Salomon, "seemed to crystallize in this poem, never again to be so forcefully expressed."⁹⁸

⁹⁷ André Lirondelle, Le Poète Alexis Tolstoi: l'homme et l'oeuvre (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1912), p. 466.

⁹⁸ Margarita Salomon, "'Don-Zhuan' grafa Alekseia Tolstogo," Vestnik Evropy, CCXLVII, Nos. 10-11 (1907), p. 484.

Indeed, throughout his life the Russian poet was fascinated with psychic phenomena, with spiritualism, animal magnetism, alchemy and magic.⁹⁹ It is no doubt fundamentally due to his preoccupation with mysticism and the hermetic sciences that the role of the supernatural is more intensely bound to the fate of the hero in Don Zhuan than it is in the very legend which inspired the work. Thus, the convidado theme, traditionally the province of miraculous events and supernatural forces, offered a natural focal point upon which the author's esoteric beliefs might be brought to bear.

From the viewpoint of composition, the theme of the Stone Guest is introduced in the conventional manner, that is, via the transitional motif of the Commander's murder. This once again provides the rationale behind the existence of the Statue and the motivation behind Don Juan's supper invitation. With this, however, the relationship between Tolstoi's adaptation of the convidado theme and the traditional interpretation of the Avenging Statue ends, and a rather unorthodox metaphysical conception of the Stone Guest begins to evolve.

It is essential to note at the very outset that the Stone Guest in Tolstoi's drama does not represent an emissary from Heaven come to punish Don Juan or to warn him of impending doom; neither is it a phantom nor the dead Commander as a

⁹⁹Margaret Dalton, A.K. Tolstoy (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 28.

revenant from the grave seeking vengeance upon its offender. Here, the Statue is the physical manifestation of a purely cabalistic idea. It is the "astral force" -- a magnetic stream which pervades all life and binds it to the universe. Known variously as "the soul of the earth" and the alchemists' "azote," this force, although itself neutral in polarity, serves both the Creator and the Demon with equal obedience.

Tolstoi was understandably concerned about the possibility that his rendition of the Stone Guest theme would either be interpreted in the conventional manner, or perhaps be entirely misunderstood. He therefore took pains to provide an explanation through the mouth of Satan who conjures the "astral force" to resolve the deadlock in the struggle for Don Juan's soul:

Позвольте мне сюда ту силу пригласить,
 Которая, без воли и сознания,
 Привыкла первому служить,
 Кто только даст ей приказанье.
 Кто б ей ни овладел, порок иль благодать,
 Слепа, могуча, равнодушна,
 Готова сила та крушить иль созидать,
 Добру и злу равно послушна.
 Ты, что философы зовут душой земли,
 Ты, что магнитный ток сквозь мир всегда струила,
 Услышь теперь мой зов, словам моим внимли,
 Явись, таинственная сила!
 Ты, жизненный агент, алхимиков азот,
 Незримое астральное течение,
 Твой господин тебя зовет,
 Явись принять его веленья!
 Ты, что людской всегда питаешь пот и труд,
 Ты, что так много душ стугбила,
 Усердье, преданность, иль как тебя зовут,
 Явись, бессмысленная сила.

(90)

Although Tolstoi's conception of the "astral force" is not a particularly complex notion, it is sufficiently exotic and abstract an idea as to presuppose on the reader's part some familiarity with the writings of certain alchemists and magnetists.¹⁰⁰ The mysterious power which incarnates itself in the image of the Statue is related to what Paracelsus and Van Helmont referred to as the "Archaeus" -- a vital energy which presides over all actions of organic life.¹⁰¹ In the context of the drama, this "astral force" is a manifestation of Fate as an entity distinct from God and the Devil, but responsive to the will of either. This force, blind but mighty, is summoned by the Arch-devil because, in Tolstoi's view,

¹⁰⁰ Despite Satan's elucidation of the nature of the mysterious energy which is subsequently to appear in the form of the Statue, Tolstoi felt compelled to write his own clarification for the benefit of Markevich who had evidently misconstrued the author's intent:

"Cette statue n'est pas une sculpture en pierre, ni l'esprit du commandeur, c'est la force astrale, la force exécutive, servant également le bien et le mal, et se trouvant neutralisée par les volontés contradictoires de Satan et des anges (position préparée dans la scène du cimetière), idée cabalistique se retrouvant dans tous les ouvrages hermétiques et se reproduisant de nos jours invisiblement dans chaque acte de notre volonté, et invisiblement dans toute expérience magnétique et magique."

Tolstoi further suggests to Markevich the reading of works by Paracelsus, Henri Kunrat, Van Helmont, Dr. Teste, and Jules du Potet (a famous French medium whose seances Tolstoi attended in Paris) and other magnetists.

Letter to B.M. Markevich, dated 11 June 1861, cited in the original French in A. Lirondelle, op. cit., p. 479.

¹⁰¹ A. Lirondelle, op. cit., pp. 479-480.

"Satan alone cannot seize Don Juan; therefore he has need of an intermediary in order to possess him definitively, and this intermediary is incarnated in the likeness of the statue which Don Juan has invited.¹⁰²

The function of the "astral force" is related to the theory of freedom to which Satan alludes in the cemetery scene. Although man is possessed of freedom of action and will, this freedom is circumscribed and delimited within a moral boundary. When man deliberately transgresses these limits, he plunges into "the vortex of fate" and is irretrievably swept away by the current.¹⁰³ Invoked by Satan, the "astral force" is charged to obey Don Juan's every whim and command. If he oversteps the bounds allowed him, as Satan knows he must, Don Juan will be the cause of his own destruction:

Свершай, что он велит, без мысли, ни пощады,
И, воплотившись раз, топчи, круши преграды --
И самого его в усердье раздави! (91)

However, obedient to good as well as to evil,

¹⁰²Letter to B.M. Markevich, dated 11 June 1961. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 136.

¹⁰³

Вкруг дел людских загадочной чертой
Свободы грань очерчена от века;
Но без насилья может в грани той
Вращаться вольный выбор человека.
Лишь если он преграды перейдет,
В чужую область вступит святотатно,
Впадает он в судьбы водоворот
И увлечен теченьем невозвратно. (85)

the "astral force" is also commanded by the Heavenly Spirits to issue Don Juan a final warning and to grant him the opportunity to save himself from eternal perdition:

Постой, внемли и нам! В то страшное мгновенье,
 Когда на бездны край уж ступит дон Жуан,
 Последнее ему неси остереженье
 И духа тьмы пред ним разоблачи туман.
 Тогда лишь, если он от правды отвратится, --
 Его судьба да совершится! (91)

Don Juan's sacrilegious transgression consists once again in the act of defiling the grave of a man he had killed by inviting his statue to an orgiastic feast. In inviting the statue, Don Juan unwittingly summons the "astral force," unleashes its terrible power, and seals his own fate.

In form and substance the invitation sequence in Tolstoi's drama reflects the direct influence of the Classical Don Juan version and notably that of Don Giovanni. In contrast to Pushkin's highly original adaptation of the invitation motif in Kamennyi gost', Tolstoi appears to have offered little more than a slightly modified translation of Da Ponte's libretto. Nevertheless, there are distinct analogies with Pushkin's treatment of the convidado theme, particularly in the events immediately preceding the encounter with the Statue in the cemetery. In both versions Don Juan has just scored a major victory in his pursuit of Donna Anna; it is an apparent burst of exuberance that prompts the act of impious bravado of inviting the dead Commander.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, in the absence of an "offensive"

¹⁰⁴The words which actually precede the invitation serve

inscription on the pedestal, the immediate provocation for the insult is the Statue's angry glare.¹⁰⁵ Even the venue to which Don Juan invites the Statue appears to be more logically motivated in the two Russian versions than it is in many other renditions which reiterate the invitation motif. In Kamennyi gost' Don Juan has been granted a rendezvous with Donna Anna at her villa and accordingly invites the Commander to stand guard at the door. Tolstoi's hero, in keeping with the tradition, invites the Statue to a banquet at his castle in Cadiz, and even this location is motivated by his desire to celebrate his intended permanent departure from Spain with a

to emphasize the distance between the two Russian manifestations of the Don Juan type. Compare these two analogical moments:

In Pushkin:

Я счастлив!
Я петь готов, я рад весь мир обнять. (389)

Cf. in Tolstoi:

Как вновь во мне кипит и жизнь и сила!
Весь мир теперь я вызвал бы на бой! (100)

¹⁰⁵In Pushkin's drama:

Лепорелло: Нет; посмотрите на его статую.

Дон Гуан: Что ж?

Лепорелло: Кажется, на вас она глядит
И сердится. (389)

Compare the following dialogue in Tolstoi:

Лепорелло: Поверьте мне, ускачем! Командор...

Дон Жуан: Что командор?

Лепорелло: Глядите, как он смотрит! (100)

grand orgy after which, to spite the Inquisition, he plans to set fire to the entire estate.

The actual invitation motif in Don Zhuan, evidently inspired directly by the Da Ponte libretto, parallels closely the motivic moments of Don Giovanni. These coincide in the following sequence:

- (1) Don Juan orders Leporello to invite the Statue to supper:

Дон Жуан: Зови его ко мне на ужин завтра!

Лепорелло: Ая ради бога, не шутите так!

Дон Жуан: Я не шучу. Зови его на ужин. (100)

Giovanni: - Digli che questa sera
l'attendo a cena meco.

Leporello: Che pazzia! Ma mi par... Oh dei!

Giovanni: Orsù, va là!

- (2) Under duress, the servant reluctantly complies and issues the invitation:

Лепорелло: Сейчас, сейчас! Исполню вашу волю!
Великая статуя командора!
Мой господин -- не я, ей-ей, не я --
Вас приглашает... нет, я не могу! (101)

Leporello: Piano, piano, signore... ora ubbidisco.
O statua gentilissima
del gran Commendatore...
Padron... mi trema il core...
non posso terminar.

- (3) The Statue responds with a nod of its head:

Лепорелло: Ая!

Дон Жуан: Ну что?

Лепорелло: Она... ей-ей, она кивнула. (101)

Leporello: Ah! ah! ah! que scena è questa!
O ciel, chinò la testa!

(4) Incredible, Don Juan personally repeats the invitation and, to his astonishment, is witness to the Statue's affirmative reply:

Дон Жуан: Статуя командора! Я даю
Прощальный ужин завтра и желал бы
Чтоб на него пожаловала ты.
Скажи, придешь на ужин?

Что за черт!
Я, кажется, не пьян, а вижу мутно.
Эй, Лепорелло, лошадей! (102)

Giovanni: Parlate, se potete:
verrete a cenar?

Bizzara è in ver la scena!
Verrà il buon vecchio a cena?
A prepararlo andiamo,
partiamo via di qua!

When the fateful "astral energy" descends to earth on its mission of destruction, it assumes the traditional image of Don Juan's Nemesis -- the Stone Guest. Thrice the Statue commands Don Juan to kneel in contrition; thrice the hero renounces the salvation of his soul, for the death of Donna Anna has revealed to him the truth behind his tortured existence:

К чему душа, когда любовь погибла!
Теперь мне боле нечего терять -- (120)

It is Satan who deceived him and condemned him to a frenzied pursuit of an illusive ideal, but it is God who betrayed him, who robbed him of the only love that would be his redemption. In fury and outrage, Don Juan denies his very soul to the Creator:

Клянущу молитву, рай, блаженство, душу --
И как в безверье я не покорялся,
Так, верящий, теперь не покорюсь. (120)

In no previous drama has Don Juan's revolt against God exploded with such vehemence and titanic resolve. Ironically, however, the hero's strength in the final climactic moment betrays the weakness of the entire drama. Don Juan's challenge in the face of Satan:

И СМЕРТЬ И АД НА БОЙ Я ВЫЗЫВАЮ!

and his blasphemous defiance of God:

Клянущу молитву, рай, блаженство, душу -- (120)

are his desperate expression of retaliation against the unfathomable cosmic forces which dared to manipulate him, to exploit him in what is but a momentary skirmish in their eternal conflict. Possessed by the Demon during his waking hours, haunted by the Heavenly Spirits while he sleeps, Don Juan does not belong to himself.¹⁰⁶ As the drama progresses, it becomes increasingly apparent that Don Juan's actions and thoughts are not motivated from within: he rationalizes without conviction and acts without conscience. He is, in fact, dispossessed of that vital quality inherent in every powerful dramatic figure -- his own will. It is perhaps to reduce this

¹⁰⁶ The impression of Don Juan as a divided soul manipulated by external factors is reinforced on many occasions in the drama. It is further emphasized in Satan's taunt to the Angels in the cemetery scene:

Я ВИЖУ ИЗ СЕГО, ЧТО ПУТЬ ЕГО ДВОЙНОЙ,
И САМ ОН, КАЖЕТСЯ, ДВОИТСЯ:
ВО СНЕ ОН ВАШ, НО НАЯВУ ОН МОЙ --
НА ЭТОМ Я СОГЛАСЕН ПОМИРИТЬСЯ! (84)

impression, which was even more conspicuous in the "journal text" of 1862, that Tolstoi eventually reverted to the Tenorio legend, thus giving rise to two distinct variants of Don Zhuan.

It is rather strange that such a fundamental problem as two diametrically opposite conclusions to one and the same work has not aroused the curiosity of critics. In fact, rare is the commentator who even so much as alludes to the existence of two variants of Tolstoi's Don Juan drama, let alone speculate on the motives behind a volte-face change of heart which entirely deleted the original conclusion and the Epilogue from the 1867 edition. Even Tolstoi himself, otherwise generous and explicit in his auto-commentary on the drama, offers no insight into the drastic change he wrought on the fate of his hero. Margaret Dalton, in her dissertation on the poet, suggests that the change was a concession to the criticism of Markevich who pointed out that the Statue was redundant in the original version, since Don Juan does not perish through it. Markevich apparently also found the sudden conversion of Don Juan "incomprehensible, frivolous, and illogical."¹⁰⁷ Dalton goes on to conclude that the author "found it impossible to rework the whole poem, and the omission of the end in the

¹⁰⁷ Margaret Dalton, "Aleksej Konstantinovich Tolstoj: A Study of his Life and Work" (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1964), p. 209. However, in her published book on the writer (A.K. Tolstoy), Dalton omits all but a passing reference to the existence of two variants of Don Zhuan.

second edition was a partial compromise to the criticism."¹⁰⁸ This hypothesis, to be sure, is highly credible, for Tolstoi was both receptive and responsive to criticism regarding his drama.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, some new ideas on the problem of two distinct variants might be expressed at this point.

Firstly, it should be appreciated that Tolstoi more or less vindicated himself before the alleged "pleonasm" noted by Markevich in the simultaneous appearance of both Satan and the Statue at the climax of the drama. Tolstoi explained that the Guest of Stone "is neither a statue nor a phantom, as in the opera; it is a purely cabalistic concept, a force summoned by Satan."¹¹⁰

It is, however, not only in the significance of the Statue that Tolstoi departed from the Mozart-da Ponte opera and the interpretation of Hoffmann. The Russian poet was the first to juxtapose the Romantic conception of Don Juan as the idealist with the legend of Miguel Mañara (or Don Juan de Maraña). In this respect Tolstoi deviated markedly from the tale of Hoffmann, who adhered to the tradition of Don Juan's

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹As demonstrated in Tolstoi's open letter "Pis'mo k izdateliu" to the editor of Russkii vestnik which accompanied the "Peredelannaia stsena iz 'Don Zhuana'," both of which were prompted by the need for certain clarification on the basis of critical commentary to the author.

¹¹⁰Letter to B.M. Markevich, dated 10 June 1861. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 132.

destruction at the hands of the Avenging Statue. The hero's perdition is rationalized in this way:

Don Juan ladet den erstochenen Alten höhnend im Bilde ein zum lustigen Gastmahl, und der verklärte Geist, nun erst den gefallnen Menschen durchschauend und sich um ihn betäubend, verschmäht es nicht, in furchtbarer Gestalt ihn zur Busse zu ermahnen. Aber so verderbt, so zerrissen ist sein Gemüt, dass auch des Himmels Seligkeit keinen Strahl der Hoffnung in seine Seele wirft und ihn zum bessern Sein entzündet!¹¹¹

And so, for all his immanent grandeur, for all the tragedy of his existence, the Don Juan of Hoffmann is condemned, in keeping with the Tenorio legend, to perish in hell-fire.

In Tolstoi's variant of 1862 Don Juan is rescued, on the brink of annihilation, by the direct intervention of the Heavenly Spirits. The power of God thus claims another victory over the power of the Demon; Light prevails over Darkness, Life over Death. Don Juan is redeemed by love in accordance with the Mañara tradition, and by prayer in accordance with the theosophic credo of the magnetists.¹¹²

With this miraculous conversion, however, Tolstoi evidently was unable to avoid leaving the distinct impression

¹¹¹E.T.A. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 85.

¹¹²The magnetists recognized in the soul, a creation of God, a certain magical virtue which functions spiritually and distantly. The soul recovers its natural power through prayer, meditation, and other practices which weaken the tyranny of the flesh. Dr. A. Teste, Le Magnétisme animal expliqué, cited in A. Lirondelle, op. cit., pp. 476-477.

that the hero is saved despite himself, indeed against his very will. Thus, even this ultimate opportunity of asserting his own self-determination is denied to Don Juan who continues to be a mere pawn, totally subordinated to the control of external forces. He is denied the right to rebel and to commit himself absolutely to his revolt.

It would appear that Tolstoi was conscious of the weakness created by his divergence from the powerful Hoffmannesque and Mozartian model in the climactic moments of the drama. Consequently, in turning to the Tenorio legend in the variant of 1867, Tolstoi restored to Don Juan his freedom of choice to defy authority -- natural and supernatural -- and, if necessary, to perish in the process. To act freely and to suffer the consequences for his actions is not only the fate of Don Juan, it is his birthright. In his adamant refusal to repent, Tolstoi's hero regains some common ground with the classic Don Juan of Mozart and Da Ponte who, according to the dedication, share with Hoffmann the inspiration behind Don Zhuan.

The opinion has been expressed on more than one occasion that the first variant of the drama is more in accord with Tolstoi's ideas than the "traditional" variant of 1867.¹¹³ This, of course, is a highly debatable contention and is another

¹¹³M. Dalton, loc. cit. Also, D. Tsertelev, "Osnovnaia ideia 'Don-Zhuana'," in V.I. Pokrovskii (comp.), Aleksei Konstantinovich Tolstoi: ego zhizn' i sochineniia -- Sbornik istoriko-literaturnykh statei (Moscow: V. Spiridonov and A. Mikhailov, 1908), pp. 254-255.

important facet of the overall problem of the two variants, a problem which merits a separate study. What is abundantly clear is the fact that Tolstoi was more sensitive to the image of the seeker of supreme love and beauty than he was to the classic burlador. The true donjuanesque character, remarks Margarita Salomon, was as alien to the nature of Tolstoi himself as it was to the nature of all his other literary heroes.¹¹⁴ It is this lack of spiritual communion between author and hero that impeded the attainment of an authentic re-creation of the Spanish archetype and resulted, according to some critics, in the sacrifice of psychological development in favour of convoluted philosophical argumentation.¹¹⁵ Contrasting Tolstoi's version with that of Pushkin, Nestor Kotliarevskii writes:

Пушкин обманул нас, заставляя думать, что перед нами настоящий испанец, и действие происходит в Мадриде; Алексею Толстому этого не удалось сделать, и, читая его поэму, мы не могли забыть самого автора, который очень субъективно решал запутанную философскую проблему, и все нам казалось, что действие происходит в его кабинете, а не в Испании.¹¹⁶

There is, to be sure, an element of truth in Kotliarevskii's less than complimentary assessment of Tolstoi's enterprise in donjuanesque literature. However, in a thematic

¹¹⁴Margarita Salomon, "'Don-Zhuan' grafa Alekseia Tolstogo," Vestnik Evropy, CCXLVII, Nos. 10-11 (1907), p. 485.

¹¹⁵N.M. Sokolov, Illiuzii poeticheskogo tvorchestva: epos i lirika Gr. A.K. Tolstogo (St. Petersburg: I.N. Skorokhodov, 1890), pp. 140 ff. Also, A. Lirondelle, op. cit., p. 466.

¹¹⁶N. Kotliarevskii, "Kamennyi gost'," in S.A. Vengerov (ed.), Pushkin (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Brokgauz-Efron, 1909), Vol. III, p. 137.

study effect must be viewed in the context of authorial motivation and intent.

Despite its claim to untendentiousness, Don Zhuan is a highly purposeful work. In an age of Realism, Tolstoi deliberately chose a Classical plot and rendered it in a purely Romantic treatment. The underlying purpose of the drama, according to the author's admission, was to demonstrate that a creation of "pure art" might still find an appreciative public in a prosaic age when "the opinion that art without application to some civic aim is useless and even harmful, and that it occupies a futile place in life has become widespread and has many adherents."¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the drama was Tolstoi's "fortuitous and involuntary protest against the pragmatic orientation of our literature."¹¹⁸

Tolstoi's Don Zhuan, as was emphasized at the outset of our discussion, is much more than a mere dramatization of the Hoffmann tale. However, the fact that it gave dramatic expression to Hoffmann's revolutionizing interpretation of the Don Juan theme is one of the most significant features of Tolstoi's version. It is a work whose role in the evolution of Don Juan literature parallels those of Dumas and Zorrilla. As these dramas animated Prosper Mérimée's innovative story of Don Juan de Maraña, so did Tolstoi's drama for the tale of

¹¹⁷"Pis'mo k izdateliu," in A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 449.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 451.

Hoffmann. Tolstoi elaborated Hoffmann's narrative, developed its theme and enlarged it through action and dialogue. He elucidated what Hoffmann merely suggested.

Although the German tale engendered the Russian drama, the two works now share a complementary relationship. The meaning of Hoffmann's interpretation and its contribution to Don Juan literature are better appreciated through the perceptive poetic rendition of Tolstoi. Conversely, the enjoyment of one of the outstanding Slavic versions of the Don Juan theme will be greatly enhanced when the impression of Hoffmann's fantasy is borne fresh in the mind.

Tolstoi's Don Zhuan, like Pushkin's Kamennyi gost', was reflected in other genres of artistic creativity. The composers Petr Il'ich Chaikovskii and Nikolai Aleksandrovich Sokolov set parts of the drama to music, while Aleksandr Shell adapted it as the libretto for his opera Don Juan Tenorio.¹¹⁹ The literary influence of Tolstoi's version is also unmistakable and the ideal-seeker it epitomized is recognizable in the Don Juan dramas of Bezhetskii, Mordvin-Shchodro, and Zaitsev, which will be discussed later in this study. The quest for the absolute -- albeit not as much in the Eternal Feminine as in boundless freedom -- is also reflected in the third and last of the Slavic "traditional" versions of Don Juan: Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar.

¹¹⁹ See "Catalogue of Don Juan versions," in Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. 211.

III. LESIA UKRAINKA: KAMINNYI HOSPODAR

In the preface to Don Juan de Marana Arnold Bennett writes that "The very greatest artists seem seldom to waste energy in devising new stories. A great established story will stand being retold, and indeed, by the tremendous, various inducements it offers, continually fascinates the attention of the creative."¹²⁰ The truth of this statement appears to be borne out in the case of Lesia Ukrainka. One of the foremost poets and playwrights of Modern Ukrainian literature, Lesia Ukrainka is widely recognized for the antiquity and universality of her themes. The Bible, Classical myth, folkloric legend and medieval epic all lie at the basis of her poetic and dramatic creativity. It is thus not surprising that Lesia Ukrainka should have turned to the most fertile of universal themes -- the theme of Don Juan -- in producing one of the outstanding achievements in Ukrainian Modernist drama: Kaminnyi hospodar (The Stofe Host).¹²¹

Lesia Ukrainka is one of the very few women to have approached Don Juan from a creative standpoint. And yet, this subject is fully consistent with the major thematic currents running through her poetry and dramaturgy. The Promethean spirit, the myth of titanic struggle and rebellion which pervades her creative work at every stage, bears a remarkable

¹²⁰ Arnold Bennett, Don Juan de Marana (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1923), p. xiv.

¹²¹ Lesia Ukrainka, "Kaminnyi hospodar," in Tvory (Kiev: "Dnipro," 1964), Vol. VI, pp. 68-157. All quotations, unless otherwise referenced, are cited from this edition.

kinship to the theme of freedom, courage, and defiance of authority so inalienable from the classic conception of Don Juan.

Lesia Ukrainka's preoccupation with the proud, unyielding protagonist may be traced, as Constantine Bida observes, to the years of her youth when she was fascinated by romantic and chivalrous heroes.¹²² This predilection, however, was not without a very significant peculiarity:

It was not . . . the proud and fortunate conqueror who defeated his enemy and thrust a spear in his heart that Lesya favoured. Instead she was captivated by the vanquished knight who, even as he felt the sharp spear of the victor in his heart, refused to give in but proudly cried: "Kill me; I will not surrender!"¹²³

It is very probable that Lesia Ukrainka recognized a strikingly analogical moment in the climax of the most grand and impressive of Don Juan versions -- the operatic masterpiece of Mozart and Da Ponte -- wherein Don Giovanni, even as he perishes in the grip of the Avenging Statue while the jaws of Hell gape below him, shouts his defiant "No, no, ch'io non mi penta!" However, when Lesia Ukrainka approached the Don Juan subject it was not with an adolescent's fascination by dauntless romantic heroes, but with the mature Weltanschauung of a seasoned and highly reputed woman of letters

¹²²Constantine Bida, "Life and Work," in Lesya Ukrainka (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 8.

¹²³Ibid.

addressing a challenging universal theme.¹²⁴ Indeed, Kaminnyi hospodar is one of Lesia Ukrainka's final dramatic works, written but a year before her death. Its high artistic merit and conceptual originality are widely recognized and the play has been justly acknowledged as being, together with Lisova pisnia, "the culmination of her dramatic creation."¹²⁵

Kaminnyi hospodar was begun in the Caucasian town of Khoni where Lesia Ukrainka was spending the winter of 1911-12. After several months of intensive revision, compression, and stylistic refinement, the drama was completed in Kutaisi in May of 1912. It was published that same year in the October issue of Literaturno-Naukovyi vistnyk and was first staged in 1914 by the theatrical company of M. Sadovs'kyi in Kiev.¹²⁶

¹²⁴The challenge presented by the Don Juan theme and the difficulty of creating a version, as perceived by Lesia Ukrainka, were expressed in her letter to A.Iu. Kryms'kyi dated 24 May 1912:

"Не знаю, звісно, як воно мені вийшло, добре чи зле, але скажу Вам, що в сій темі є щось диявольське, містичне, недарма вона от уже хутко 300 літ мучить собою людей. Кажу "мучить", бо писано на неї багато, а доброго написано мало, може, на те її і видумав "ворог роду людського", щоб розбивались об неї найщиріші натхнення і найглибші думки..."

Lesia Ukrainka, Tvory (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Khudozhn'oi Literatury "Dnipro," 1965), Vol. X, p. 335.

¹²⁵C. Bida, op. cit., p. 78.

¹²⁶I. Zhuravs'ka, Lesia Ukrainka ta zarubizhni literatury (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo AN URSR, 1963), p. 153.

The question why Lesia Ukrainka should have turned to the theme of Don Juan at this particular time has naturally prompted the speculation of various critics. Maksym Ryl's'kyi, for example, offers the view that Lesia Ukrainka, like Shakespeare, Byron, Schiller, and Pushkin, selected motifs out of remote history and mythology in order to resolve profound philosophical problems.¹²⁷ In attempting to identify the "problem" of Kaminnyi hospodar I. Zhuravs'ka regards the drama as Lesia Ukrainka's reaction against the idealization of the Nietzschean concept of the Übermensch, against the Decadents' exaltation of select superiority and misanthropy.¹²⁸ O. Stavyts'kyi perceives the rationale behind Lesia Ukrainka's choice of theme in this instance as consisting in the "dethroning of bourgeois anarchism and individualism, in exposing the transformation of would-be fighters against oppression and 'knights of freedom' into slaves and apologists of autocracy."¹²⁹ In yet another interpretation, reiterating the testimony of L. Staryts'ka-Cherniakhivs'ka, Ie. Nenadkevych views the problem of donjuan-ism in Kaminnyi hospodar in the light of the debates within

¹²⁷M. Ryl's'kyi, "Spivets' svobody i braterstva narodiv -- Lesia Ukrainka," cited in Ie. Savel'ieva, "Obraz Dolores v dramy Lesi Ukrainky 'Kaminnyi hospodar'," in A. Kaspruk (ed.), Lesia Ukrainka: Publikatsii, statyi, doslidzhennia (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo AN URSR, 1960), Vol. III, p. 243.

¹²⁸I. Zhuravs'ka, op. cit., pp. 161 ff.

¹²⁹O. Stavyts'kyi, Lesia Ukrainka (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Khudozhn'oi Literatury "Dnipro," 1970), p. 210.

revolutionary-political circles of the Ukrainian intelligentsia at that time: the conflict between the idea of seizing the apparatus of state and of the anarchistic negation of all statehood.¹³⁰ However, rewarding as it may be to seek a contemporary message in the sub-text of Lesia Ukrainka's works, the original motivation behind the creation of Kaminnyi hospodar may not rest as much in socio-political factors as in literary and aesthetic considerations.

Pavel Antokol'skii has asserted that in creating her drama "Lesia Ukrainka polemizes with the entire tradition of donjuanism, challenging Pushkin, Byron, Mozart, and a host of others."¹³¹ There is, to be sure, a certain element of challenge and competition implicit in Kaminnyi hospodar, as there is in every attempt to treat a universal theme. Lesia Ukrainka in fact did not minimize the weight of the gauntlet she was taking up in the face of world criticism: her correspondence of that period testifies amply to this. However, in pursuing Antokol'skii's suggested motive, we encounter an interesting coincidence rarely mentioned in critical studies of Kaminnyi hospodar, an event which, in view of its chronological proximity

¹³⁰Ie. Nenadkevych, "Ukrains'ka versia svitovoi temy pro Don Zhuana v istorychno-literaturnii perspektyvi," in Lesia Ukrainka, Tvory (New York: Tyshchenko and Bilous, 1954), Vol. XI, p. 39.

¹³¹P. Antokol'skii, Poety i vremena (Moscow, 1957), cited in O. Stavyts'kyi, op. cit., p. 198.

to the appearance of Lesia Ukrainka's drama, might well have played a determining role in its conception and genesis.

It was in 1911 that Gendarme de Bévotte published the two-volume edition of his famous study La Légende de Don Juan.¹³² This work not only found a place in the library of Lesia Ukrainka, but, even more significantly, is known to have been with her while she wintered in the Caucasus that same year.¹³³ We may thus conclude that, in having access to Gendarme de Bévotte's treatise, Lesia Ukrainka was not only familiar with the history of Don Juan through the ages, but also aware of the fact that despite the tremendous popularity of the theme in European literature, no Ukrainian writer had yet attempted to endow his national literature with a rendition of this universal subject. It is our contention that the enrichment of Ukrainian literature was the immediate objective Lesia Ukrainka set before herself in writing Kaminnyi hospodar. It was the successful fulfilment of this task that prompted her to announce triumphantly:

Так чи інакше, але от уже і в нашії літературі
є "Дон-Жуан" власний, не перекладений, оригі-

¹³²G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911).

¹³³I. Zhuravs'ka, op. cit., p. 156. In reporting this same fact (p. 198), O. Stavyts'kyi errs when he states that the Don Juan versions of Pushkin and A.K. Tolstoi, which Lesia Ukrainka knew from independent reading, are not mentioned in Gendarme de Bévotte's study. It should be noted that the French scholar does indeed provide a brief analysis of these two Russian works as well as of Rzewuski's Polish version.

нальний тим, що його написала жінка (се, здається, вперше трапилось сія темі).¹³⁴

The originality and modernism of Lesia Ukrainka's interpretation of the Don Juan theme in Kaminnyi hospodar have been the subject of a variety of critical articles on the drama. It is not intended, therefore, to reiterate at this time the material in these commentaries most of which are referenced in the bibliography and readily available to the interested. It is rather our purpose in the present chapter to focus primarily on those elements which are traditional and archetypal, which invest the drama with the spirit of the Don Juan myth.

"Kaminnyi hospodar" and the Don Juan Myth

Although Kaminnyi hospodar is a work of twentieth-century Modernism, it remains, in terms of Don Juan literature, a "traditional version." One of the most striking features of the drama is the fact that, like the great classics of donjuanesque literature, it preserves, albeit in modernized form, the legendary concepts of the burlador and convidado themes.

¹³⁴Letter to A.Iu. Kryms'kyi dated 24 May 1912. Lesia Ukrainka, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 335.

She wrote with similar emphasis to L.M. Staryts'ka:

"Єсть се не більше не менше, як українська версія світової теми про дон Жуана." Ibid., p. 359.

Lesia Ukrainka was not entirely correct in assuming to be the first woman to create a Don Juan version. According to Armand Singer's bibliography, she was preceded by some two years by Anna Quidling Åkerhielm's Don Juan Tenorio, a four-act play published in Sweden in 1909. See A. Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), p. 29.

Thus, Kaminnyi hospodar was for Lesia Ukrainka an endeavour in mythopoesis, in the re-creation of myth and re-manifestation of archetypal patterns in response to the demands and conditions of the contemporary scene.

From the mythopoeic perspective, Lesia Ukrainka resurrects recognizable archetypes of the Don Juan myth: Don Juan, Donna Anna, the Commander, and Dolores. The four principal characters are cast in essentially traditional roles, although each figure is perceived in a new and unprecedented light. Sganarel, the descendant of the ubiquitous and indispensable servant, is traditionally so closely related to his master as to emerge once again as the alter ego or the "double" of Don Juan himself.¹³⁵

In the classic works which have determined the progress of the myth, Don Juan has been identified with the male archetype of the Rebel Son.¹³⁶ His foremost incarnation in Classical mythology is Prometheus, while in Christian culture he is

¹³⁵For a study of this relationship from a psychological point of view, see Otto Rank, Don Juan: Une étude sur le double (Paris: Denoël et Steele, 1932).

¹³⁶See Mabel Parker Worthington, "Don Juan: Theme and Development in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), p. 19. Worthington's study takes the rare mythological approach to some of the major Don Juan versions and is quite useful in the determination of certain archetypes.

epitomized in the figure of Satan. The Rebel Son archetype is seen to reflect two conflicting tendencies in man: the urge to self-expression and defiance of authority, and the urge to submit to a stronger power. This conflict is ultimately resolved in the punishment of the Rebel Son and/or in his reconciliation with the power he defies.

In the Don Juan literatures of the Classical Age, the hero's urge to self-expression and rebellion against authority is most often manifest in challenging the power of the father-figure over the woman dominated by the father. Thus, the central episode of the burlador theme in many a version of that period is Don Juan's seduction of Donna Anna (or her counterpart) and the murder of the Commander, her father. Leporello, in Mozart and Da Ponte's Don Giovanni, confirms the close relationship between Don Juan's compulsion to possess the woman and to destroy that source of power which dominates the woman he desires. "Bravo! Due imprese leggiadre! Sforzar la figlia, ed ammazzar il padre!" he quips ironically, "Bravo! Two charming undertakings! Ravish the daughter and kill the father!" Even in the secondary episodes of seduction Don Juan invariably pursues only women pledged to obedience, subservience, or allegiance to some form of male authority -- be it father, husband, lover, fiance, or God.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ According to Mabel Worthington, it is the opera Don Giovanni which "appears to express more clearly than any other work the mythical content of the story partly because the action is outside time and place, outside historical reality." Ibid., p. 13.

In Kaminnyi hospodar Lesia Ukrainka deliberately underscores the affinity between Don Juan and the Rebel Son archetype of the myth. She writes in an auto-commentary:

Щодо характерів, то я не мала на меті додавати
щось нового до усталеного в літературі типу Дон-
Жуана, хіба лише підкреслити анархічність його
вдачі . . . ¹³⁸

In emphasizing "the anarchism of his nature," Don Juan becomes the self-styled "knight of freedom" or "champion of free will." Freedom, which Don Giovanni had joyously, but perfunctorily toasted with his "Viva la libertà," is elevated in Kaminnyi hospodar to an ideal which Don Juan mistakenly believes to have attained:

При світлі волі всі краї хороші,
всі води гідні відбивати небо,
усі гаї подібні до едему! (101)

Integral to Don Juan's conception of freedom is rebellion against society and being in turn banished by society. "Believe me, Donna Anna," he assures her, "only he is free from the shackles of society who is cast out by society. And I have myself forced society to do this."¹³⁹ However high-

¹³⁸Letter to O.Iu. Kobylans'ka dated 3 May 1913.
Lesia Ukrainka, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 386.

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Вірте, донно Анно:
той тільки вільний від громадських пут,
кого громада кине геть від себе,
а я її до того сам примусив. (100)

sounding his philosophy, Don Juan's revolt against society is manifest in the same terms as that of the Classical Don Juan, namely in the pursuit of the female and in the clash with the male who represents authority over her. Thus, in the very first act, we discover from Dolores that Don Juan's banishment by the king was due to his duel with a prince of the royal blood over the Infanta. We also learn from Dolores' "catalogue" of Don Juan's conquests that a Gipsy girl rejected the patriarchal authority of her camp-community; the Morisca killed her own brother for Don Juan; the Rabbi's daughter abandoned her father and her faith; the abbess (a bride of Jesus) forswore her monastic vows; and the adulterous alcalde's wife died at the hands of the husband she had deceived in the arms of Don Juan. The hero's inter-action with society is not divergent, but rather circular -- "a mutual hunt" -- for he must consistently return to society for his self-fulfilment, yet must constantly flee society to escape retribution.¹⁴⁰ Thus, as the drama opens, Don Juan has illegally returned to Seville from exile in order to pursue Donna Sol, a married woman, only to abandon her when his attention is captured by a much greater challenge and reward -- Donna Anna.

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Анна: То де ж є в світі тая справжня воля?...
 Невже вона в такім житті, як ваше?
 Адже між людьми ви, мов дикий звір
 межі мисливцями на полюванні, --
 лиш маска вас боронить.

Дон Жуан: Полювання
 взаємне межі нами. (100)

In Kaminnyi hospodar the Rebel Son incarnate in Don Juan displays his defiance of authority in the desire to destroy the father-figure represented in Don Gonzago. The murder of the Commander is a pivotal episode in Lesia Ukrainka's drama, as it is in virtually every Don Juan version of the Classical period. It is noteworthy, however, that in the Classical versions the desire to kill the father is more latent and more subtly expressed. Don Giovanni of the Mozart-da Ponte opera actually displays some reluctance toward engaging the Commendatore in armed combat and justifies his act before Leporello with: "He asked for it; so much the worse for him!" In Kaminnyi hospodar the compulsion to destroy the father-figure is much more intensely depicted. Twice Don Juan and the Commander clash in hostile encounter -- once at Anna's masked ball (Act II), and again in her boudoir (Act IV). Having failed on the first occasion (through the timely intervention of Dolores) in a vicious attempt to assassinate Don Gonzago, Don Juan will not allow his enemy to escape death a second time. "Now," he says to Donna Anna, "is my chance to defy him," and furiously cuts the Commander down.¹⁴¹

It is after the murder of the father-image that the second principal facet of the conflicting duality in the personality of the Rebel Son archetype -- the urge to submit to

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Дон Жуан: Втікати? Ні. Тепер я маю змогу
йому не уступитися з дороги.

(131)

a stronger power -- is raised in relief. In Classical Don Juan literature this urge is centralized in the convidado theme. It is dramatized in the hero's offering his hand to the Guest of Stone. Theatrically, the ritual of taunting the Statue, the invitation to supper and the acceptance of the return invitation (in the early versions) serve to intensify the dramatic effect and heighten the climax. At the level of myth, however, the presence of the Statue signifies that Don Juan has not succeeded in his rebellion. The authority the Rebel Son believes to have destroyed in killing the father-figure remains even after physical death. Although he recognizes this, Don Juan nevertheless does not flee from a power he knows to be greater than his own. On the contrary, despite the remonstrances of his terror-stricken servant, he rushes headlong to his rendezvous with the supernatural. It would never occur to Don Juan not to accept the invitation to dine in the tomb or to refuse the handshake with the revenant from the grave. By allowing the Statue that lethal physical contact which means his destruction, Don Juan demonstrates the subconscious desire to expiate his crime.

In Kaminnyi hospodar the reconciliation of the Rebel Son with the authority he defies is taken to its ultimate degree. This reconciliation is at the same time his expiation. In accepting the symbols of social power, represented in the ritual of donning the cloak and helmet of Don Gonzago, Don Juan proclaims his identity with the Commander. He

in fact becomes the Commander and, in so doing, Don Juan ceases to exist. "Where am I?" he cries as he stares in horror into the mirror. "I am no more...it's he... the man of stone!"¹⁴² It is in the symbolism of this bizarre metamorphosis that the full significance of Lesia Ukrainka's carefully-chosen title becomes clear. Having rejected such preliminary titles as Komandor and Don-Zhuan as being insufficiently expressive of the drama's ideological thrust, she finally chose Kaminnyi hospodar.¹⁴³ In a letter to Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi she explains her choice:

Правда, драма . . . зветься "Камінний господар", бо ідея її -- перемога камінного консервативного принципу, втіленого в Командорі, над роздвоєною душею гордої, героїстичної жінки донни Анни, а через неї і над Дон-Жуаном, "лицарем волі".¹⁴⁴

The "petrification" of Don Juan and his transformation into "the Stone Host" is one of the most original interpretations of the Avenging Statue motif in donjuanesque literature. The author's remarks are highly effective in the climactic finale of the drama -- virtually a "mute scene" -- and are

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Дон-Жуан: Де я? мене нема... се він... камінний!

(157)

143 "'Kaminnyi hospodar': varianty pershoi redaktsii," in Lesia Ukrainka, Tvory (New York: Tyshchenko and Bilous, 1954), Vol. XI, p. iii.

144 Letter to A.Iu. Kryms'kyi dated 24 May 1912. Lesia Ukrainka, Tvory (Kiev: Derzhavne Vyravnytstvo Khudozhn'oi Literatury "Dnipro," 1965), Vol. X, p. 335.

worthy of a full citation:

Тим часом із свічада вирізняється постать Командора, така, як на пам'ятнику, тільки без меча й патериці, виступає з рами, іде важкою камінною ходою просто до Дон-Жуана. Анна кидається межі Дон-Жуаном і Командором. Командор лівицею ставить донну Анну на коліна, а правицю кладе на серце Дон-Жуанові. Дон-Жуан застигає, поражений смертельним остовпінням. Донна Анна скрикує і падає низьма додолу до ніг Командорові. (157)

In her treatment of the Commander, Lesia Ukrainka adhered to the innovation established by Pushkin's Kamennyi gost' which was dispatched to her in Khoni when she was writing Kaminnyi hospodar.¹⁴⁵ Accordingly, Don Gonzago is no longer the father of Donna Anna, but her fiance and then her husband. By her own admission, Lesia Ukrainka attempted to break with the traditionally symbolic presentation of the Commander. She wished to portray him as a human figure, to endow him with "logical conduct and a true 'raison d'être' in the drama."¹⁴⁶ Despite this intent, however, the Commander remains for the most part a symbolic representation -- almost an allegorical figure -- rather than a "flesh and blood" personage. Don Gonzago de Mendoza incarnates the "monolithic, conservative principle" of unwavering adherence to rigid feudal custom and tradition, of oppressive semi-ascetic life and rigorous self-discipline. He is, in contrast to the "knight of freedom" the "knight of duty."

¹⁴⁵ Ie. Nenadkevych, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁴⁶ Letter to O.Iu. Kobylans'ka dated 3 May 1913. Lesia Ukrainka, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 386.

In the archetypal configuration represented in the Don Juan-Donna Anna-Commander triangle in Kaminnyi hospodar, Don Gonzago may be regarded as the incarnation of the father archetype. Although he owes something to his image as the rival of Don Juan in Kamennyi gost', his conduct in the Ukrainian drama is ever paternalistic and authoritarian. Even physically he is described as "being "not very young."¹⁴⁷ Don Juan perceives the Commander not only as the symbol of social authority but, even more so, as the power which monopolizes the woman he desires. His hatred and malice are intensified at the masked ball where he not only loses Donna Anna to the victorious Don Gonzago but also feels his social inferiority before the Commander who will not deign to duel with a proclaimed outlaw. The thirst for vengeance for this affront motivates Don Juan's acceptance of his reinstatement as a grandee of Spain gained at the expense of Dolores' sacrifice.

Turning to the figure of Donna Anna, Lesia Ukrainka's portrayal of the heroine from the point of view of archetypology constitutes a remarkable innovation and a signal contribution to the progression of the Don Juan myth. In fact, the Donna Anna of Kaminnyi hospodar and the Donna Anna (or her counterparts) in the Classical tradition are so dissimilar

¹⁴⁷ Lesia Ukrainka's remarks upon the first entry of the Commander in Act I state this point clearly:

"Командор повагом наближається. Він не дуже молодий, поважний і здержаний, з великою гідністю носить свій білий командорський плащ."

that they can hardly be regarded as incarnations of the same archetype. The Donna Anna of the Mozart-da Ponte opera, who epitomizes all her precursors, the woman archetype which has been identified as the Avenging Mother.¹⁴⁸ In the mythologem reinterpreted in Don Giovanni the Rebel Son kills the Father and is consequently pursued by the Avenging Mother who seeks his death in retribution.¹⁴⁹ The love she bears Don Giovanni, according to E.T.A. Hoffmann, is overpowered by the loyalty she feels toward the slain Commander. "She feels," writes Hoffmann, "that only Don Juan's destruction can assuage the fears of her tormented soul. Therefore . . . she herself pursues the traitor and regains some calm only after the infernal powers have dragged him to Hell."¹⁵⁰ This destructive and vengeful obsession is not discernible in the Donna Anna whom Lesia Ukrainka envisioned.

Writing to A.Iu. Kryms'kyi, Lesia Ukrainka defines her conception of Donna Anna as a proud, egotistic woman with a divided soul.¹⁵¹ This psychological dichotomy manifests it-

¹⁴⁸ M. Worthington, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

¹⁴⁹ Otto Rank, The Don Juan Legend, trans. David G. Winter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 101.

¹⁵⁰ E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), Vol. I, p. 86.

¹⁵¹ Letter to A.Iu. Kryms'kyi dated 24 May 1912. Lesia Ukrainka, op. cit., Vol. X, p. 335.

self in the conflict of two basic drives: the pursuit of freedom and the lust for power. In her aspiration to be truly free, Donna Anna may be regarded as the female counterpart of Don Juan himself and, as such, incarnates features of the Rebel Daughter archetype, a type somewhat reminiscent of Pushkin's Laura. Donna Anna, in the early part of the play, is prepared to accept Don Juan's philosophy of freedom, to defy authority by breaking her vows of betrothal, and to cast her ring -- the symbol of fidelity and obedience -- into the Guadalquivir. It is only after Don Juan's display of weakness in refusing to surrender the ring of Dolores that she realizes the illusory nature of her would-be liberator's credo. It is then that Donna Anna emerges in her true image -- the archetype of the Fatal Woman.¹⁵²

Donna Anna realizes that in her own definition freedom and power are not mutually exclusive, but are possible only under one condition -- the attainment of supreme power. This conviction, nourished by her egotism, her ambition for domination, for power and superiority over others, render Donna Anna capable of evil. Like Lady Macbeth, with whom the analogy has already been drawn,¹⁵³ she covets the position of highest authority in the land, the power and majesty of the Spanish throne. This craving, reinforced by the Commander's own

¹⁵²For a discussion of the Fatal Woman in literature, see Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

¹⁵³Ie. Nenadkevych, op. cit., p. 32.

ambition to rule, drives Donna Anna to amorality and crime. Although she does not personally wield the rapier that kills her husband, she is the conscious accomplice in the act of murder and shares the guilt with Don Juan.

There is the obvious suggestion in Kaminnyi hospodar that at the level of myth Donna Anna desires the death of her husband. In the symbology of her recurring prophetic dream, the Commander is the mountain which must be conquered by the knight who would join the princess in the castle on the summit. Don Juan must kill Don Gonzago in order to prove himself worthy of sharing with her the abode of kings, the Escorial. Like the Fatal Woman-Clytemnestra who stands over the body of Agamemnon and assures her lover Aegisthus, "We are lords now. We two will order things well,"¹⁵⁴ the Fatal Woman-Donna Anna seduces Don Juan with the vision of the throne:

Так, здобути трон!
ви мусите у спадок перейняти
і сюю мрію вкупі з командорством!

In the primeval reality of an archetypal pattern, this recalls the ancient custom wherein the wife of the king killed in combat married the victorious rival who, by having proven himself more powerful, claimed the right to replace the dead husband.¹⁵⁵ The moment Don Juan accepts this ambition as his own and symbolically proclaims his relationship with the Commander, his

¹⁵⁴Edith Hamilton, Mythology (New York, Mentor Books, n.d.), p. 244.

¹⁵⁵M. Worthington, op. cit., p. 25.

own identity is effaced and Don Juan is destroyed. An interesting affinity is thus restored between Donna Anna as the Fatal Woman in Kaminnyi hospodar and Donna Anna the Avenging Mother of the Classical Don Juan tradition. Otto Rank writes:

In the figure of Donna Anna [of the Mozart-da Ponte operas--R.K.] a fragment of the original motivation is still clear. This fragment is the ambivalent attitude of the daughter to the murdered primal father, so that she partly welcomes the murderer as a liberator and a new beloved, and partly scorns and persecutes him as a weaker substitute for the lost primal object.¹⁵⁶

Among the most interesting, yet enigmatic of Lesia Ukrainka's characterological creations is the image of Dolores in Kaminnyi hospodar. As one critic has noted, "There is nothing similar to it in all the world literature about Don Juan."¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, for all the originality of Lesia Ukrainka's portrait of Dolores, the heroine is not entirely without precedent. Her principal precursors in the Classical period are Elvire in Molière's Dom Juan and Donna Elvira in Mozart and Da Ponte's Don Giovanni, insofar as these heroines enter a convent, having charged themselves with eternal supplication for the salvation of Don Juan's soul. The type becomes more prominent in the Romantic stage of the theme, wherein the consuming, self-sacrificing love for Don Juan represented in Dolores is also embodied in Alexandre Dumas' Marthe (Don Juan de Marana), in José Zorrilla's Doña Inés (Don Juan Tenorio), and in Aleksei

¹⁵⁶ Otto Rank, op. cit., p. 101.

¹⁵⁷ Ie. Savel'ieva, "Obraz Dolores v dramy Lesi Ukrainky 'Kaminnyi hospodar'," in A. Kaspruk (ed.), Lesia Ukrainka: Publikatsii, statii, doslidzhennia (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo AN URSS, (1960), Vol. III, p. 244.

Tolstoi's Donna Anna (Don Zhuan). At the level of myth, her archetype is the Mater Edax.¹⁵⁸

In the Mozart-da Ponte opera, Elvira has been identified as the female counterpart of Don Giovanni.¹⁵⁹ As he wishes to possess all women, she wishes to possess one man -- the man who wishes to possess all women. In Kaminnyi hospodar Dolores is twice referred to as the "Shadow" of Don Juan, evoking the idea that the two constitute an inseparable duo whose fates are closely linked together. There is yet another important analogy to be noted between Elvira and Dolores. Micheline Sauvage has observed that "when Don Juan remains insensitive to the pleadings of Elvira, we know that the hour of his doom is approaching, as if she alone protected him against death, against mythical death, i.e. eternal death."¹⁶⁰ Similarly, Savel'ieva remarks that Don Juan's "petrification" begins at the very moment that Dolores, having sacrificed everything, abandons him forever.¹⁶¹

There is, however, an important distinction to be made between Elvira-Donna Elvira of the Classical tradition and Lesia Ukrainka's Modernist conception of Dolores. Although

¹⁵⁸M. Worthington, op. cit., p. 23.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Micheline Sauvage, Le Cas Don Juan (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1953), p. 30.

¹⁶¹I.e. Savel'ieva, op. cit., p. 249.

each of the women holds a legal claim upon the hero, being either his wife or his betrothed, it is Dolores alone who is not desirous of being the "mate" of Don Juan. The notion of a carnal relationship is totally outside the emotional sphere within which Dolores and Don Juan inter-relate. As Dolores explains to Donna Anna:

Кохання в мене в серці, наче кров
у чаші таємній святого Граля.

.

І він до мене має почуття,
але те почуття -- то не кохання,
воно не має назви...¹⁶²

Thus, the marriage proposed by Don Juan is utterly unthinkable, for it would mean the very destruction of the love which transcends any physical manifestation. Dolores gives up her chastity for Don Juan, not to Don Juan, for had she succumbed to him, it is she who would be the possessed and not the possessor. Ultimate possession for Dolores is the

¹⁶² Lesia Ukrainka had occasion to "explain" Dolores in an auto-commentary addressed to O.Iu. Kobylans'ka, wherein she provides some insight into the cryptic nature of this character:

"Отже, усталені форми для неї тільки якісь містичні формули, що мають виражати, власне, невиразимі ні в яких формах почуття, але те, що в тих формах є 'камінного', пригнітаючого, позбавляючого волі, не може мати влади над її вільною душею."

Letter dated 3 May 1913. Lesia Ukrainka, op. cit., Vol. X. p. 387.

possession of Don Juan's soul for which she surrenders her own soul:

Зректися маю я всього, Жуане,
і навіть -- мрій і спогадів про вас!
Лиш пам'ятать про вашу душу буду,
а власну душу занедбаю. Підє
моя душа за вас на вічні муки.

As Don Juan symbolically becomes the "physical" Commander, Dolores becomes the "spiritual" Don Juan. By incorporating the soul of the Rebel Son in her own body, by ingesting his spiritual identity, Dolores confirms her relationship to the Mater Edax archetype even to a greater degree than did her Classical ancestors.

As we have noted, Kaminnyi hospodar is a mythopoeic creation, a modern restatement of the Don Juan myth. Although almost a century separates Lesia Ukrainka's Modernist interpretation from the last Classical works on the theme, there is a strong link between this drama and the great plays which gave the myth its most artistically effective and lasting expression. In by-passing the radical transformations that beset the theme during its sojourn in nineteenth-century Romanticism and Realism, Lesia Ukrainka turned to those authors whose masterpieces are in themselves milestones in the progress of the Don Juan myth -- Molière, Mozart and Da Ponte, and Pushkin -- works which in their turn had incorporated archetypal components of a still earlier mythical account. Combining these with the creative ambience and social realities of her own time, Lesia Ukrainka's rendition of the uni-

versal theme of Don Juan belongs, as Clarence A. Manning has acknowledged, "among the most striking examples of its kind and shows how a new generation can fill old legends with new thoughts without resorting to arbitrary and disrupting changes."¹⁶³

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The dramas of Pushkin, A.K. Tolstoi, and Lesia Ukrainka examined in this chapter are the undisputed classics of Slavic Don Juan literature. It seems again opportune to emphasize the fact that the masterpieces of Slavic donjuanesque fiction are precisely those versions which have remained faithful to the original legend. These three dramatic works have therefore been viewed primarily in the light of the "traditional version." Fundamental to our study was the indication of the extent to which the classic bi-thematicism deriving from the protoypal El Burlador de Sevilla was preserved. While details of plot-line, motivation, and charac-

¹⁶³ Clarence A. Manning, "Lesia Ukrainka and Don Juan," Modern Languages Quarterly, Vol. XVI (March 1955), p. 48.

It is to be noted that Kaminnyi hospodar, like the Don Juan dramas of Pushkin and Tolstoi, has made its impact on other art forms. Armand Singer's bibliography reports that a recent ballet by Vitalii Gubarenko, Kamennyi vlastelin, choreographed by A. Shekero, produced in Kiev in 1970, was based on Lesia Ukrainka's drama. See Armand E. Singer, "Fourth Supplement to 'The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (1965)'," West Virginia University Philological Papers, XXII (December 1975), pp. 80-81.

terization were subject to orientations of literary movements, conceptual modifications, and to natural thematic evolution, a high degree of archetypal verisimilitude was maintained.

Each of the Slavic dramas represents an innovative achievement in the progression of the myth and its place in this progression is clearly marked. Pushkin's Kamennyi gost' is the initiator of original Slavic donjuanesque literature; it is at the same time the last of the Classical versions and closes an entire era in the literary history of Don Juan. Created in the spirit of the great Don Juan classics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Pushkin's drama gave the Tenorio legend its final expression at the very dawning of a new age in Don Juan literature.

Aleksei Tolstoi's Don Zhuan represents effectively Slavic Don Juan drama at the Romantic stage of the myth. Deriving his inspiration directly from one of the greatest masterpieces the theme has engendered -- the opera of Mozart and Da Ponte -- and from its revolutionizing interpretation in the tale of Hoffmann, Tolstoi re-created the themes of compulsive infidelity and of the Stone Guest against a background of mysticism and idealist philosophy.

Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar represents the modern stage of the myth. Her interpretation is a rare and remarkable example of the "traditional" version in the twentieth century and reaffirms the durability and versatility of

the original legend. In re-creating the Don Juan myth in the creative ambience of Ukrainian Modernism, Lesia Ukrainka succeeded in reconciling ancient archetypal patterns with the ideological conflicts of her own age.

Collectively, the three Slavic dramas we have studied are living proof of the fact that innovation and originality are not a function of radical changes, but rather of an inspired search for new dimensions and new thematic potentialities in an old and universal theme.

CHAPTER III

THE SLAVIC AVATARS OF MIGUEL MAÑARA

Doña Inés: Yo mi alma he dado por ti,
y Dios te otorga por mí
tu dudosa salvación.
Misterio es que en comprensión
no cabe de criatura,
y sólo en vida más pura
los justos comprenderán
que el amor salvó a Don Juan
al pie de la sepultura.

José Zorrilla y Moral
Don Juan Tenorio

Like most of our great myths, the myth of Don Juan was born of a marriage of fact and fantasy, of a fusion of reality with the embellishment of creative imagination. The origins of the Hamlet myth spring from old Nordic sagas and the annals of Saxo Grammaticus; those of the Faustian myth -- from the legends and writings about a sixteenth-century German necromancer. The beginnings of the myth of Don Juan lead us back not only to the Sevillian swashbuckler and seducer immortalized by Tirso de Molina, but also, and invariably so, to the Church of Santa Caridad and to the story of a man who was laid to rest there three centuries ago.¹

¹The life and legend of Miguel Mañara are summarized in Chapter I, pp.

From the historical perspective of our own time, it would be neither unfair nor unreasonable to conclude that the introduction into world literature of the legend of Don Miguel Mañara and its simultaneous induction into the mainstream of donjuanesque literature¹ was an event comparable in magnitude and significance to the appearance of El Burlador de Sevilla. If Tirso de Molina established the permanence of the legend of Don Juan Tenorio, Prosper Mérimée and his successors accomplished no less for the legend of Don Miguel Mañara.² Thus, whether or not scholarship eventually succeeds in its bid to identify a convincing human model for Don Juan Tenorio, Miguel Mañara continues and will continue to remain in his own right the historical Don Juan.³ An entire tradition has flourished around the life and legend of Don Miguel Mañara; his name and his exploits are now inextricably bound to the donjuanesque myth, and he shares full partnership in that vast and voluminous assemblage of artistic creations which constitutes the universal heritage of Don Juan.

² Prosper Mérimée, "Les Ames du purgatoire," in Romans et nouvelles (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), pp. 351-408. Mérimée's short story is in the form of a fictionalized biography of Don Juan de Maraña.

³ The very titles of the two notable biographical works on Miguel Mañara consulted for this study testify to the immediate connection between the historical figure and the hero of fiction. See Esther van Loo, Le Vrai Don Juan: Don Miguel de Mañara (Paris: SFELT, 1950), and Michel Lorenzi de Bradi, Don Juan: la légende et l'histoire (Paris: Librairie de France, 1930).

The salient features of the Mañara legend and its essential contribution to Don Juan thematics might be stated clearly and succinctly: it introduced the theme of conversion, redemption, and salvation, and it engendered a Don Juan capable of a profound and sincere love. These thematic and characterological innovations directed their revolutionary thrust against the two most typical and distinguishing aspects of the Classical version: the burlador theme -- the theme of infidelity, deceit, and libertinage -- and the convidado theme -- the theme of divine wrath and retribution. Writers now had a viable alternative to the portrayal of a hero emotionally limited to destructive sensuality on the one hand, and, on the other, to the heretofore almost mandatory resolution of the plot in having Don Juan tumble with the stone statue into the gaping jaws of the Inferno.

The innovative thematic potentialities tendered by the legend of Miguel Mañara inspired the three works of Slavic Don Juan dramaturgy to be discussed in the present chapter: the first variant of Aleksei Tolstoi's Don Zhuan, the Polish drama of Stanisław Rzewuski Ostatni dzień Don Juana, and the version by the Russian émigré writer, Boris Zaitsev, Don Zhuan. This trio of dramatic creations bears a sufficiently close relationship to the spirit of the Mañara legend and to each other as to constitute that category of donjuanesque literature which may be termed "the Slavic avatars of Miguel Mañara."

I. DON JUAN DE MARAÑA

It is the name Don Juan de Maraña which was initially most often associated with the concept of "the converted Don Juan." It is quite clear that this name with which Prosper Mérimée christened the hero of Les Ames du purgatoire is an onomastic synthesis of two distinct names: Don Juan Tenorio and Don Miguel Mañara.⁴ Thus, Don Juan began his sojourn in literary Romanticism endowed not only with a new destiny, but also with a new name. The Don Juan of the Mañara legend was a hero "made to order" for the Romantics. A number of factors rendered the theme, as it entered the nineteenth century, highly receptive to change and innovation. Don Giovanni, that immensely popular operatic achievement of Mozart and da Ponte, had raised the original Don Juan subject to unprecedented heights, which ipso facto sentenced the large majority of subsequent treatments of Don Juan as a punished libertine to the anti-climactic fate of pale imitation and denatured parody.

⁴ Although the combination Don Juan de Maraña occurs for the first time in literature in Mérimée's story, it would appear that popular tradition had established the anthroponymic connection between Don Miguel and Don Juan. Writes Esther van Loo: "Les années de scandale de Don Miguel furent calquées sur les aventures du Tenorio, mimétisme à tel point absolu que tout Séville, ainsi que l'Andalousie entière, n'appela plus désormais le jeune Mañara que Don Juan." Esther van Loo, "La Conversion et la mort du Don Juan historique," La Table Ronde, No. 119 (November 1957), p. 41.

We note that Mérimée's Maraña is a metathetic form of the original Mañara.

Never again, it seemed, would the archetype emerge in such brilliant colour; never again would the arrival of the Commendatore's stone effigy be so awesomely disturbing and the final plunge into Hell so dramatically effective. The age of the "classic" and Classical Don Juan was rapidly drawing to a close.

Under the influence of Hoffmann,⁵ simple delight in nocturnal cloak-and-dagger escapades and the seduction of frivolous peasant girls turned to sober reflection upon the psychology of the hero, upon the conscious and subconscious motivations behind a theory of compulsive infidelity. The very conception of donjuanism was no longer purely behavioural, but also philosophical. The Classicists had condemned donjuanism; the Romantics cultivated it as a manifestation of amour-passion, as an assertion of individualism and self-expression. There was a revival of the seventeenth-century glorification of Don Juan, of emulation of himself and his imitators, of keeping "catalogues" of amorous conquests and of duels in the name of love. Don Juan, wrote Musset, was on the lips of every man and in the heart of every poet:

Oui, don Juan. Le voilà, ce nom que tout répète,
Ce nom mystérieux que tout l'univers prend,
Dont chacun vient parler, et que nul ne comprend;
Si vaste et si puissant qu'il n'est pas de poète

⁵ E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1957), Vol. I, pp. 73-88.

Qui ne l'ait soulevé dans son coeur et sa tête,
Et pour l'avoir tenté ne soit resté plus grand.⁶

The Romantics sought and discovered a new direction and dimension to the Don Juan theme. Having inherited the Classical atesista fulminato, the unpardonable films criminel and the dissoluto punito, they would bequeath of themselves the image of Don Juan as the Prodigal Son. Whether he be the wayward seeker of sinful pleasure or on a lofty quest for the divine on earth, his place in heaven would not be forfeited for, as the Holy Scripture teaches, "there is joy among the angels of God over one sinner who repents." Don Juan would be offered an alternative: repentance instead of defiance, redemption instead of condemnation, and salvation instead of perdition. The interpretation of the hero in Hoffmann's Don Juan was highly innovative and remarkable indeed in its conception, but it was precisely only an interpretation of the opera. It simply posed a grand meta-physical problem, but it offered no solution.

The period of rather intensive change in Don Juan concentrated in the decade of the 1830's. In a June issue of 1834 the Revue des Deux Mondes printed a lyrical drama by Blaze de Bury which heralded the advent of a new resolution to the problem of Don Juan. Le Souper chez le Commandeur, as the title suggests, revolves around the

⁶ Alfred de Musset, "Namouna," in Poésies Complètes (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), p. 264.

culminating episode in the traditional Don Juan Tenorio legend.⁷ In the Commander's tomb, where he has come to honour the supper invitation, Don Juan learns from the animated Statues of her ancestors that Donna Anna has died. All are deeply perturbed by the revelation that this virtuous woman is not among the elect of God. She has been condemned to ten thousand years in Purgatory -- unless a mortal fills her funerary urn with tears of sincere compassion. So overcome is Don Juan by Anna's beauty that he weeps for her and in so doing attains his own conversion and the salvation of both. Blaze de Bury's play undeniably introduces the motifs of love and redemption, but it has very little in common with the Mañara legend which emerged from its repository in the popular tradition of Spain only two months later when that same journal published Les Ames du purgatoire.

Although Prosper Mérimée is ultimately credited with having popularized the legend of Miguel Mañara in his narrative on the adventures of Don Juan de Marañá, he is not necessarily the first writer of repute to have directed his attention to the Mañara legend and to its relationship

⁷Blaze de Bury's drama appeared in Revue des Deux Mondes under the pseudonym of Hans Werner. See G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 21-25.

with the legend of Don Juan Tenorio. In a literary sketch entitled "Don Juan: A Spectral Research" Washington Irving⁸ writes of having been told by a Spanish companion about "a gay young fellow, Don Manuel [sic] de Manara by name, who, having come to a great estate by the death of his father, gave the reins to his passions, and plunged into all kinds of dissipations. Like Don Juan, whom he seemed to have taken for a model. he became famous for his enterprises among the fair sex . . ."⁹ After viciously killing a stranger who thwarted his attempt to abduct a young novice from her convent, Don Manuel has a terrifying vision of his own funeral. This brings an abrupt end to his licentious career. He enters a convent and becomes "one of the most zealous and exemplary monks in Seville."

The American writer is known to have sojourned in Spain between 1826 and 1829. It is presumable that "Don Juan" was written under the impressions of a visit to Seville probably as early as 1826, an event which precedes Merimee's version by some eight years. Irving, however, did not publish his Don Juan story until 1835, by which time

⁸Critical studies invariably ascribe to Prosper Mérimée the first literary juxtaposition of the Tenorio and Mañara legends. It is curious that the role of Washington Irving as a possible precursor of Mérimée in this respect appears to have been totally ignored.

⁹Washington Irving, "Don Juan: A Spectral Research," in The Complete Tales of Washington Irving (New York: Doubleday and Co., Ltd., 1975), p. 772.

Les Ames du purgatoire had already established the literary prototype of Don Juan de Mañara.

The stages of the hero's salvation as viewed through the earliest Don Juan versions written in the spirit of the Mañara legend present an interesting progression. We observe in the Mérimée and Irving versions the total absence of the role of the woman as intercessor in the process of the hero's conversion. In both narrations Don Juan is steered to the path of repentance and piety by the lugubrious sight of his own corpse on the funeral bier, which he interprets as a sign from heaven warning him of impending doom if he does not make a timely expiation. It would appear that the oral tradition from which both writers derived the motivic components of the legend had substituted with a funereal vision the salutary role of a loving woman which is so strongly implicit in the life-story of Miguel Mañara. "Immatura mors Uxoris causa fuit mirabilis Servo Dei conversionis" was the declaration of the judges who presided over the process of beatification of Don Miguel.¹⁰ Thus, despite the connection between love and redemption already suggested independently by Blaze de Bury and by historical material, the notion of woman as intercessor is not found in the earliest stage in the literary expression of the "converted Don Juan."

¹⁰ Esther van Loo, "La Conversion et la mort du Don Juan historique," La Table Ronde, No. 119 (November 1957), p. 44.

The second stage in the process of Don Juan's redemption is reflected in a fantastic drama which appeared only two years after Mérimée's novella. Alexandre Dumas the Elder's Don Juan de Marana ou la chute d'un ange (1836),¹¹ which appears to have been substantially influenced by the Mérimée version, introduces the concept of salvation through the great love and supreme sacrifice of a woman. Dumas' Marthe, however, is no ordinary woman; she is the incarnation of Don Juan's angel who descends to earth as a mortal woman in a desperate attempt to save her protégé from eternal perdition. For love of Don Juan she sacrifices not only her life, but also one thousand years of paradise. The second stage of Don Juan's conversion is thus accomplished by the intercession of the celestial woman. The third stage would represent salvation by the power of love of a mortal woman.

The fame of José Zorrilla's Don Juan version is perhaps second only to that of the Mozart opera. The drama Don Juan Tenorio (1844)¹² is performed annually throughout Spain and Latin America on All Souls' Day. Although, in a

¹¹Alexandre Dumas, "Don Juan de Marana ou la chute d'un ange," in Théâtre Complet de Alexandre Dumas (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1876), Vol. V, pp. 1-100.

¹²José Zorrilla y Moral, "Don Juan Tenorio," in Don Juan y su evolución dramática, Arcadio Baquero, editor (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1966), Vol. II, pp. 197-389.

concession to tradition, a number of elements of the Tenorio legend are preserved, the drama of Zorrilla essentially continues the development of the Mañara legend. The Statue of the Commander does indeed appear -- but not to destroy Don Juan. Instead, it offers him a last-minute opportunity for repentance and salvation. This redemption will be accomplished through the great love of Inés. "I have surrendered my soul for you," she tells him, "and only in a life more pure the just will understand that love saved Don Juan at the foot of the grave." It is from this third stage of Don Juan's salvation -- salvation through the love of a mortal woman -- that the earliest of the Slavic Don Juan versions influenced by the Mañara tradition takes its point of departure.

II. A.K. TOLSTOI: DON ZHUAN -- VARIANT OF 1862

The hesitation of Aleksei Tolstoi in deciding between the legends of Tenorio and Mañara was resolved in an equitable manner: his ambivalence resulted in two published variants of the dramatic poem Don Zhuan.¹³ Although the difference between the Russkii vestnik text of 1862 and the book version of 1867 lies essentially in the conclusion of the two variants, this dissimilarity is as fundamental as that which distinguishes the two legends themselves,

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The first in Russkii vestnik, No. 4 (April 1862), pp. 581-692; the second in A.K. Tolstoi, Stikhotvoreniia (St. Petersburg, 1867), pp. 238-388.

namely the salvation of Don Juan on one hand, and his damnation on the other. The latter variant, as will be recalled, ends in the traditional denouement of the Classical version: Don Juan perishes, defiant and unrepentant, in the presence of the Guest of Stone. The journal text, however, presents a totally antithetic finale to the drama, a conclusion which derives from the apotheosis of Don Juan in the tradition of the Mañara legend.

Structurally, the variant of 1862 contains an extension of the final scene and is followed by an Epilogue, both of which were entirely deleted from the text of 1867.¹⁴ Briefly summarized, the conclusion of the journal variant is this:

As the Statue, uttering its disdainful "Perish, you worm!" is about to destroy Don Juan, the Spirits of Heaven descend and interpose on behalf of their earthly ward. They command the Statue to withdraw:

Назад, слепая сила!
Оставь того, кто верует и любит!

.

Его спасет любви сознание,
Не кончен путь его земной! (652)

Satan acknowledges his defeat and, in a fit of frus-

¹⁴The text of 1867 is available in A.K. Tolstoi, "Don Zhuan," in Sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1963), Vol. II, pp. 9-120. The variants of the journal text of 1862 are under the heading "Varianty zhurnal'nogo teksta" in that same volume, pp. 631-658. All quotations from the text are excerpted from the above referenced edition.

tration at having lost the contest, has the Statue crash alone through the ground. It is not death that envelops Don Juan, but the oblivion of unconsciousness. The following morning he is revived by the faithful Leporello who apprises his master that Donna Anna is indeed dead; her body was discovered but a few paces from the gates of the Marafía castle. The disconsolate Don Juan contemplates taking his own life, but rejects such a cowardly solution. No, he must go on living, if only to suffer and atone for his crimes:

Я должен жить. И жаль, что слишком скоро
 Меня избавит смерть от этой муки.
 О, если б мог я вечно, вечно жить! (655)

The setting of the Epilogue is a monastery near Seville. Many years have passed and Don Juan, now Brother Juan, lies dying in his cell. The Father Superior and the entire Brotherhood marvel at his incredible humility, contrition, and mortification, but, despite this extreme penance, he is consumed by excruciating remorse. It is not physical illness that is carrying him off, but a "sickness of the soul." His last request is to be buried by the side of Donna Anna and Don Alvar. As the Epilogue concludes, a monk enters to announce the demise of Brother Juan and the requiem and solemn death-knell accompany his soul to Heaven.

The inspiration for Tolstoi's treatment of the Don Juan theme according to the traditional Tenorio legend

derives, as we have noted, from the opera of Mozart and da Ponte and from the interpretation of Hoffmann. The conclusion of the 1862 variant, however, necessitates further investigation, particularly with a view to establishing the relationship it bears to other versions reflecting the influence of the Mañara legend. It is evident that Tolstoi, as "one of the most western of all Russian writers,"¹⁵ was quite aware of the major thematic currents which dominated European donjuanesque literature and of the interlacing of legends that had taken place in the course of its evolution.¹⁶ Nevertheless, there were some misconceptions, due primarily to the fact that the public notion had not yet fully differentiated between Don Juan Tenorio, Don Juan de Marañá, and Don Miguel (or Manuel) de Mañara. "I utilized the Sevillian legend," wrote Tolstoi to Markevich. "Don Juan [sic], as you probably know, is buried in one of the monasteries in that city and he died full of piety."¹⁷ We, of course, now know that it is not Don Juan, but Don Miguel who died reverently and was interred in Seville. Tolstoi, however, fully distinguished between the legend of Tenorio as interpreted by Tirso de Molina, Molière,

¹⁵ C.A. Manning, "Russian Versions of Don Juan," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 23 (September 1923), p. 485.

¹⁶ N.M. Sokolov, Illiuзии poeticheskogo tvorchestva: epos i lirika Gr. A.K. Tolstogo (St. Petersburg: I.N. Skorokhodov, 1890), p. 140.

¹⁷ Letter to B.M. Markevich dated April 1, 1860. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 113-114.

Mozart-da Ponte and Pushkin (to all of whom reference is made in his auto-commentaries on Don Juan)¹⁸ and of the legend of Mañara to the extent that it is reflected in the works of Irving,¹⁹ Mérimée,²⁰ Dumas,²¹ and Zorrilla,²² all of which were probably known to him. In Tolstoi's fusion of the thematic ingredients of both major legends in the 1862 variant, Don Juan even bears the double surname: Tenorio de Maraña.

It would appear that all of the most popular and

¹⁸"Pis'mo k izdateliu," in A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 452.

¹⁹The fact that Tolstoi knew Washington Irving's "Don Juan: A Spectral Research" is testified to by the following extract from a letter to B.M. Markévich dated June 10, 1861:

"Забыл сказать, что ошиблись, приписав дон Жуану затею -- устроить собственные похороны. Это не он, а Эмануэль де Манара смотрел сам на свое погребение перед воротами Севильи, как о том рассказывает в 'Испанских легендах' Вашингтон Ирвинг."

Ibid., p. 133.

²⁰The version of Mérimée was mentioned in the correspondence between Markevich and Tolstoi. On this account Markevich, in his criticism of Tolstoi's Don Zhuan, appears guilty of a gross misconception. According to Margaret Dalton, "Markevich . . . found Don Juan's sudden conversion 'incomprehensible, frivolous, and illogical,' and recommended to Tolstoj to follow Mérimée's version of the legend, which ended with the unconverted Juan's sudden death at the sight of his own funeral." See Margaret Dalton, "Aleksej Konstantinovich Tolstoj -- A study of his Life and Work" (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1964), p. 209.

²¹Margaret Dalton writes: "Tolstoj was . . . deeply interested in European literature, and French literature seemed to occupy him especially at that time. He read Chénier, Montaigne, Musset, Béranger, Dumas." Ibid., p. 21.

²²According to M. Dalton's sources, Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio "was translated into German in 1850 and may have been known to Tolstoj." Ibid., p. 208.

therefore influential Mañara-inspired versions of donjuanesque literature are to some degree reflected in Tolstoi's variant of 1862. Don Juan's retirement to a Sevillian monastery to end his days in contrition was most probably suggested through a reading of Mérimée, Irving, or both. The contest between the Heavenly Spirits and Satan for possession of Don Juan's soul is analogous to the conflict between the Good Angel and Bad Angel -- also for Don Juan's soul -- in Dumas' Don Juan de Marana. The redemption of the hero through the sacrifice of a mortal woman and his salvation through love is highly reminiscent of the salutary role of Doña Inés in Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio.

Tolstoi's Don Zhuan of 1862 is undeniably an eclectic work; however, the result of his juxtapositions and amalgamations is unprecedented. In combining thematic elements of the Tenorio and Mañara legends with the conception of Hoffmann, Tolstoi created for the first time in donjuanesque literature the ideal-seeker who, recognizing either the futility of his search or the tragedy of his loss, would reconcile himself with God and die in a state of grace. Until then, Don Juan the idealist was doomed to destruction by supernatural forces, as in Hoffmann's tale, or by more natural means -- the sword of an adversary -- as in Lenau's dramatic poem.²³ In Tolstoi's view, the rebellion, the

²³Nikolaus Lenau, "Don Juan," in Werke (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1966).

wanderings and dissipations of the donjuanesque reincarnation of the Rebel Son archetype might indeed be attributable to the frustration of a noble, but misdirected yearning for perfection in an imperfect world, a vain craving instilled by the malevolent purpose of the Archfiend. Don Juan is justified in his revolt, Tolstoi explained to Markevich. A continuing faith, despite the 3003 (sic) women who deceived him and denied him his reward, would be tantamount to folly:

Он должен перестать верить хотя бы на 3004-й и в конце концов рассердиться. А если эта 3004-я именно та, которой было предназначено оправдать его обманутую веру и если он в своей мстительной ярости поправ ее ногами, то что произошло бы, когда он осознал бы свою ошибку? Он убил бы себя или пошел бы в монахи. Это он и сделал, когда гибель донны Анны раскрыла ему глаза на ее любовь. Именно гибель донны Анны заставляет его прозреть.²⁴

In the Age of Romanticism the religious motivation in the theme of Don Juan was substantially augmented and enhanced. The very essence of the Mañara story was evangelic, reiterating the parable of God's mercy upon a repentant sinner. The hero himself was portrayed as being acutely preoccupied with God and the Devil. In distinct contrast to his purely instinctual Classical ancestor who displayed a hedonistic disregard for demons and divinities, the Romantic Don Juan became obsessed either by his faith or by his want of it.

²⁴Letter to B.M. Markevich dated 11 June 1861. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 136.

In a development which accompanied the conception of Don Juan as a tragic hero, the Romantics intensified the struggle between the spirit and the flesh inherent in the Mañara tradition. In his adaptation of the legend in Les Ames du purgatoire, Mérimée symbolized the clash of man's aspiration to paradise and his vulnerability to the temptations of the devil in an awesome painting depicting the torments of Purgatory, which terrifies and at the same time captivates the imagination of the young Don Juan de Marañá with a hypnotic magnetism. Throughout his career of libertinage he is haunted by the grotesque, agonized faces of the condemned souls. It is the realization that the death-agony is but a foretaste of torment infinitely more excruciating that re-directs Don Juan to the path of virtue after the macabre vision of his own funeral.

5

The religious mystery in Tolstoi's Don Zhuan unfolds against the background of the metaphysical conflict between the powers of God and Satan. Trapped in the inexorable fatality of this primordial duel, it is the lot of man to struggle against the inherent evil within him. Tolstoi thus interprets the problem of Don Juan in a philosophical context deriving from a Weltanschauung founded to a large extent upon German Idealism and mysticism. Several years prior to the expression of these views in his version of Don Juan, Tolstoi wrote:

It seems to me that the original state of our soul is a strong love of good or of God, which we lose after coming into contact with the cold



substance in which our soul is locked. But the soul has not forgotten its first experience. . . . This is the reason for the feeling of the necessity of love which torments some people, and the feeling of happiness . . . which they have when . . . they return to their original normal existence; if we were not fettered by substance we would immediately return to our normal state which is a continuous adoration of God.²⁵

It is precisely such reflections that lie at the philosophical foundation of Don Zhuan and rationalize the religious leitmotiv of the hero's salvation. Don Juan aspires for the ideal -- a desire born of his own divine origin and a memory preserved in his soul of an existence more pure. However, through the suggestion of Satan, Don Juan strives to perceive the ideal through the physical senses and fails. Finally, when he rejects the material world and the tyranny of the flesh, his soul returns to the natural state and the "continuous adoration of God." As an idealist, Don Juan is worthy of salvation, for his idealism consists in the aspiration toward the original state of the soul. Satan wields his power over him only as long as the soul is "fettered by substance," but when his soul is finally liberated, he will be pardoned in Heaven, as the Angels predict:

Сгубить лишь на земле ты можешь дон Жуана,
Но в небе будет он прощен! (84)

The eternal cosmic conflict between the powers of light and darkness is epitomized in Tolstoi's drama in a

²⁵Letter to S.A. Miller dated 25 October 1853, cited in Margaret Dalton, A.K. Tolstoy (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1972), p. 28.

contest for the control and ultimate possession of the soul of Don Juan. In the Prologue the Spirits of Heaven descend to proclaim Don Juan the beloved of Nature and the elect of God. His earthly career is destined to be virtuous and grand; his magnificent exploits will be a tribute to the glory of heaven:

Сей дон Жуан любимец есть природы,
Он призван к подвигам и благостным делам,
Пред ним преклонятся народы,
Он будет славен до конца,
Он стражей огражден небесной неприступно,
К нему ты не прострешь руки своей преступной --
Познай: сей дон Жуан избранник есть творца! (18)

It is precisely by reason of the great promise the destiny of Don Juan portends, that Satan too has set his sights upon the prodigious youth from Seville. "I shall make him like unto myself," he brazenly assures his rivals, for the grandeur of Hell will also be manifested in the works of Don Juan de Marañá:

Мой также. Я давно его заметил.
Я знаю, сколь удел его в грядущем светел,
И, юношу всем сердцем возлюбя,
Я сделаю его похожим на себя. (18)

It has been observed on various occasions, both by modern commentators and contemporaries of Tolstoi, that the Prologue in which the hero's soul is declared the field of contest between the powers of good and evil bears the unmistakable imprint of the Goethe's Faust. Margarita Salomon concludes unequivocally that the influence of Goethe's masterpiece upon Tolstoi's Don Zhuan is indubitable,²⁷ while

²⁷Margarita Salomon, "'Don-Zhuan' Grafa Alekseia Tolstogo," Vestnik Evropy, CCXLVII, Nos. 10-11 (1907), p.493.

Margaret Dalton has noted that "There are clear parallels to Faust in the prologue (the praise of God and his creation by the good spirits, the contest between Satan and the heavenly forces, the idea of the hero's ultimate salvation), in the humorous and ironic portrayal of Satan, and in Don Juan's striving for the eternal feminine ('das Ewig-Weibliche') which makes him akin to Faust."²⁸ Tolstoi categorically refuted any insinuation of a deliberate imitation of Faust, claiming that "The form of the Faustian prologue is not the exclusive creation of Goethe, but has been adopted from medieval mystery plays and is therefore the heritage of every writer."²⁹

Nevertheless, Tolstoi's public denial of charges ("I am being charged with imitating Faust, he wrote) of being overly influenced by Goethe leaves the possibility that the struggle for Don Juan's soul was indeed suggested by another source, a source which might not have come to mind to his accusers any more than it had to the majority of subsequent critics who have entirely overlooked the potential influence of Alexandre Dumas' Don Juan de Marana. It was, of course, E.T.A. Hoffmann, the acknowledged mentor of Tolstoi on the subject of Don Juan, who first effected the merger of the donjuanesque theme with the philosophical tenet that the

²⁸M. Dalton, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

²⁹"Pis'mo k izdateliu," in A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 452.

"conflict between divine and demonic forces produces the concept of earthly life, just as the hard-won victory creates the concept of supernatural life."³⁰

However, it was Alexandre Dumas who first portrayed these forces in a Don Juan drama, personifying them in the form of the Good Angel (le Bon Ange), who is charged with the surveillance over the soul of Don Juan de Marana, and the Bad Angel (le Mauvais Ange), who is committed to bringing about its ultimate perdition. The evolvment of the plot in the dramas of Dumas and Tolstoi alike is predicated on the fact that for all their divine powers, neither the Good Angel nor the Spirit of Heaven is able to prevent the commission of a deliberately sinful act on the part of their terrestrial protégé. Don Juan is ever free to choose between good and evil and with every choice taken in full connaissance de cause, he commits himself further to the powers of Heaven or Hell.

The strategy of the devil in Dumas' Don Juan de Marana and in Tolstoi's Don Zhuan shows much in common. His method of ensnaring Don Juan is through temptation by woman and through the promise of indescribable bliss. Dumas' Satan is not above tempting his prey with the offer of pleasures unimaginable:

³⁰ Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 67.

Et si ton coeur, lassé de voluptés paisibles,
 Rêve des plaisirs impossibles,
 Appelle-moi, don Juan, je monterai vers toi.³¹

"Don Juan," writes Oscar Mandel, "is the most hyperbolical of lovers."³² In truth, since Hoffmann's interpretation of Mozart's opera, Don Juan has become larger than life -- a superman, a demi-god who deals in extremes.

His emotions and his character traits are quintessential; he incarnates human features, whether positive or negative, in their superlative form. If he is handsome, he is the most irresistible of men; if he is humble, he amazes the world with his mortification; if he is cruel, he regales in abominations beyond count; and if he is brave, he will not flinch before the Devil himself.

Hyperbolical also is that salient feature which unites all the donjuanesque incarnations of the Rebel archetype -- the hero's immense pride. It was pride that transformed Tirso's swashbuckling rogue into a desecrator of the dead; it was pride that tore the final "No!" from the throat of Mozart's Don Giovanni as the flames of Hell engulfed him. And now that Satan himself has taken a personal hand in the fate of Don Juan, it is through pride that the Eternal Rebel intends to make the young Sevillian grandee like unto

³¹Alexandre Dumas, "Don Juan de Marana," in Oeuvres de Alexandre Dumas (Brussels: Societe Belge de Librairie, 1843), Vol. V.

³²Oscar Mandel, The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 3.

himself. In the prologue, Tolstoi's Satan flaunts, and not without his customary wit, the strategy by which he will seize the soul of Don Juan:

Ведь черту, говорят, достаточно схватить
Кого-нибудь за единый волос,
Чтоб душу всю его держать за эту нить
И чтобы с ним она уж не боролась;
А Дон Жуан душой как ни высок
И как ни велики в нем правила и твердость,
Я у него один подметил волосок,
Которому название -- гордость! (19)

Satan's device is effective, but it is not new. It was already Dumas' Bad Angel who schemed to summon the demon of pride to enter the soul of Don Juan de Marana in order that the eternal war between Good and Evil might rage on. And when the demon of pride delivers to Satan a great victory in the fratricide of Don José, the Arch-Devil rejoices:

Démon de l'orgueil, j'avais compté sur toi...
tu ne m'as pas trompé... merci!

The foregoing motivic analogies would appear to indicate that Tolstoi's prologue owes at least as much to the "intermèdes" of Dumas' Don Juan de Marana as to the Prologue in Heaven of Faust. However, the role of Satan and the Spirits of Heaven as determinants in the destiny of man also evokes the deliberate echo of the "chorus" of the ancient Greek drama. As personifications of cosmogonic forces in collision, the "choreutes" maintain an identity distinct from the dramatis personae, but participate fully in the internal dynamics of the drama -- initiating and resolving the dramatic conflict.

The transition from Classicism to Romanticism effected changes, often fundamental changes in the very

nature of the donjuanesque type. The Classical Don Juan was many things: immoral, wilful, egotistic, sacrilegious, even cruel, but very rarely was he intrinsically and profoundly evil. Now, in his Romantic phase, he is almost invariably evil. This, it appears, is the price exacted of Don Juan by Romanticism in exchange for the right to salvation. In contemplating Mozart's Don Giovanni, Hoffmann believed to have discovered beneath the exterior of an irreverent hedonist a man who had reached the pinnacle of wickedness and found delight only in destruction.³³ When Don Miguel Mañara confessed to having been "the worst man who ever inhabited the earth," the Romantics took him at his word. Thus, in his progression from the burlador of the seventeenth century to the homme fatal of the nineteenth, Don Juan became the high-priest of a veritable cult of evil. In writing of the classic Romantic expression of the Don Juan theme -- Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio, Gendarme de Bévotte summarizes the transformation in the hero in the following terms:

Ici, le héros n'est plus simplement un débauché que la folie d'amour entraîne dans les aventures les plus risquées; c'est une incarnation du mal, un être satanique en qui s'unissent dans un effroyable mélange l'audace, la férocité, la fourberie, le mensonge. Il joue avec le vice, avec le crime, insensible à tout sentiment d'amour, de respect, de pudeur.³⁴

³³E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Don Juan," in Poetische Werke (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957), p. 85.

³⁴G. Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 40.

A true scion of his Romantic ancestry in the line of Hoffmann, Dumas, and Zorrilla, Tolstoi's Don Juan was not spared even the more odious aspects of his inheritance. He, the self-avowed "angel of destruction," tramples underfoot the laws of God and man, and derives a "bitter pleasure" in witnessing the anguish of his victims.³⁵ And yet, for all this characterological affinity, there is a significant distinction in the motivation to vice between the hero of Don Zhuan and his Romantic precursors. They, the Don Juans of Dumas and Zorrilla, dealt in depravity as their stock-in-trade. They were, in a word, "evil for evil's sake;" whereas Tolstoi's Don Juan is "evil for love's sake." The author was inclined to comment personally on this phenomenon:

В ранней молодости он любил по-настоящему, но, постоянно обманываясь в своих чаяниях, он в конце концов перестал верить в идеал и горькое наслаждение стал находить, попирая ногами все то, чему он некогда поклонялся. Я изображаю его в этот второй период. Привыкнув отрицать добро и совершенство, он не верит в них и тогда, когда встречается их в образе донны Анны. Свое чувство он принимает за похотливое желание, а между тем это любовь.³⁶

³⁵ Certain of Tolstoi's contemporaries expressed their dismay at the intrinsic vileness of Don Juan's behaviour. Some of these views found their way into the correspondence of the author himself, as, for example:

"Аксаков проявил такое негодование на поведение дон Жуана, что он начал его ругать и уверял, что он -- тройная перегонка подлеца, вследствие чего он недостойн покровительства ангелов."

Letter to S.A. Miller dated 18 October 1861. A.K. Tolstoi, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 141.

³⁶ Letter to B.M. Markevich dated 10 June 1861. Ibid., p. 131.

Aleksei Tolstoi created an idealist who ipso facto is capable of experiencing a profound and sincere love; but, ironically, it is only when Donna Anna is already in her death-agony that Don Juan realizes that it was her he loved all along. It was Donna Anna who offered him the love he had sought vainly throughout his turbulent life. She, however, cannot continue to live for having succumbed to her violator and murderer of her father and her protector, Don Octavio. Donna Anna commits suicide, thereby forsaking her own soul in order to redeem the soul of Don Juan. Never before in the literary history of Don Juan has the sacrifice of a mortal woman been more unconditional and complete.

In marked contrast to the Don Juans of Dumas and Zorrilla, who are totally oblivious and incapable of love until they encounter love for the first time -- during the blasphemous attempt to outrage God by abducting a novice from her convent, the hero of Tolstoi's version perceives in love the great mystery of creation. Ideal love promises to make him one with the universe and eternity, to unite him with God. Faith in love and faith in God are inseparable in the philosophy of Don Juan; he throws down his gauntlet before Nature only when he ceases to believe consciously in the existence of love:

Коль нет любви, то нет и убеждений;
Коль нет любви, то знайте, нет и бога. (34)

Spiritually, Don Juan's faith in God and love does not subside: incredulity and idealism are concepts mutually

exclusive. "Don Juan believed in the promise of happiness," writes Théophile Gautier, "and he never doubted the veracity of God."

Il n'est pas impie, comme on a pu se le figurer; mais il a la ferme croyance que tout désir doit être accompli et que l'être suprême ne s'amuserait pas à faire poursuivre à l'homme un spectre insaisissable; cette foi, bien qu'elle paraisse peu orthodoxe, en vaut bien une autre, et don Juan est aussi religieux, à sa manière, que tel saint du calendrier; il a cru à la promesse du bonheur et n'a pas douté de la véracité de Dieu.³⁷

For all his cynicism and frustration, for all the crimes engendered by his bitter disillusionment, the way to Don Juan's salvation is paved by his immanent faith and craving to believe actively in Providence. His pathos-filled confession to Donna Anna is a veritable profession de foi which heralds the great transformation his life is to undergo when Brother Juan atones for the sins of Don Juan de Mañara:

О, если бы я мог в него поверить --
С каким бы я раскаяньем пал ниц;
Какие б лил горячие я слезы,
Какие бы молитвы я нашел!
О, как тогда его я умолял бы,
Чтобы еще он жизнь мою продлил,
И мог бы я, босой и в власянице,
Простертый в прах, и с пеплом на главе,
Хоть долю искупить тех преступлений,
Которые безверьем рождены!

³⁷Théophile Gautier, Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), Vol. IV, p. 36.

Каких бы я искал себе мучений,
 Каким бы истязаньям предал плоть,
 Как жадно б я страданьем упивался,
 Когда бы мог поверить в божество!
 О, горе мне, что не могу я верить. ³⁸ (95)

The signal contribution of Tolstoi's 1862 variant of Don Zhuan to the evolution of Don Juan drama lies essentially in the amalgamation of the two principal currents which dominated donjuanesque literature in the Romantic period: the theme of idealism and the theme of salvation. Despite the powerful impression of Mozart and Hoffmann, Tolstoi based the resolution of the Don Juan problem in his original version of Don Zhuan on what he termed "the

³⁸ The motif of Don Juan's conversion and retirement to a monastery is reintroduced in what Tolstoi evidently intended as a relief scene before the climax of the drama. Here, Leporello, impersonating the papal nuncio, Don Hieronymus, stages an "act of contrition" in order to dupe the officer come to arrest Don Juan. The superficial humour, however, does little to conceal the underlying irony of this charade which in effect exposes a deeply-rooted desire on the part of Don Juan to expiate his sins and reconcile himself with God. For all its ostensible facetiousness, this dialogue is poignantly prophetic:

Лепорелло: Знай, что сей самый грешник, дон Жуан,
 Которого арестовать пришел ты,
 Моих словес проникнулся елеем,
 Отверг душой мирскую суету
 И поступает кающимся братом
 В Севилию, в картозский монастырь!
 Не так ли, сын мой? (107)

Дон Жуан: Так, отец мой, так!
 Мне мир постыл, я быть хочу монахом;
 Моей беспутной, невоздержной жизни
 Познал я сквернь, и алчет беспредельно
 Душа молитв, а тело власяницы! (108)

Sevillian legend" i.e. the legend of Miguel Mañara via the interpretations of Mérimée, Dumas, and Zorrilla. Although the Russian poet was eventually to return to the time-honoured theme of the hero's damnation, the ideological thrust of the entire drama is the ultimate victory of good over evil. Tolstoi concurred with Théophile Gautier who remarked upon the fundamental incongruity of Hoffmann's conception: idealism is a virtue, not a vice, and the aspiration toward supreme love and absolute beauty is the most lofty of all human endeavour:

Non-seulement don Juan ne va pas en enfer,
 mais il va en paradis, et à la plus belle
 place, encore; car il a cherché de toutes
 ses forces l'amour vrai et la beauté
 absolue, et nulle créature humaine ne
 saurait avoir une plus noble occupation.
 -- Dieu, qui tient toujours les promesses
 qu'il a fait, et qui n'a encore trompé
 personne en cette vie ou dans l'autre,
 assouvira enfin cette âme.³⁹

This is the philosophy which found its earliest dramatic expression in Tolstoi's memorable, but still undervalued rendition of the universal myth of Don Juan.

³⁹Th. Gautier, op. cit., p. 39.

III. 'S. RZEWUSKI: OSTATNI DZIEŃ DON JUANA

If it is Prosper Mérimée's Les Ames du purgatoire that formally introduced the legend of Miguel Mañara into literature, it is Alexandre Dumas' Don Juan de Marana that gave the legend its earliest dramatic expression. Described variously as "the most extravagant work ever to be inspired by the adventures of Don Juan"⁴⁰ and as "a play so trashy as to be magnificent,"⁴¹ Dumas' bizarre blend of mystery and melodrama, of the real and the supernatural, of the religious and the profane, culminated in one of the most influential works of donjuanesque drama. It inspired, in the course of time, numerous translations, imitations, and adaptations,⁴² among them -- according to Gendarme de Bévoite -- the Don Juan Tenorio of José Zorrilla.⁴³ Even in our own century, the influence of Dumas' Don Juan version is directly reflected in the plays of Arnold Bennett⁴⁴ and

⁴⁰G. Gendarme de Bévoite, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, p. 34.

⁴¹Oscar Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 454.

⁴²See the bibliographical entry on the Dumas version in Armand Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown; West Virginia University, 1965), p. 82.

⁴³Gendarme de Bévoite, op. cit., p. 38. The contention that Dumas directly inspired Zorrilla has been challenged and even outrightly refuted. For a brief summary of this controversy, see Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 124n.

⁴⁴Arnold Bennett, Don Juan de Marana (London: T.W. Laurie, 1923).

Henry Bertram Lister.⁴⁵

In view of the popularity of Dumas' play, it is not unusual to find motivic echoes of Don Juan de Marana dispersed throughout Slavic Don Juan dramaturgy; however, no Slavic play can claim as direct a connection with the progenitor of Don Juan drama in the Mañara tradition as Ostatni dzień Don Juana (The Last Day of Don Juan) by the Polish playwright Count Stanisław Rzewuski (1864-1913).⁴⁶ So close is the rapport between these two dramas that, despite its substantial length of five full acts, Rzewuski's Ostatni dzień Don Juana might be regarded either as a direct continuation of Don Juan de Marana or as an alternative conclusion which might be substituted for the final scenes of the Dumas version. The dramatis personae are virtually identical in both plays and there are striking similarities in numerous motivic elements as well. It is therefore necessary, for purposes of a close comparative analysis, to summarize the Don Juan de Marana of Dumas which serves as the background and point of departure for the events which evolve in the drama of Stanisław Rzewuski.

⁴⁵Henry Bertram Lister, A Renaissance Gangster, or The Adventures of Don Juan, 1935. See Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), p. 109. Also, by Lister, Don Juan de Marana, ca. 1939. See A. Singer, op. cit., p. 117.

⁴⁶Stanisław Rzewuski, Ostatni dzień Don Juana (Cracow: Nakładem Dwutygodnika Ilustrowanego "Świat," 1888). All excerpts from the text are taken from this, the only known edition of the play.

The drama, as we recall, begins with a dispute between the Good Angel and the Bad Angel who, by a decree of God, has been rendered powerless over the Marana family until such time as a descendant of the line deliberately commits an evil act. It is Don Juan, already a ruthless and profoundly immoral libertine, who will break the holy spell and release the Bad Angel from his impotence.

While the old Count de Marana lies on his death-bed, his son, Don Juan, entertains his company of debauchers and courtesans. Upon the arrival of the Marana's confessor, Dom Mortès, Don Juan springs to action, for he fears losing the family inheritance to his older but illegitimate half-brother, Don José. When the priest refuses to participate in the conspiracy to denounce Don José before the dying Count, Don Juan kills him, although not before revealing his true ambition: to surpass in crime and debauch the greatest libertine who ever lived -- Don Juan Tenorio.

With the old Count de Marana dead, Don Juan speeds to the castle of Villa Major where, as he has learned, Don José has left his fiancée, the beautiful Térésina. Don Juan proceeds to court Térésina with jewels, and she, prodded by the Bad Angel, is about to succumb when Don José returns to the castle. José vainly trusts that a spark of chivalry and fraternal love will spare the honour of Térésina, but Don Juan coldly dispels all hope: "I love Térésina, I tell you, and by my faith as a nobleman, she shall be mine." He

mockingly shows Don José the unsigned parchment of legitimization, then has him stripped, bound, and thrown into a dungeon. "Take him away," Don Juan commands his servants, "and punish him as a rebellious serf!"

In his agony and despair, Don José invokes the aid of Satan. "Demon, I must have vengeance!" he shouts as the Bad Angel appears and offers him the services of the powers of Hell.

Meanwhile, in an Intermède in Heaven, the Good Angel elicits the Holy Virgin's permission to descend to earth. In a desperate attempt to save Don Juan from eternal damnation, the Angel will be incarnated as a mortal woman, as Sister Marthe of the Convent of the Holy Rosary.

As the third act opens, Don Juan has arrived at an elegant posada in Madrid. Here, he encounters Don Luis de Sandoval d'Ojedo, a notorious libertine whose reputation rivals that of Don Juan, and who purportedly came into the world with the help of Satan himself. The two debauchers immediately enter into a series of contests: Don Juan produces his catalogue of conquests with the seduced women on one side and the cuckolded men on the other. It begins with Dona Fausta, the wife of a fisherman, and ends with the Senora Luisa, the mistress of a pope. "Only the betrothed of God is missing," remarks Don Luis.

"By Jove, you're right!" exclaims Don Juan. "There are no nuns... Gentlemen, I stake my honour as a grandee

that this omission will be filled within a week." What follows is a game of dice in which Don Luis, in rapid succession, loses his gold, his castle, and finally his mistress, Doña Inès d'Almeida. She is summoned to the posada to find Don Juan awaiting her with a letter from Don Luis. "I staked you and I lost you," she reads, "and now you are the property of Señor Don Juan de Marana to whom I yield all my privileges over you." Overcoming her great pain, Doña Inès tells Don Juan that she has sworn to belong to no other man as long as Don Luis lives. "Very well, he shall die," is Don Juan's unhesitant reply.

While Don Juan goes out to fulfill his bloodthirsty commission, Doña Inès poisons the wine which she and the survivor of the duel will drink together. It is indeed Don Juan who returns victorious, having killed Don Luis, but he refuses the cup Inès offers him. "I am young, rich, and noble; I love life and have no desire to die," he retorts sarcastically as her death-agony begins. With her last breath Doña Inès requests that Don Juan go to the Convent of the Holy Rosary and seek out her sister, Marthe, who is to pray for her soul.

In another Intermède Don José accompanies the Bad Angel to the crypt of the Count de Marana and conjures the statue to sign the parchment of legitimization. The stone effigy rises from the tomb, deposits its signature on the document, and returns to its petrification.

Meanwhile, Don Juan is admitted to the convent and meets Marthe. He declares his love and persuades her to flee the cloister and to seek dispensation from the Pope. Suddenly, the spectres of Don Juan's victims rise through the floor of the church. Each cries in turn: "Vengeance against the murderer! Vengeance!" As the Angel of Judgment descends with his flaming sword, a single voice utters a plea for mercy upon the sinner. It is the voice of his father, the Count de Marana. An amazing conversion occurs within Don Juan: when the appointed hour of their escape arrives, he declares to Marthe that he is no longer Don Juan, but Brother Juan.

However, Brother Juan the Trappist monk is not free from the daemon of Don Juan the libertine; he is visited nightly by dreams and visions of carnal pleasures. As he digs his own grave, Marthe appears in the graveyard. Her abandonment by Don Juan has driven her mad and she cries out in her delirium for her lost lover. Don Juan is shattered by this pathetic vestige of a once beautiful woman and curses his destructive fatality.

In the scene that follows, Don José, impelled by the Bad Angel, arrives at the Trappist monastery. Finding Don Juan in the cemetery, he plants two swords into the ground. Don Juan not only refuses to duel, but begs for death; however, when he receives a slap in the face, he loses his self-control. In an instinctive response to such

an affront, he kills Don José. As he flees the scene of the crime, he muses: "Don José in the grave of Don Juan... it would appear that the devil does not want me to become a hermit."

Back in her convent, Marthe emerges from her madness; however, she is still desperately in love with Don Juan. Sensing her approaching death, she cries out in her anguish: "A thousand years of my eternity for a single day near Don Juan!"

Marthe's plea is immediately answered by the Bad Angel and, with the sealing of a diabolical pact in blood, she condemns her soul to the devil for a millenium. By the time Don Juan enters her cell Marthe is already dead, but the devil, true to his word, reanimates her and the pair escapes.

After a fierce ride they arrive at the ruins of a castle in which the Bad Angel arranges a ball of phantoms -- a danse macabre. For wine, Don Juan is offered the blood he has caused to be spilled, and for water -- the tears that have been shed on his account. The ghost of Don Luis de Sandoval appears and once again Don Juan issues his challenge: "God grants me an hour to repent; I grant him a quarter-hour to strike me down!" At these words, a fiery clock appears showing with blazing hands five minutes of midnight. Don Luis returns with a flaming sword, but now it is Don Juan who falls with a mortal wound. The phantoms of his

victims steadily move the hands of the clock toward midnight, when suddenly another figure intervenes. It is Marthe, bearing the wings of a seraph. "Repent, Don Juan, repent!" she exhorts him.

"Pardon me, my God," he cries, "I repent!" And to the strains of an angelic chorus the heavens open and Don Juan expires in an apotheosis.

Ostatni dzień Don Juana is set in Valencia in the eighteenth century. The action, as the title suggests, takes place within twenty-four hours -- the final day in the life of Don Juan.

The first act, which serves as a prologue to the play, unfolds in a cell in the Convent of the Holy Rosary (Klasztor Panien Różańcowych).⁴⁷ In the depth of night, the spirit of the young nun, Marta, who has just died, appears in conversation with the ghost of Don Juan's father.⁴⁸ Despite her monastic vow of chastity and self-denial, Marta fell in love with Don Juan and willingly sold her soul to Satan for a thousand years in exchange for one last meeting

⁴⁷ Rzewuski retains even the name of the convent identified in Dumas. The romance of Don Juan and Marthe begins in the convent de Notre Dame-du-Rosaire.

⁴⁸ In a departure from Dumas, where Marthe is the incarnation of the Good Angel, there is no heavenly provenance suggested for Rzewuski's Marta. In Dumas' play, however, we note that Marthe is oblivious of her celestial origin until her death.

with her lover in this lifetime.⁴⁹ Now, she believes that they died together in her cell after Don Juan fell to his knees and repented for his sins.⁵⁰ But the ghost of the old Count Marana assures Marta that his son is not yet dead; he has been given one more day on earth in which to expiate his crimes against mankind. God has decreed a nun's prayers

⁴⁹ The motif of the pactum diabolicum relates directly to Act V, scene iv in Dumas, where Marthe, sensing her imminent death, offers Satan a thousand years of her eternity for a day with Don Juan:

"Mourir sans revoir don Juan! Mourir sans lui entendre dire une fois encore qu'il m'aime! mourir en le laissant au milieu du monde où il m'oubliera, où il aimera une autre! Oh! mille ans de mon éternité pour un jour passé près de don Juan!"

All quotations from the text of Dumas' version are excerpted from: Alexandre Dumas, "Don Juan de Marana," in Oeuvres de Alex. Dumas (Brussels: Société Belge de Librairie, 1843), p.523. In the reiteration of this motif in Rzewuski, Marta declares:

"Tysiąc lat... tysiąc lat cierpenia wymagane są przez wyższą sprawiedliwość, abym dostać mogła szczęścia wybrańców; . . . Bo za tę cenę duch złego obiecał mi, że zobaczę go przed śmiercią, że przyprowadzi go do mnie, że będę mogła umrzeć, trzymając dłoń jego w ostatnim pocałunku; a tak bardzo lękałam się śmierci samotnej, że oddałabym wieczność za tę jedną chwilę. Szatan dnia tego był widać miłosiernym; mógłby duszę moją owładnąć na zawsze -- a wymógł lat tysiąc." (5), (8)

⁵⁰ The motifs of Don Juan's repentance and of Marta's death, which occur simultaneously in Rzewuski actually correspond to three separate episodes in Dumas' play:

(1) in Act IV, scenes iii-iv Don Juan is confronted by a sepulchral congregation of statues and spectres of his victims, becomes ostensibly converted, and abandons Marthe:

"Je ne suis plus don Juan ton fiancé, je ne suis plus don Juan ton époux! je suis frère Juan le trappiste..."

(2) It is in Act V, scene iv that Marthe dies in her cell after concluding her pact with Satan. She is then re-animated for her rendezvous with Don Juan.

and a father's pardon insufficient compensation for Don Juan's wicked life:

Słuchaj mnie, Marto. Syn mój tyle zgrzeszył, że ani modlitwy twoje, ani me przebaczenie ocalić go nie mogą. Kto tyle krzywd wyrządził, a żadnej nie naprawił, ten ocalenia zawdzięczać nie może jednej chwili żalu. Czy Don Juan chociaż raz jeden przebaczył bliźniemu? Czy otarł choć łzę jedną? Nie, nie... W przeszłości syna mego Pan Miłosierny nie znalazł jednego dobrego uczynku - jakżeżby mógł odrzucić skargę jego ofiar? Mówiąc "Panie, zmiłuj się nade mną!" Don Juan temi kilkoma słowy dosięgnął odpuszczenia grzechów względem Boga popełnionych! ale występków względem bliźnich nie zmazał niczem. A więc dla Don Juana, który nie uznawał siły przebaczenia - przebaczenia nie ma. (10-11)

Don Juan has been granted one last opportunity for salvation: he must redeem himself by forgiving an unforgivable act, a mortal insult, otherwise his soul is doomed to eternal perdition.

As the second act opens, Sganarel has discovered the body of his master lying outside the walls of Marta's convent.⁵¹ A crowd gathers and Sganarel announces that the "dead" man is Don Juan Marana, the most handsome and famous knight in all Castile, renowned throughout Spain, a man who scorned the laws of God and man, whom no woman could resist, who dishonoured countless husbands, who squandered

(3) Don Juan, mortally wounded by Don Luis, repents and dies in the concluding scene of the drama. Rzewuski thus takes up the action of Dumas' play either after episode (2) or episode (3).

⁵¹The figure of Sganarel is totally absent from the version of Dumas. The servant, inherited from the Tenorio legend, was reintroduced by Zorrilla as Ciutti in Don Juan Tenorio.

a fortune of 15 million piastres. At the behest of the women, who find Don Juan attractive and intriguing even "in death," Sganarel relates "the truth" of some of his master's adventures which have become legendary: In a card game, after winning all of the possessions and lands of one Don Manuel Sandoval, Don Juan also won his opponent's betrothed, Inez. Inez, learning of her fiancé's treachery, poisoned herself, and Don Manuel shot himself that very night.⁵² Then, Don Juan began to pursue Teresina, the fiancée of his half-brother, Don Luis. Discovering his brother's perfidy and Teresina's infidelity, Don Luis challenged Don Juan to a duel and fell, stabbed in the heart, while Teresina threw herself into the Manzanares.⁵³ However, Don Luis' death was never fully confirmed, and a rumour circulated of his having recovered, while Teresina's body was never found.

Most fascinating of all, however, is the fantastic story of Don Juan and the Stone Guest. According to Sganarel's version, Don Juan was obliged to kill in a duel the father of a girl he had violated. A statue was erected

⁵²The gambling episode refers directly to Act III, scenes iv-x in Dumas, with several modifications. Dumas' Don Sandoval d'Ojedo (later changed to Don Luis de Sandoval d'Ojedo) is renamed by Rzewuski as Don Manuel Sandoval. In both dramas Inez takes poison, but in the French play Don Luis is killed in a duel with Don Juan.

⁵³Sganarel's narration refers to the events in Act II of Dumas' play. Here, however, Don Juan's half-brother is called Don José, not Don Luis. In the Dumas version, we recall, Don José dies in a duel with Don Juan and Teresina drowns herself after being seduced and abandoned by him. Rzewuski is careful to prepare the reappearance of these characters by pointing out that their deaths were unconfirmed,

on the commander's grave and one day Don Juan decided to invite it for supper. Here, an alcalde interrupts the narration remarking that this story belongs to the reputation of Don Juan Tenorio and not of Don Juan Marana, to which Sganarel indignantly replies:

Nie było dwóch Juanów. . . . Jest jeden tylko Don Juan prawdziwy, biedny pan mój nieboszczyk, a ten Don Juan Tenorio, który nudził nas całe życie jest postacią bajeczną, nic więcej... Po prostu pan mój był taki dzielny rycerz i narobił tyle awantur, że nikt nie mógł uwierzyć, aby jeden człowiek zdobył się na wszystko, więc ludzie wymyślili istnienie innego Don Juana. . . . A więc Don Juan Tenorio i Don Juan Marana są jednym i tym samym człowiekiem. Bo tak samo, jak jeden tylko jest sposób kochania, jedna duma i jeden rodzaj odwagi, tak jeden jest tylko Don Juan. (34)

However, instead of the descent into Hell, as legend would have it, Sganarel relates that after arriving at supper, the Statue was mocked by Don Juan. When it gripped him by the hand, Don Juan ordered Sganarel to intervene, as "it is not fitting for a nobleman to duel with a dead-man." Thus, it is Sganarel himself who drove his sword into the Statue's belly, and "the Commander dropped dead a second time."⁵⁴

The excitement created by the discovery of Don Juan's

⁵⁴ Sganarel's purely facetious narration about the Guest of Stone is, of course, an echo of the original convidado theme of the Tenorio legend. Although Dumas did bring forth animated statues (of Count de Marana and of Inez), these bear no relationship to the traditional Commander and his effigy. Mérimée and Dumas alike allude to and distinguish between the legends of Tenorio and Mafara, although it is Rzewuski who underscores the distinction between the "historical" Don Juan Marana and the "fictitious" Don Juan Tenorio.

"corpse" draws the attention of Don Manuel Sandoval and his wife, Donna Olympia, who are in reality none other than Don Luis Manara, Don Juan's half-brother, and Teresina.⁵⁵ They arrived in Valencia fifteen years previously with their son Carlos and, although highly respected citizens, lead a mysteriously solemn and secluded life. Don Luis, recognizing the body of his brother, prays for God's mercy upon his soul, while Olympia begs for his eternal damnation "in the name of all the women he ruined."

Suddenly, Don Juan revives. The crowd flees in panic and only Sganarel, terrified and incredulous, remains. After convincing his servant that he is indeed alive, Don Juan relates his strange "dream" of entering Marta's cell, of witnessing her death, and of being warned by the ghost of his father that he has one day to redeem his soul. The news that Marta did indeed die in her cell that night strikes a note of grim reality, but Don Juan scorns penance. He will repent before God, and God alone, at the moment of his death.

Upon being apprised by Sganarel that Teresina cursed him and Don Luis prayed for him, Don Juan becomes incensed. Don Luis' forgiveness is a mortal affront, and Teresina's curse -- an unpardonable offence. Even if this is to be Don Juan's last day on earth (which he doubts), it will be devoted to inexorable retribution, to "the spiritual splendour

⁵⁵For reasons unexplained, in order to live incognito in Valencia, Don Luis has assumed the name of Don Juan's victim in the card game -- Don Manuel Sandoval.

of vengeance." He will dishonour Don Luis by possessing Teresina once again.

Don Juan's malicious scheme is overheard by Teresina's son, the young but bold Don Carlos who springs to the defence of his mother's honour and issues an immediate challenge to a duel. Although he is initially reluctant to spill the blood of his own nephew, Don Juan's patience reaches its limit and the young defender falls mortally wounded. Now his revenge upon Luis and Teresina will be seasoned by the murder of their only son.

In the third act, Don Juan arrives at the house of Don Luis to carry out his plan to seduce Teresina. He is withholding his "pièce de résistance" -- the confession to the killing of Carlos -- until she has surrendered to him completely. Teresina, however, for all her curses and invectives, is still obsessively in love with Don Juan and he, with customary deceit and eloquence, quickly rekindles her former passion.

Don Luis returns and, finding Don Juan alive and in the presence of Teresina, challenges him to a duel. Don Juan scornfully refuses, for he will not deign to fight with a bastard son. When Don Luis threatens to kill him nonetheless, Teresina throws herself between the antagonists and confesses her love for Don Juan:

Ludwiku! bez niego żyć nie mogę: Wolę być
najnędzniejszą istotą z nim razem aniżeli
najszcześliwszą w twoim domu. Przeklnij

mnie, wypędź z pod twego dachu jak nierządnicę, ale pozwól z nim odejść, udziel swobody, nie trzymaj w niewoli... (107)

Don Luis is stunned by this declaration, then curses his faithless spouse and treacherous brother. At that moment the mortally wounded Don Carlos is brought in. As Teresina is turned out of the house in delirium, Don Juan revels in total triumph: Don Luis is dishonoured, Teresina spurned, and Don Carlos dying. Suddenly, Don Luis creates a coup de théâtre:

Śmiej się, drwij ze mnie, Don Juanie -- podły śmiech twój zamilknie za chwilę. Patrzcie się ludzie! po raz pierwszy w życiu Don Juan zblednie i śmiać się przestanie. A! sądziłeś, żeś zabił mego syna! mylisz się -- Don Carlos jest twoim synem! (112-113)

Don Carlos is indeed the son of Don Juan. Teresina was already with child when Don Luis saved her from disgrace and married her. Choked with despair and enraged at this scurvy trick of fate, Don Juan issues his brother a challenge to a duel. They agree to fight in an hour's time.

In the fourth act, Don Juan narrowly escapes death at the hands of the hostile crowd which has gathered at the house of Don Luis. Only a display of bravado and brazen defiance saves him. In the meantime, Don Luis has decided not to fight the duel, for he has lost everything, save the pleasure of witnessing Don Juan's anguish in seeing the death of his own child. Then, reminded of the Holy Scripture, he forgives Don Juan and Teresina whom he admits for a final parting with her son before her withdrawal to a

convent.

The final act shows Don Carlos on his death-bed, taking leave of his loved ones. In a highly pathetic scene he regrets his untimely death, but he wishes his murderer to know that he, Don Carlos, died like a true knight:

Ach! umieram przedwcześnie! . . . Rana przez
tego człowieka zadana jest zawsze śmiertelną...
Ludzie! jeśli Don Juan wróci kiedy do
Walencyi, powiedzcie mu, że umarłem jak
szlachcic... nie truchlejąc przed śmiercią...
jak chrześcianin, prosząc u bliźnich
przebaczenia... Jeśli kogo skrzywdziłem...
darować mi proszę... (132)

Hearing these words, Don Juan recognizes something of himself in Don Carlos, and, revealing his presence, begs forgiveness of his victim. With ebbing strength, Don Carlos manages to slap his murderer's face, thus inflicting that supreme insult which Don Juan must forgive if he is to be saved. For the first time he must conquer his immense pride and overcome the instinctive urge to kill his offender. Taking the only recourse possible, Don Juan turns his rapier on himself. Mortally wounded in the chest, he sinks to the ground as the bell tolls midnight. The spirit of Marta appears before him and Don Juan dies secure in the knowledge that his soul is redeemed:

... jestem ocalony... Zwyciężasz aniele
miłosierdzia! Don Juan przebaczył...
więc i Don Juanowi przebaczone! (136)

The hero's final words which bring Rzewuski's drama to an end leave little reason to doubt that this Don Juan is a

bona fide avatar of the Mañara tradition. In forgiving Don Carlos, in washing away the stain of dishonour with his own blood, Don Juan satisfies the ultimate condition imposed by God upon his salvation. It is perhaps to ensure such an interpretation that the spirit of Marta, in raiment of radiant whiteness, reappears at the moment of his death, as if to conduct the soul of Don Juan to paradise.

The path of Don Juan's deliverance is interesting to follow. As a version strongly influenced by the Romantic interpretations of the Mañara legend, and notably that of Dumas, it is quite natural to encounter, in Rzewuski's rendition the traditional motifs associated with the theme of salvation: the intercession of a woman and her redeeming love, the prayers of his relations, and an act of contrition by Don Juan himself. In the past, when poets and playwrights expressed the Christian precept that a word of sincere repentance would redeem an entire lifetime of sin, the mercy of God alone assured Don Juan of blissful immortality. In Rzewuski's interpretation, however, this is no longer the case. The pardon of God Himself is no longer sufficient to warrant the salvation of a soul doomed to perdition by innumerable crimes and transgressions. Passive repentance is inadequate compensation and what is now exacted is a conscious act of great charity, an act which no previous Don Juan found the strength to accomplish.

In Ostatni dzień Don Juana Rzewuski offers an

innovative and quite unusual reinterpretation of the theme of mercy and forgiveness inherent in the Mañara legend. Traditionally, Don Juan could rely fully on the mercy of God, on the pardon of his victims and on the prayers of those who loved him in order to escape eternal damnation. Now, in a total reversal never before encountered in don-juanesque literature, it is Don Juan who must prove merciful and forgiving.⁵⁶ Gendarme de Bévotte has equated this virtue with that through which Christ demonstrated his superiority over all the wise men.⁵⁷

The offence Don Juan must forgive was appropriately chosen by the author. As the ransom for a life of crime, this test of magnanimity and virtue must be genuine and convincing. Indeed, Don Juan might have been forced to suffer any one of a variety of indignities -- the infidelity of his wife or mistress, the violation of his daughter -- which he did, in fact, in various other versions. Rzewuski, however, places the nature of the insult within the context of the

⁵⁶The onus on Don Juan is imposed by the condition of God's decree communicated by the ghost of Count Marana:

"Powinien w ciągu tej doby ostatniej przebaczyć zniewagę śmiertelną. Jeśli krzywdy zapomnieć nie potrafi -- dusza jego zgubiona bezpowrotnie." (12-13)

⁵⁷G. Gendarme de Bévotte, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 164. It is noteworthy that Gendarme de Bévotte does in fact devote two pages of this volume to a brief discussion of Rzewuski's drama, which constitutes, it would seem, the only other commentary on this play besides the present study.

code of honour which prevailed in the time-setting of the play and based it upon one of the salient motifs of the early adaptations of the Mañara legend.

The code of honour of the Spanish nobility in the days of Don Juan was quite paradoxical in nature. As one writer on this cultural phenomenon has observed, "Whilst the honourable man would not brook the slightest offence against himself, he never hesitated to satisfy his own passions. Dishonour consisted not in committing, but in receiving an injury."⁵⁸

The dishonour Don Juan must endure is perhaps the only single act of contempt that demanded immediate and unfailing satisfaction in blood -- the classically unpardonable slap in the face. This, it must be emphasized, is the very act of insolence which not one of his ancestors in the entire literary history of Don Juan was capable of forgiving. Mérimée's Don Juan, become the humble and penitent Frère Ambroise, literally begs to be slaughtered like a sacrificial lamb -- until the enraged Don Diego deals him a blow across the face. Don Juan's response is as deadly as it is swift. True, the subsequent mortifications of Frère Ambroise include

⁵⁸ Kathleen Gouldson, "Three Studies in Golden Age Drama," Spanish Golden Age Drama and Poetry, I (Liverpool, 1946), cited in James Goodman Connell Jr., "Freedom and the Don Juan Tradition in Selected Narrative Poetic Works and The Stone Guest of Alexander Pushkin" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1973), p. 26.

being cuffed daily by the refectory cook, but the difference in motivation obviates further elaboration.

In an analogous episode in Dumas' drama, Brother Juan, even as he despondently digs his own grave, cannot suffer the one insult which no hidalgo would tolerate without instant retribution. But now, for the first time in his literary career, Don Juan will have to bear in silence this most base of affronts, for his redemption is contingent upon a display of that very virtue which serves as the moral to the entire drama:

Chrześcianin najzacietszemu wrogowi przebaczyć
powinien. (128)

Don Juan is saved, above all, by the victory he is ultimately able to win over his insurmountable pride, that indispensable characteristic which lies at the foundation of both the grandeur and the tragedy of the Romantic Don Juan. Pride, we recall, was the "Achilles' heel" of the hero of Dumas and Tolstoi. It was his pride that rendered him vulnerable to the devices of Satan; it is his pride that now threatens to stand in the way of absolution and the promise of salvation. If the prayers and sacrifices of Rzewuski's Marta were unable to redeem Don Juan, they were nonetheless directly instrumental in strengthening him in his own bid for redemption. The victory of the "Angel of Mercy" is the triumph Don Juan is able to achieve over his amour-propre. The traditional salutary role of the woman is thus preserved in Rzewuski's adaptation of the Mañara legend.

Integral to the innovation introduced to the theme of redemption in Ostatni dzien Don Juana is the image of Don Juan as a father -- this, for the first time in a Slavic treatment of the theme. However, the thematic potentialities of the relationship of Don Juan with his children had long since intrigued many a writer, and versions based on this conception, or incorporating to one degree or another the notion of Don Juan's fatherhood are not rare.⁵⁹

Speculation on the thematic ramifications of Don Juan as a father begins contemporaneously with, but quite independently of the induction of the story of Miguel Mañara into European literature. Among the earlier works to deal with Don Juan and his son is L'Elixir de longue vie (1830) -- a "horror story" by Honoré de Balzac.⁶⁰ While he wallows in unbridled libertinage, this Don Juan takes care to raise his son, Philippe, in piety and virtue -- but for one purpose only: to instill in him unselfishness and obedience. Having stolen from his own father a precious elixir which has the power to revive the dead, Don Juan arranges to have his son apply the potion to his body upon his death. When the time comes, Philippe is so shocked by the partial reanimation of his father's corpse that he drops the vial and the liquid

⁵⁹ A separate chapter dealing with the relationship of Don Juan and his children, primarily in works of the twentieth century, is found in Martin Nozick's study: "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 255-278.

⁶⁰ G. Gendarme de Bévotte, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 84-87.

evaporates. Thus, in a lugubrious conclusion, Don Juan remains with a dead body and a living head.

Somewhat more reminiscent of Rzewuski's drama, insofar as the death of the son is attributable to Don Juan, is Ramido Marinesco (1854) by the Swedish playwright J.C.L. Almquist.⁶¹ Here, Don Juan's son Ramido dies after kissing the portrait of a woman painted by his father -- using poisoned colours. In such versions as Jules Viard's La Viellesse de Don Juan (1853)⁶² and Paul Heyse's Don Juans Ende (1883),⁶³ Don Juan is depicted as the rival of his own son. In the latter play paternal love emerges in the last minute and, witnessing the death of his son without receiving forgiveness, Don Juan throws himself into the crater of Vesuvius.

The conception of Don Juan as a father is fully integrated with Rzewuski's innovative interpretation of the theme of the hero's salvation. It uncovers a new facet of Don Juan not encountered in the Dumas version in which there is no suggestion that the liaison with Térésina resulted in an offspring. The paternal-filial bond which joins Don Juan and Don Carlos not only enhances the element of tragedy and intensifies the irony of Don Juan's pyrrhic victory over Don Luis, but also is directly instrumental in the process of

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 57-59.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 130-131.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 143-146.

redemption. For the first time in his life Don Juan weeps, thus demonstrating that a vestige of true human emotion remains in his cold and impassive heart. But joy and remorse are not the only feelings awakened within him. For the first time Don Juan knows the meaning of paternal love, a redeeming love which has the power to produce a moral regeneration. His conversion and redemption take place at the moment that love triumphs over honour:

Tak, jestem twoim ojcem i zaiste zniewagi
tej niczem zmazać nie mogę. Gdyby inny
człowiek się ośmielił... choćby w ostatniej
chwili konania... mogłbym o kilka chwil
skrócić jego nędzne życie... i zemścić się;
ale ciebie... ale ciebie dziecko moje zabić
nie zdołam... nie zdołam. Przebaczyc ci
więc muszę. (136)

Despite its quite apparent reliance upon Alexandre Dumas' Don Juan de Marana for a thematic foundation, Rzewuski's Ostatni dzień Don Juana is nevertheless a work reflecting features of originality. Although the principal dramatis personae are adapted directly from the anterior French version, they receive in Rzewuski's interpretation a characterological development which Dumas, apparently more concerned with sensationalism and extravagant stage-effects, was not prepared to provide. Don Juan himself, as in Dumas, is profoundly evil, in order that the miracle of his conversion might appear all the more wondrous and inspiring. He is still very much the homme fatal of the Romantic tradition, but he has also inherited features of the Don Juan typifying the post-Romantic stage. Rzewuski's hero has reached middle-

age. His acts of malfeasance are no longer youthfully reckless and impulsive, but rather those of a seasoned libertine, deliberate and calculated for optimum effect. He has already entered the phase of tedium vitae, that final stage where Don Juan is his most destructive self. But, behind this sadistic penchant to cause suffering to others, we perceive a vestige of an earlier Don Juan, a Don Juan who sought a feminine ideal -- and perhaps found it for a brief moment. "O Marta, Marta, why did you have to die!" he cries out in his despair. Love once again has saved Don Juan at the foot of the grave.

Rzewuski in this drama poses and in fact resolves a great theological question which addresses itself universally to the donjuanesque theme. The Classical Don Juan, for failing to make timely repentance, was almost invariably condemned to perdition and eternal hellfire; the Romantic Don Juan was offered the opportunity to save himself even at the moment of his death. But is there no hope for the souls that perished? The answer lies in the great mystery revealed to Marta by the spirit of the Count Marana -- the emissary of God: "Know ye, that the dawn of redemption will one day break for all souls condemned, that there is not one being irretrievably lost." Love will redeem everyone, for this is the mystery of life and the law of divine justice.

IV. B.K. ZAITSEV: DON ZHUAN

Among the least known of all Slavic Don Juan versions is the short play Don Zhuan by the émigré writer Boris Konstantinovich Zaitsev (1881-1972).⁶⁴ Although written in Russia, probably as early as 1919,⁶⁵ this miniature drama (or, more precisely, dramatic poem in prose) was not published until after the author left his homeland permanently in 1922 and settled in Paris. It is now to be found only in a rare collection of four short works published in Berlin under the general title of Rafael'.⁶⁶

The 1920's and 1930's constitute a paradoxical period in the literary history of Don Juan. While versions (in the broadest sense of the term) proliferated at an unprecedented rate, the prestige of the theme declined due to the attendant deterioration of artistic quality and to the indiscriminate propagation of various so-called "Don Juan analogues." Indeed, any second-class philanderer in a fictional work might

⁶⁴A passing mention of the existence of a Don Juan version by Zaitsev is noted in the item on the writer in Gleb Struve, Russkaia literatura v izgnanii (New York: Izdatel'stvo imeni Chekhova, 1956), p. 102.

⁶⁵According to a chronology of Zaitsev's creative writing in Ariadna Shiliaeva, Boris Zaitsev i ego belle-trizovannye biografii (New York: "Volga," 1971),

⁶⁶Boris Zaitsev, "Don-Zhuan," in Rafael' (Berlin: "Neva," 1924), pp. 61-89. This collection also includes the stories "Rafael'," "Karl V," and "Dushi Chistilishcha" (which, incidentally, bears no relationship to the Don Juan subject, despite the evocation of Mérimée's novella in the title).

well find himself ennobled by bearing the name of Don Juan. Zaitsev's rendition, however, is a work apart. As a writer who has been characterized as a Romantic,⁶⁷ and regarded as the last representative of classical Russian literature,⁶⁸ Zaitsev created his Don Zhuan in the spirit of the best nineteenth-century Don Juan literature. His inspiration derives from the interpretations of Hoffmann, Pushkin, Dumas, Zorrilla, Lenau, and foremostly -- from his compatriot of the Romantic tradition, Aleksei Tolstoi.

As the drama opens, a mysterious compulsion has drawn Don Juan to the graveside of Clara, a young nun who died unable to survive the great love she bore him.⁶⁹ He has ventured his life in returning, for he is banished by the

⁶⁷P. Gribovskii, "Boris Konstantinovich Zaitsev: obzor tvorchestva," in N.P. Poltoratskii (ed.), Russkaia literatura v emigratsii: Sbornik statei (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1972), p. 133.

⁶⁸N.V. Pervushin, "K 85-letiiu B.K. Zaitseva," Russian Language Journal, Nos. 75-76 (1966), p. 7.

⁶⁹The arrival of Don Juan at a cemetery connected with the memory of one of his loves is reminiscent of the opening scene of Pushkin's Kamennyi gost'. It should be noted, however, that the first scene of Zaitsev's play is actually a brief monologue in which a disgruntled Leporello curses his wretched life -- an obvious echo of the traditional "complaint" motif:

"Вот тут и дожидайся! Господи Боже мой, что за жизнь! Я полагаю -- одно недоразумение. . . . И то, например, сказать: коего чорта я с ним вожусь? Жалованье пустое, вечно в разъездах, того и гляди где-нибудь из-за угла ревнивый муж, либо брат ужокошит. А поди-ж ты, не могу отстать!" (61-62)

king and condemned by the Church. His youth gone, his estates bankrupt, Don Juan is a fugitive, an outlaw, a vagabond wandering from tavern to tavern, from hideout to hideout. Even now he is hunted by Don Diego who is bent on vengeance for the death of his father at the hand of Don Juan.

Although he longs for peace and rest, Don Juan cannot abandon his relentless quest for life's supreme treasure -- the Eternal Woman: "I go forward as I have before. As before, I love, I experience, and I search. I destroy as I destroyed her -- Clara. I cannot stop until I tumble into my grave."

At the masked ball of the Countess Anna, one of his former loves, Don Juan is visited by the spirit of Clara. "I love you, Don Juan," she whispers. "I pray for you." The meaning of the apparition suddenly becomes clear: on her death-bed Clara vowed to return when the death of Don Juan was near.

Don Juan's presence is discovered and Anna's villa is surrounded by police; however, he manages to escape through a secret passage. Fleeing with Leporello into the mountains, Don Juan is furiously pursued by Don Diego. After Don Juan scornfully rejects Leporello's proposal to disguise themselves as shepherds, thus to elude their persecutors, the servant finally abandons him.

"At last, cursed Don Juan!" rends the stillness of

dawn as Don Diego appears over the ridge, brandishing his rapier. Don Juan rises to confront his foe, when suddenly the spirit of Clara again appears. Dropping his weapon and spreading his arms, he stumbles trance-like toward the phantom, only to receive a mortal thrust from Don Diego. As Death enfolds Don Juan in her arms, the spirit of Clara fades and in its place emerges a Radiant Lady -- the Eternal Woman. "You awaited me, Don Juan, I am here," she says as he surrenders his soul which, to the strains of a celestial chorus, wends its way to Purgatory.

Readily distinguishable in Zaitsev's drama are two of the principal thematic currents which dominated the profusion of Don Juan literature of the Romantic period: the theme of idealism and the theme of salvation.

The idea Hoffmann had expressed in his belletristic commentary, Tolstoi undertook to elaborate in his drama: Don Juan is condemned by Satan, in a wager against God for his soul, to a vain, tormenting quest for the Ideal Woman. "Let him search for the divine on earth," is the Archfiend's curse:

И пусть он бесится. Пусть ловит с вечной жадой
 Всё новый идеал в объятьях деви каждой!
 Так с волей пламенной, с упорством на челе,
 С отчаяньем в груди, со страстию во взоре,
 Небесное Жуан пусть ищет на земле
 И в каждом торжестве себе готовит горе!⁷⁰

(19)

⁷⁰ A.K. Tolstoi, "Don Zhuan," in Sobranie sochinenii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1963), Vol. II. All subsequent citations from Tolstoi's drama are excerpted from this edition.

In this respect Zaitsev's hero is a true avatar of the Romantic tradition of Don Juan. He too is condemned to a lifelong search for the divine on earth in the Eternally Feminine and, like his Tolstoyan ancestor, leaves woe and destruction in his wake:

Я все иду... попрежнему. Попрежнему люблю,
испытываю и ищу. Гублю, как и ее погубил,
Клару. Но остановиться не могу, пока не
грохнусь в могилу . . . (65)

There is, however, an important distinction to be noted between the donjuanesque protagonists of Tolstoi and Zaitsev: Tolstoi's Don Juan no longer consciously believes in the existence of the Ideal. Incredulity and despair have transformed the "elect of God" into a pathologically vindictive, cynical misanthrope who strikes a deliberate blow against Nature with every woman he deceives:

Живи один, для мщенья и для страсти!
Назло судьбе иль той враждебной власти,
Чьей силой ты на бытие призван,
Плати насмешкой вечным их обманам
И, как корабль над бурным океаном,
Над жизнью так господствуй, дон Жуан! (36)

Zaitsev's idealist has not yet lost faith in his Ideal. He yearns desperately for the peace and solace promised by his vision of the Eternal Woman:

В великом созерцании я не видал еще одной,
той, чья улыбка осветила бы сиянием все
странствия мои -- от сердца к сердцу, от
лобзания к лобзанию. Я не видел еще той,
кто утолила бы тоску, вечно стремившую
меня вперед. Я алчу. О, жизнь, чудесная
и горькая, где царица твоя? (87)

To the Romantic Don Juan in quest of the absolute, the platitude of life is oppressive. Earthly love is but an illusion, a counterfeit of the unachievable original, the flame of which burns in his soul and impels him on his search long after he has consciously ceased to believe in it. Ideal love is but a phantom, an illusive mirage in the desert which tempts the sun-parched wanderer, only to fade into acrid dust when he attempts to embrace it. For Zaitsev's Don Juan, love is also an intoxication, a vision without substance, the "fragments of dreams":

... ОПЬЯНЕНИЕ -- МИНУТА И ВОСТОРГ -- МИНУТА,
и МИНУТА -- ВСЕ ВЫ, МИЛЫЕ ВИДЕНИЯ, ОБРЫВКИ
сна, НИКОГДА НЕ СБЫВАЮЩЕГОСЯ. И ЗА ВАМИ --
БЕЗДНА. (80)

But this ideal-seeker is not embittered by love's deceit, for in the enjoyment of its imperfect earthly form there is at least the redeeming virtue of affording momentary oblivion in ecstasy. He cherishes in every woman that spark of the Ideal she bears within her. Don Juan has travelled through life as through "a bewitching garden of enchantment" and woman, even the lowly barmaid Marcella, is "life's greatest enchantment."⁷¹

The indwelling tragedy in the theme of Romantic idealism in donjuanesque literature is the fact that the Ideal which Don Juan so desperately pursues is actually

⁷¹ "Я проходил сквозь тебя, жизнь, как сквозь волшебный сад очарований. Женщина -- лучшее твоё очарование." (65)

within his reach but, ironically, remains unattained by him in this life. Hoffmann had already implied that Anna had been destined by Heaven to make Don Juan recognize the divine nature within him through love. Similarly, Tolstoi's Satan admits to the Angels that Donna Anna is "the veritable facsimile of the womanly Ideal." This identification of Donna Anna with the Ideal of Womanhood which is merely verbalized by Hoffmann and Tolstoi, is expressed in an unequivocal assertion in Zaitsev's drama. The apotheosis of Clara, the transfiguration of her spirit into the Radiant Lady -- the Eternal Woman -- actually takes place within the play, while a Celestial Chorus sings her praise:

Слава Жене Предвечной, Светоносящей!
Слава Господней милости, нежной Примнице! (88)

It is death, inexorable, irreversible death that ever stands between Don Juan and the attainment of the Ideal, a death of which he is invariably the author. In Mozart, it is the death of the Commander, Anna's father, which erects the unbreachable barrier between them; in Tolstoi, it is likewise the Commander's murder and Anna's suicide, precipitated by Don Juan. In Zaitsev, it is the death of Clara, sent to an early grave after being abandoned to bear in solitude the cross of her great love.

The agents of Don Juan's salvation -- Dumas' Marthe and Zorrilla's Doña Inés -- merged in Tolstoi's drama with Hoffmann's conception of Donna Anna. Thus, the heroine assumes the double role of the Ideal and the Intercessor.

In each of these versions the redemption of Don Juan is at the sacrifice of body and soul. This is expressed in the final words of Tolstoi's Donna Anna who, having taken a lethal dose of poison, comes to warn Don Juan of his impending doom:

Несчастный! Ослепленный! Боже, боже!
Прости ему! Услышь молитву той,
Которая свою сгубила душу!
Я уйду... пора... я умираю... (117)

In Zaitsev's drama, whence its particularly close relationship to that of Tolstoi, the role of Clara is also that of the Ideal and the Intercessor and, as in the case of her Romantic ancestors, her sacrifice was total:

Любви своей она не вынесла. Я -- отошел.
Она угасла, в одиночестве, в своем монастыре.
Я видел ее перед смертью. И она сказала...
Сказала, что я грешник, но она любит меня
любовью беспредельной . . . что она вечно
за меня молится... и даже... даже надеется
что я не погибну. (78)

Not without a notable influence on Zaitsev's play is the Romantic rendition of the theme in the dramatic poem of Nikolaus Lenau (1844).⁷² Lenau's Don Juan, like the Don Juan of Hoffmann and Tolstoi, is a hero larger-than-life impelled by a supernatural power on a quest for the sublime; however, this power is no longer Satan, but Lust -- the goddess of procreation. Zaitsev's Don Juan, like Lenau's, is aging and he is tired. In this, he manifests yet another

⁷² Nikolaus Lenau, "Don Juan," in Werke (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1966).

Romantic conception of the hero, that of the "autumnal Don Juan." He suffers from a tedium vitae which betrays the death-wish.

In Lenau's poem Don Juan allows himself to be killed by Don Pedro, the son of the Commander de Ulloa whom Don Juan had murdered. "Here my mortal enemy is at my mercy, and yet this, like life itself, bores me," he utters, then deliberately casts away his sword and receives the death-blow.⁷³ In a parallel conclusion, Zaitsev's Don Juan is likewise challenged by Don Diego in vengeance for the death of the latter's father. His death also comes self-willed at the point of his adversary's rapier.

For all the similarity in this denouement, there is a vast difference in the meaning of the two deaths. Lenau's Don Juan dies in vain, for he will not find in death what was denied to him in life. Beyond death is not eternal bliss, but total annihilation. Zaitsev's hero dies because there is no further reason to live and to suffer. His earthly life ends at the feet of the Eternal Woman and his immortal soul is saved by Her redeeming love.

One is strongly tempted to draw a connection between Zaitsev's resurrection of the Romantic spirit of the Don Juan theme, and the ambience in which the author lived and created. His interpretation is mainly evocative and the

⁷³"Mein Todfeind ist in meine Faust gegeben;
Doch dies auch langweilt, wie das ganze Leben."

atmosphere of the entire play is dominated by a somnambulist, abstract quality. The characters are shadows moving trance-like in an unreal element. They are pilgrims wandering through the storms of life's contradictions, in search of some "distant land" as are the majority of Zaitsev's heroes and heroines. Writes Iu. Aikhenval'd:

"В бурях земных противоречий" странствуют у Зайцева мужчины и женщины. . . . Иные из них будто астральны, будто отрешены от всякой земной тяжести и сотканы из легчайшей материи сновидений. Неслышной поступью передвигаются они, живые тени, едва очерченные силуэты на исчезающем свитке мировой скоротечности, смутные эфемеры бытия, -- и в какой-то "дальний край" направляют свои легкие шаги.⁷⁴

"Zaitsev's favorite image," writes Paul Gribanovsky, "is that of a person who is unable to come to grips with his surroundings. Usually dissatisfied with himself, such a man constantly seeks higher values."⁷⁵ His Don Juan, like many a Turgenevian and Chekhovian hero, is a man no longer in touch with his world. He is not only physically banished, but spiritually alienated. He is, in many respects, the manifestation of the Superfluous Man in Don Juan literature.

Zaitsev himself was in his thirty-sixth year when the Revolution erupted; he was forty-one when he went into self-imposed exile. His was a generation which suddenly found

⁷⁴Iulii Aikhenval'd, Siluety russkikh pisatelei (1923; rpt. The Hague: Mouton, 1969), Vol. III, p. 207.

⁷⁵N.P. Poltoratskii, op. cit., p. 374.

itself dispossessed and superfluous, alienated from the life they once knew and flourished in. What remained to them was the consolation that love would assuage the pain of despair and that a merciful God would ultimately reward those did not lose faith and hope.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Age of Romanticism was a period of profound, far-reaching, and lasting change in the progression of the Don Juan myth. By the middle of the nineteenth century the mainstream of donjuanesque literature had been revitalized and enriched by the confluence of two new thematic currents: the theme of idealism and the theme of salvation. A third development, although less momentous than the other two, was the rapprochement of Don Juan and Faust.

The earliest of the Slavic authors to respond to the new trends was Aleksei Tolstoi who, in the first variant of his dramatic poem Don Zhuan, juxtaposed the image of Don Juan the ideal-seeker with that of Don Juan as the Prodigal son. Tolstoi's is a composite version reflecting features inherited from the most influential re-creations of the theme of the period. Although his hero is indisputably Hoffmannesque, Tolstoi broke with Hoffmann and, instead of granting the victory to Satan, he shows the triumph of Heaven in the struggle for the soul of Don Juan. In dramatizing the miracle of Don Juan's salvation, Tolstoi turned to the versions of Mérimée, Dumas, and Zorrilla. As in

Mérimée's novella, Don Juan advances the cause of his own deliverance by expiating his sins in extreme piety; however, like Don Juan in Dumas and Zorrilla, he is also redeemed by the love of a woman and her great sacrifice for his sake. With the adaptation of this denouement, the Don Juan of Tolstoi becomes the first of the Slavic avatars of Miguel Mañara.

The next Slavic version to be inspired directly by the Mañara tradition is Rzewuski's "fantastic drama" Ostatni dzień Don Juana. The Polish dramatist based his adaptation essentially on the miracle play of Alexandre Dumas, of which it appears to be a deliberate sequel. In the alternate conclusion it proposes, this drama raises the Christian principle of forgiveness as the foundation of Don Juan's salvation, but not without an original twist: in order to be worthy of Mercy, Don Juan must himself prove capable of mercy. Once again love -- the love of a woman and the love of Don Juan for his son -- is featured as the redeeming power through which he overcomes his insurmountable pride and fulfills the condition imposed by God upon his deliverance.

Continuing the Mañara tradition into the twentieth century, Boris Zaitsev, like Tolstoi, fused the theme of idealism with the theme of redemption. In this interpretation, inspired primarily by the nineteenth-century versions and notably Lenau and Tolstoi, the ideal is attainable to

the Don Juan who seeks. The transfiguration of Clara into the Radiant Lady -- the Eternal Woman -- fulfills the prophecy of Hoffmann and Tolstoi: the ideal does exist for those who are entering an existence which transcends mortal bounds.

In conclusion, it must be noted that each of the three Slavic versions created in the spirit of the Mañara legend contributed its own particular innovation to the evolution of the donjuanesque theme. Tolstoi was the first writer to juxtapose the idealism with salvation; Rzewuski fundamentally altered the traditional role of mercy in the process of redemption; Zaitsev revealed that faith in the ideal leads both to salvation and reward.

CHAPTER IV

THE REALISTIC VERSIONS

В наше время статуи не
боятся, и внешних развязок
deus ex machina не любят.

Vissarion Belinskii

One of the essential reasons for the durability and universal appeal of the Don Juan theme is the success of talented and imaginative writers in maintaining an effective juxtaposition of the natural and the supernatural. The burlador theme, we recall, was literary, possibly even historical in origin. It was secular in nature and often reflected a social reality. The convidado theme, on the other hand, is of ancient folkloric provenance. It was religious (at least originally) and invariably fantastic. The bi-thematicism characteristic of Don Juan drama of the Classical period, as we have observed, was not only preserved in a number of works of the Romantic period, but extends into the present century in the "traditional" versions. And yet, despite all evidence testifying to the qualitative superiority of those renditions which have retained the equilibrium between the real and the supernatural, between the concrete and the abstract, the tendency to reduce the irrational element began to manifest itself early in the evolution of the theme.

The introduction of the legend of Miguel Mañara into the mainstream of Don Juan literature in the early part of the nineteenth century accomplished a great deal in the interests

of reducing the incredible, irrational component. Although this legend introduced a number of its own mystical features and miraculous episodes, it eliminated for the most part that particular aspect which is most directly connected with the preternatural:-- the theme of the Avenging Statue, of the Guest of Stone. However, the initial phase in the reduction of the supernatural is already in evidence almost a hundred years prior to the popularization of the Mañara legend.

In 1736 the Carnival of Venice staged a five-act commedia by Carlo Goldoni entitled Don Giovanni Tenorio ossia il dissoluto.¹ In many respects the play simply reiterates many of the conventional escapades of the hero in the Classical period, but with one significant exception: Don Juan is no longer destroyed by the Statue of the Commander he had killed, but by a bolt of lightning.² Having reproached Molière for retaining the animated stone effigy,³ Goldoni proceeded to "set the record straight," as it were, regarding the punishment and death of Don Juan. The Italian

¹G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), p. 312.

²There is nothing particularly novel in the finale of Goldoni's play. We recall that death by lightning is also the fate of Aurelio, the donjuanesque hero of the Ateista fulminato of the seventeenth century.

³Gendarme de Bévotte, loc. cit.

playwright's endeavour to improve upon his French predecessor and to modify the climactic denouement of the legend in the interests of verisimilitude was, however, not without its own "miraculous" anomaly -- Don Juan is struck down from a clear blue sky. Nevertheless, the dismissal of the convidado theme, almost in its entirety was a noteworthy step in the trend towards the realistic in the theatre of Don Juan.

For all his attempt to enhance the plausibility of Don Juan's end, Goldoni's Don Giovanni is, of course, no more realistic a version than, say, that of Molière who, despite his retention of the convidado theme, did not fail to imbue his work with the spirit of his age and epitomize the "grand seigneur méchant homme." The realistic interpretations of the Don Juan theme develop, quite naturally, with the age of Realism and begin, perhaps more specifically, with what Leo Weinstein designates as the Anti-Romantic Reaction.⁴ While writers as, for example, Levavasseur⁵ and Viard⁶ speculated on the behaviour of a superannuated Don Juan who had

⁴Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).

⁵Gustave Levavasseur, Don Juan barbon, drama published in 1848. In an interesting peripeteia, Don Juan adopts the traditional role of the Commander. He dies under identical circumstances when he rushes to the rescue of his daughter, Dolores, who has been seduced in her bedroom by the son of the Count de Ulloa. See Gendarme de Bévette, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

⁶Jules Viard, La Vieillesse de Don Juan, staged in 1853. Ibid., pp. 130-131.

somehow managed to escape being cut off in the prime of life by the Avenging Statue, others reacted against the Hoffmannesque idealization, brought Don Juan down to earth and "proposed concrete ideals which would make a respectable citizen of the ideal-seeking seducer: marriage, fatherhood, involvement in social and political affairs, and dedication to science."⁷ Finally, at the turn of the twentieth century such writers as Lavedan in Le Marquis de Priola (1902) and Shaw in Man and Superman (1901-1908) depicted Don Juan as their contemporary, as the modern man.

Despite the tendency to contemporize the hero, the Don Juan drama of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century still relied heavily on the heritage of the Classical and Romantic periods. Clearly identifiable are: (1) the tradition of the Don Juan Tenorio legend, (2) the tradition of the Miguel Mañara legend, and (3) the tradition of neither condemning nor saving Don Juan, but simply accepting the hero's conduct as an expression of his courage and individualism. Spanning all three currents and in fact prevailing in much of the Don Juan literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the continuing influence of Hoffmann's conception of the hero. The ideal-seeker continued to manifest himself regardless of condemnation, salvation, and vindication. It is precisely the Hoffmann-

⁷L. Weinstein, op. cit., p. 137.

esque vision, reduced to human proportions, which becomes acutely conspicuous in the treatments the Don Juan theme underwent among certain of the Slavic writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The realistic approach to the theme of Don Juan, insofar as it reflects a trend to diminish, if not eliminate, the supernatural component, is represented in four Slavic dramas: two in Russian, one in Ukrainian, and one in Czech. They are respectively A.O. Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Zhuan, A.N. Bezhetskii's Sevil'skii obol'stitel', S. Cherkasenko's Espans'kyi kabaliero Don Khuan i Rozita, and J. Mahen's Juanův konec. The comparative analysis of these four plays constitutes the main substance of the present chapter.

I. A.O. MORDVIN-SHCHODRO: DON ZHUAN

Chronologically, the third Russian dramatic version on the Don Juan theme after Pushkin and Tolstoi is a tragedy in verse entitled Don Zhuan by Aleksandr Osipovich Mordvin-Shchodro, published in 1896.⁸ This drama, written in unrhymed iambic pentameter, consists of five acts with no division into scenes. The action is set in Seville during the period of the Inquisition.

The principal protagonist of the play is Don Juan de Santandor -- a nobleman of Spain, young, wealthy, and extreme-

⁸ Mordvin-Shchodro, Don Zhuan (Moscow: Tipografiia Obshchestva Rasprostraneniia Poleznykh Knig, 1896). All quotations from the text are taken from this edition.

ly handsome. He is a favourite at the court and nephew to the Pope himself. And yet, despite these qualities, Don Juan is unhappy, disillusioned, and cynical to the point of misanthropy, for seething all around him is treachery, corruption, injustice, and deceit. Love is also a delusion. He has been repeatedly disappointed in his love affairs and yearns desperately for that supreme woman whose love would make of him a willing slave:

И чувство то я не могу найти,
 Которое меня б как цепь сковало,
 Рабом бы сделало своим совсем, (7)

Все те к кому я пламя нес святое,
 Все те к кому я с верой подходил...
 Покров долой, и пламя, прах лобзая,
 Мгновенно гасло. И бежал я грочь
 И чем во мне сильнее было чувство,
 Тем был страшней удар... И новых жертв
 Я вновь искал... (59)

Don Juan's quest for an ideal love leads him to the Borrero tavern and into the arms of the fiery dancer Pepita. But she too denies him the perfection he seeks and he mourns but little when the hapless Gipsy-girl is murdered by her jealous lover, the volatile Frasquello. The love-plot of the drama mounts when Don Juan's search turns to the wife of the Commander de la Cerda, the young and beautiful marquess Donna Isabella. The conflict increases in intensity when Isabella vows to remain the faithful wife and decides to resist Don Juan's romantic overtures. Don Juan, however, is resolved to possess her, whatever the consequences or cost. "Oh, Donna Isabella," he exhorts her, "will you not reconcile

me with life?" and pours out the yearning in his tormented soul:

О, дайте верить, что на свете есть
 Не лишь в моем воображеньи чувство,
 Которое меня скует как цепь
 И даст познать его восторги,
 Что мир могу не проклинять теперь... (59)

Меня спасая, донна,
 Спасете многих! (60)

Having threatened to kill the aging Commander if Donna Isabella will not surrender to him, Don Juan is himself challenged to a duel by the jealous husband and deals the Commander a mortal sword-thrust. The dying Commander vows that even death will not separate him from Donna Isabella, for she must also die. Rising from his death-bed to administer to her a vial of lethal poison, the Commander encounters Don Juan in the bedchamber of Isabella. His worst fear is confirmed: Don Juan has made love to her. The Commander bursts forth in invectives and threatens vengeance even from beyond the grave, when suddenly he and Don Juan turn in horror to the spectacle that was once the beautiful Isabella. Her tangled hair, wild gaze, and hysterical utterances betray the tragic finale. She is hopelessly insane. "Love her... love her now!... I am avenged!" cries the Commander and falls dead.

The most appropriate point of departure for a discussion of Mordvin-Shchodro's drama is perhaps the conclusion itself. Contrasting sharply with the finale of the "traditional" versions of his Russian precursors, Pushkin and Tolstoi, this

ending is fully consistent with the trends toward a realistic resolution of the theme of retribution. There is no Statue, no insult or invitation to the dead, no lethal handshake or plunge into Hell. In fact, Don Juan does not even die. His fate is to inherit a lunatic in place of the Feminine Ideal to which he had aspired and which he believed to have found. His punishment is the anguish of seeing an exquisite woman transformed into a monstrosity before his very eyes. The author leaves his hero as well as his audience suspended in the middle of a tragic dilemma. And yet, it is not for the first time that Don Juan is witness to the tragedy of madness, to the withering of youth and beauty, to the transformation of a sublime dream into a lugubrious nightmare. Half a century earlier, the hero of Alexandre Dumas' drama was confronted with the grim realization that he is the instrument of destruction:

Ô mon Dieu! je suis un être bien fatal aux autres et à moi-même; tout ce que je touche se brise ou se flétrit, et ceux à qui je n'ôte pas la vie perdent la raison.⁹

The shade of Ophelia also passed over the German tragedy of Julius Hart, Don Juan Tenorio,¹⁰ which antedates that of

⁹ Alexandre Dumas, "Don Juan de Marana," in Oeuvres de Alexandre Dumas (Brussels: Société Belge de Librairie, 1843), Vol. V, p. 518.

¹⁰ Julius Hart, Don Juan Tenorio, tragedy in four acts, 1881. See G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 141-143.

Mordvin-Shchodro by some fifteen years. Hart's protagonist is also on a quest for the Eternal Feminine. He languishes in the tedium of facile conquests and yearns for the love that would fill the void within his heart and rejuvenate his numbed senses. Such a love is offered him by Donna Anna who, although she loves Don Juan, is betrothed to Octavio. As she is about to flee with Don Juan on the very day of her marriage to Octavio, the way is suddenly barred by her father, the Commander de Ulloa. Don Juan responds in the traditional manner. The dying Commander's last request is that his daughter remain faithful to Octavio.

After a rending internal struggle between her conscience and her passion, Donna Anna agrees to the murder of Octavio with a potion prepared by Don Juan. As Leporello entreats his master to repent after the commission of the treacherous act, Anna suddenly appears. She is grotesquely attired and mentally deranged. She dies uttering: "Good-night, my love... Come with me to Hell."¹¹

While it is difficult to state with any degree of certainty that Mordvin-Shchodro was aware of Hart's drama, the parallels between the two works, particularly in the basic conception of Don Juan and in the conclusion of the plays, suggest the possibility of a connection between the German and the Russian versions. In fact, according to the evidence, it might be stated that it is the German interpretations of the Don Juan type which were reflected most prominently.

¹¹Ibid., p. 143.

in the Russian plays of the late nineteenth century.

Julius Hart's Don Juan Tenorio, as well as the dramas of Hornstein¹² and of Rittner,¹³ attest to the observation of Gendarme de Bévotte that German literature on the Don Juan theme found it difficult to liberate itself from the Romantic influence, from the mystical notion which envisages the hero as the ill-fated seeker of a vain Ideal.¹⁴ Whereas writers in France had managed with a degree of success to adapt Don Juan to reality, and to a modern reality at that, the German versions perpetuated the Hoffmannian tradition and continued to endow the theme with a highly mystical and philosophical coloration. Russian dramaturgy on the Don Juan theme adopted a path somewhere between the French and the German currents, although with a distinct preference for the latter. Although the Russian realistic versions after Tolstoi broke with the powerful religious and metaphysical basis of the Romantic Don

¹²Ferdinand von Hornstein, Don Juans Höllengualen, drama, 1900. See Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 206-208.

¹³Thaddäus Rittner, Unterwegs: Eine Don Juan Drama, 1909. See Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan; (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 90-91.

¹⁴Gendarme de Bévotte, op.cit., p. 147.

Juan tradition, they made almost no attempt to modernize the hero and to contemporize his ambience as did, for example, Shaw in England, Lavedan in France, D'Annunzio in Italy, and Przybyszewski in Poland.¹⁵

The fundamental conception of Don Juan appears to have changed but little in the generation which separates Mordvin-Shchodro and Tolstoi. The Romantic idealist whom Tolstoi had appropriated from Hoffmann and elaborated in his dramatic poem is essentially the type we find incarnated in Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Juan de Santandor. There are, in fact, several episodic analogies and textual parallels between the two versions, which merit some comment; however, there are important divergencies. While the Romantic had no reservations about offering a metaphysical rationale and motivation for Don Juan's insatiable desire for perfection, the realistic writer was loath to justify the hero's conduct by a Prologue in Heaven and to a dispute over his soul between Satan and a Celestial Chorus. We remain somewhat frustrated in our ignorance of the spiritual or psychological causes behind the hero's yearning for a supraterrrestrial love. We are simply

¹⁵Gabriele d'Annunzio, Piacere, novel, 1889, and Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Homo Sapiens, novel, 1898.

Przybyszewski's novel, which qualifies as a Slavic Don Juan version, has been translated from Polish to English by Thomas Seltzer and was published in New York by Alfred A. Knopf, 1915.

Count Andrea Sperelli and Eric Falk, the heroes of Piacere and Homo Sapiens respectively, have been examined as manifestations of the donjuanesque type in an article by the Russian poet and critic Bal'mont. See Konstantin Bal'mont, "Tip Don-Zhuana v mirovoi literature," Mir Iskusstva, 1903, pp. 269-292.

told that he pursues a "vision," but when and whence this vision came, the author neglects to say.

The path Don Juan the ideal-seeker repeatedly follows in the dramas of Tolstoi and Mordvin-Shchodro is a "vicious circle" -- search, failure, revenge -- a wheel spinning rapidly on a course toward incredulity and misanthropy. What follows is the death-wish or a punishment even worse than death: the dreaded realization that the ideal is unattainable because the ideal does not exist in the material world. The first segment of this circular path is the vision of the woman who, at a distance, foretokens the Ideal of Femininity, whose love portends to be the key to his communion with Nature and the universe, with life and eternity. The Don Juan of Mordvin-Shchodro, like Tolstoi's hero, perceives this as a vow which every woman pledges, but invariably forswears:

О донна Изабелла! Верьте, верьте
На вас не бросил взгляд бы дон Жуан,
Когда б хотя в одной из всех тех женщин,
Которые ему клялись в любви,
Иль он которым также часто клялся,
Нашел он хоть в одной то, что искал....¹⁶
(41)

¹⁶ Compare in Tolstoi:

О, если бы из тех, кого любил я,
Хотя б одна сдержала обещанье!
Я им не изменял -- нет, нет, -- они,
Они меня бесстыдно обманули,
Мой идеал они мне подменили,
Подставили чужую личность мне,
И их любить, на место совершенства --
Вот где б измена низкая была!

(32)

The quest repeatedly culminates in failure (the second segment of the circle), in disappointment and ever-increasing despair. The love he experiences is but an illusion, a phantom, a mirage which dissipates at the touch:

О, сколько раз с надеждой подходил
К тому виденью... Думал, что нашел я
Мечту заветную свою! Вдруг миг...
И идол мой лежит уже во прахе...
То призрак был! То был лишь звук пустой!
Обман.....¹⁷ (41)

With the despair of having been once again deceived and betrayed comes rage and hostility, the thirst for vengeance and the compulsion to destroy (the third segment):

И больно становилось на душе.
Бушующие волны гнева, злобы,
Все поглощали в миг тогда во мне
И мстил я.... Мстил им страшно, беспощадно
✓ За то, что разведенное вино
Мне вместо чистого они давали!¹⁸
(42)

¹⁷ Compare in Tolstoi:

Все было ложь. Я обнимал лишь призрак.
От женщины, которую любил я,
Которую так ставил высоко
И на земле небесным исключеньем
Считал, -- не оставалось ничего --
Она была такая ж, как другие! (32)

¹⁸ Compare in Tolstoi:

Одну покинув, я искал другую,
И, каждый раз все сызнова обманут,
С ожесточенным стал я любопытством
В них струны сердца все перебирать.
Когда они рвались, равнодушно
Изломанный бросал я инструмент
И дале шел и всюду находил
Одни и те же пошлые явления! (32)

His hunger for revenge temporarily satiated, his wrath pacified by a succession of duels and facile amorous conquests, Don Juan is once again impelled on his futile search by a new vision of the Ideal. He has come full circle; he now sees in Donna Isabella the "divine image" which haunts his tortured mind:

Как над темными водами вдруг засиял
Пролетающий ангел, и тьму разогнал,
Точно также твой образ небесный
Осветил мрак души и зажег в ней любовь,
И я верить хочу... верить в счастье вновь,
Что пока для меня неизвестно!... (56)

The ironic denouement of Mordvin-Shchodro's tragedy -- the culmination of Don Juan's quest for the Ideal in the acquisition of a madwoman for a bride -- might have been quite conceivably suggested, as has been mentioned, by Hart's Don Juan Tenorio.¹⁹ There are, however, other motifs in the play which are indicative of the influence of the dramas of Tolstoi and Pushkin.

Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Juan, as we have noted, is an avatar of the Tolstoian hero who in turn derives from the conception of E.T.A. Hoffmann. Although both Tolstoi and Mordvin-Shchodro created a frustrated, cynical, and ruthless

¹⁹ Perhaps even more poignantly ironic is the conclusion of Ernst Kratzmann's short story "Don Juan in Venedig" (1940), wherein the woman incarnating the Ideal which Don Juan so desperately seeks is not only mad, but rejects him as well. See Martin Nozick, op. cit., p. 140.

protagonist, each writer endowed his hero with immense courage, physical prowess, a sense of honour, and even a streak of altruism. Their egotism seems to proceed almost involuntarily from the knowledge of their natural superiority over the rest of humanity which they often pity as much as they despise. In this respect, the episode in which Don Juan rescues the bandit Cristof-Gitanos from the Inquisition is analogous to the scene with Boabdil in Tolstoi's Don Zhuan. Both of these adventures are reminiscent of the incident with Dom Carlos in Molière's Dom Juan.²⁰ Cristof and Boabdil are rescued from a fiery death at the stake at the risk of Don Juan's own life; yet, both the Gipsy and the Moor at one point in the drama seek the life of their liberator. Each is spared due to a communion of adventurous spirits and common contempt for the laws and constraints of society.

Although Mordvin-Shchodro did not stray far from the Romantic conception of the Don Juan type, his drama incorporates several features which recall the Classical period of the theme. One of the more obvious concessions to tradition

²⁰ Dom Carlos, brother of Elvire, is rescued from a band of brigands, only to discover that his deliverer is none other than his sworn enemy, Dom Juan. In acknowledgement of this act of chivalry, Dom Carlos intercedes on behalf of Dom Juan when Dom Alonse, Elvire's second brother, arrives with the intent to kill Dom Juan. See Molière, "Dom Juan," in Théâtre (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1912), Vol. II, pp. 147-152.

is the motif of Don Juan's duel with the Commander. In this instance, however, we observe that Mordvin-Shchodro adhered to the innovation of Pushkin in making the aging Commander the husband and not the father of Donna Isabella. Also reminiscent of Kamennyi gost' is the motif of Don Juan's disguise as a cleric in order to gain access to the woman he desires.

Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Zhuan is a didactic drama. It points, on one hand, to the evils of profligacy and adultery and, on the other, to the fragility of the human mind under severe emotional stress. Its lesson lies in the imminence of retribution rather than in the mystery of salvation. Mordvin-Shchodro reiterates the Classical idea of the disso-luto punito chastized by heaven rather than the Romantic notion of the Prodigal Son redeemed by faith and love.

Although the doom of Don Juan is not sealed by a messenger from beyond the grave, his punishment is nevertheless suggestive of divine ordainment. Donna Isabella prays to the Madonna for a miracle which would extricate her from the anguish of her spiritual crisis. This miracle manifests itself in her madness; her soul is saved at the sacrifice of her mind. Don Juan is left to suffer alone. His cardinal sin is his lust for perfection, his vain search in the name of which he justified all his crimes against God and man. His retribution is the realization that his love is no less destructive than his wrath.

Unlike the dramas of his Russian precursors -- Pushkin and Tolstoi -- Mordvin-Shchodro's tragedy made no significant contribution to the progression of the Don Juan myth other than providing one of the earliest attempts towards a realistic rendition of the theme in Slavic dramaturgy. In fact, artistically and conceptually this play offers little, if anything, new to the type established long since in Western European literature on Don Juan. Having gone no further than resurrecting the idealist already encountered in numerous versions, Mordvin-Shchodro failed even to provide an acceptable motivation for the hero's conduct. The complete dismissal of the convidado theme in favour of a more realistic conclusion does little to diminish the distinct impression of déjà vu. The characters whose presence is integral to an authentic expression of the donjuanesque myth are either absent or are denatured beyond recognition. Don Juan, for all his physical attributes, is a Don Juan without a convincing cause. He evokes none of the mixed emotions which the hero of Tirso's El Burlador drew forth from the audience; nor does he emerge as the tragic victim of cosmic forces far beyond his own power and understanding.

Leporello, the traditional ludicrous lackey, fails to provide even a modicum of comedy relief. Donna Isabella is totally unconvincing as the Ideal she is supposed to represent in the eyes of Don Juan. Donna Elvira is conspicuous in her absence. The traditionally venerable and aristocratic Comman-

der appears as little more than a superannuated egomaniac devoured by jealousy and suspicion who, although he is somewhat reminiscent of Pushkin's Don Alvar in this respect, is here deprived of the honour of avenging himself by returning from the grave to claim a posthumous victory over his offender.

Nevertheless, there is something to be said for the expansion of the role of the Commander in Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Zhuan and his evolution to the level of a major character. In Pushkin's version, we recall, Don Alvar does not even appear in human form, while in Tolstoi's the Commander's presence is a concession to the legend. Mordvin-Shchodro, on the other hand, invests the Commander de la Cerda with some depth and motivation. Although he suffers an inevitable decline in symbolic significance in consequence of the elimination of the theme of the Stone Guest, the reduction of the Commander to human proportions together with some characterological development establishes a precedent for Lesia Ukrainka's more masterful portrayal of this traditional figure in her Kaminnyi hospodar.

In combining realistic plot construction with the Romantic conception of Don Juan as a vainseeker for the Eternal Feminine, Mordvin-Shchodro's play reflects the compromise between the Realism-oriented French interpretations and the Hoffmann-inspired German renditions of the theme.

Undeniably, the drama of Mordvin-Shchodro does not compare with the artistic quality and conceptual depth of Pushkin and Tolstoi. Nevertheless, the work is noteworthy in that it reaffirms the continuing influence and popularity of the Don Juan theme in Russian literature of the late nineteenth century and, moreover, closely parallels the trend toward more realist-oriented interpretations as reflected in the Western European literatures at that time.

II. A.N. BEZHETSKII: SEVIL'SKII OBOL'STITEL'

The French critic Louis Viardot, as we have noted earlier in this study, returned in 1834 from a voyage to Spain with what was allegedly a historical account based on an entry in the Crónicas de Sevilla.²¹ Don Juan Tenorio, he writes, was a member of a distinguished family residing in Seville. One night he killed the Commander de Ulloa while attempting to abduct his daughter. The Commander was buried in a chapel at the convent of San Francisco where a marble statue was erected in his honour. The all-powerful Franciscan monks, charged with the moral surveillance over the city, became outraged over Don Juan's impunity by virtue of his rank as a noble. Intent upon bringing the libertine's excesses and impieties to an end, the monks lured him into an ambush and assassinated him. They then spread the rumour that Don Juan had come to the cemetery to insult the Commander's statue and that the statue cast him into Hell.

²¹See supra, p. 9.

Although investigation has since disclosed that this account has in fact no historical foundation substantiated by the Crónicas de Sevilla, Viardot's report was reiterated in an article by Karl Engel in an 1887 issue of Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte²² and by Jacob Zeidler in an 1896 issue of that same journal.²³ It is the article by Engel that is of particular interest to us at this point, for its publication precedes by only one year the date of completion of the drama Sevil'skii obol'stitel' by the Russian playwright A.N. Bezhetskii (pseudonym of Aleksei Nikolaevich Maslov).²⁴ This drama, completed in 1888, was first staged by the Malyi Teatr in 1890 and was published in 1897 -- one year after the appearance of Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Zhuan.

²²Karl Engel, "Zwei Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Don-Juan-Sage," Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, old series, I (1886-1887), pp. 392-406. This article is attributed by some bibliographers to M. Koch. For clarification, see Armand E. Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), pp. 323-324.

²³Jacob Zeidler, "Beitrage zur Geschichte des Kloster-dramas. Thanatopsychie," Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, IX (1896), pp. 88ff. See G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), p. 22.

²⁴A.N. Bezhetskii, Sevil'skii obol'stitel' (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia A.S. Suvorina, 1897). All quotations from the drama are excerpted from the Suvorin edition, possibly the only edition of this play by Bezhetskii.

Sevil'skii obol'stitel' (The Seducer of Seville) consists of four acts with scenic division and is written both in prose and in blank verse.²⁵

The relationship which emerges between Bezhetskii's drama and Viardot's account strongly suggests that Sevil'skii obol'stitel' derives from the annalistic scenario which allegedly served as the model for Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla.²⁶ The appeal of Viardot's "version" is quite understandable in the latter part of the nineteenth century, for it not only offered a historical foundation for the Don Juan myth, but also rationalized the supernatural punishment of the libertine. Thus, the miraculous vengeance of the Commander's statue was but a rumour perpetrated by the Franciscans in order to strike terror in the hearts of all libertines, while in reality Don Juan met a much less sensational end under the daggers of hired assassins.

Central to the plot development in Sevil'skii obol'stitel' is the conspiracy of Father Domingo, Superior of the

²⁵Out of a total of 42 scenes, 9 are in verse. The verse scenes invariably characterize the more lyrical or emotion-charged moments of the drama, for example Don Juan's monologues, the appearance of the phantom, and the discourse of the monks.

²⁶Viardot stated with conviction: "C'est là que Tirso de Molina prit le sujet de sa pièce à laquelle il donna ce titre bizarre et expressif: No hay plago que no llegue ni deuda que no se pague, o El convidado de piedra." See Gen-darme de Bévette, *op. cit.* (1970), p. 21. We note that Viardot here partially confuses the title of Tirso's play with that of Antonio de Zamora.

Franciscan monastery of Seville, to do away with the libertine. Petitions to Rome for the excommunication of Don Juan and complaints to the king having proved futile, Father Domingo takes recourse in murder.

In one respect, Don Juan de Tenorio of Bezhetskii's drama recalls the classic Don Juan. He is the champion of all the libertines of Seville. His life is one continuous succession of seductions and duels. Not only has he killed the Commander de Ulloa -- a generous benefactor of the Franciscan convent -- but has entered, by order of the king himself, into a "most unholy wedlock" with the Commander's niece, Donna Inez. It once again befalls Leporello, in the traditional catalogue motif, to describe his master's escapades:

Сегодня мы соблазняем жену благороднейшего сановника; завтра -- дочь какого-нибудь жида, которая сидит за десятью замками. Послезавтра лезем через монастырскую решетку и, в то время, как я отбиваюсь от собак, он уверяет какую-нибудь хорошенькую монахиню, что, кроме любви, все вздор и чушь... Мы ни перед чем не останавливаемся: даже перед невинностью! Совести у нас никакой нет! Сколько мы соблазнили этих созданий -- просто не перечесть! (11)

But there is another side to Don Juan. Recently, he is no longer the carefree hedonist seeking momentary pleasure. Now he is like a man possessed, dashing in a frenzy from boudoir to barrier. Mysterious voices impel him on a desperate search for "Her" -- the promise of feminine perfection:

Жуан! спеш! Изведай счастье всюду!
Ищи его! Красавицы везде

Манят твой взор, как камни дорогие;
 Но между ними верно есть алмаз,
 Алмаз бесценный; лучшим украшением
 Венцом любви твоей он должен быть. (28-29)

Once, while on a stroll, he believes to have glimpsed the incarnation of his vision. She was but a stranger in the crowd, but she shone with a wondrous beauty. She gazed at him enigmatically -- "the eyes of a naiad and a face of pure innocence" -- and then disappeared.

Having abandoned Donna Inez in Valencia, Don Juan has returned to Seville and pursues the young and beautiful widow, Donna Laura. He soon tires of her, but is forced to kill Donna Laura's fiancé, Captain Alvaro. Alvaro's death weighs on his conscience and, seeing once more the all too familiar sight of a living being turning cold and pale before his eyes, Don Juan recognizes himself as the agent of death and sorrow. However, it is not his, but Nature's fault -- Nature, which has deceived him in his search for true love:

... Не я,
 Сама природа с силой непонятной
 Моей рукой разносит смерть и гибель.
 Она во всем виновна, а не я!...
 Любовь, одна любовь направить может
 Меня на путь иной... Она, как пламень.
 Сожгла-б меня иль возродила-б вновь! (98)

Meanwhile, a mysterious lady has invited Don Juan to a midnight rendezvous in the cemetery, beside the statue of the Commander de Ulloa. The bizarre location -- the monument to his victim -- piques Don Juan's morbid curiosity and when

the vision of the Phantom Woman appears and beckons him to follow her to the cemetery, he does not hesitate. "To the cemetery, you say?" he exclaims. "With you I'll go to Hell itself!"

At the foot of the Commander's statue, Don Juan is confronted by his wife, Donna Inez. By summoning him to the nocturnal rendezvous she has unwittingly lured him into the sinister trap set by Father Domingo. Desperately, she begs her faithless husband to return to her and, when he mockingly refuses, Donna Inez abandons him with curses and invectives:

Теперь лишь я прозрела глубину
Твоей души развратной и порочной!
Будь проклят ты, коварный обольститель!
Будь проклят ты и пусть небесный мститель
За бедную жену тебя казнит! (121)

At these words Don Juan is set upon by the assassins lying in ambush among the gravestones. "Repent, Don Juan!" they shout.

"Whilst I live, I scorn repentance!" he retorts defiantly and falls under a dozen daggers. Standing over the corpse, Father Domingo proclaims what the world will be told of the divine punishment of Don Juan:

Свершилось страшное чудо! Статуя Командора
оживилась и подвергла дон-Жуана на землю...
Небо наказало его за нечестивую жизнь! (123)

It is readily apparent that Bezhetskii attempted to endow his Sevil'skii obol'stitel' with a "historical" color-

tion and created what is clearly a dramatized elaboration of Viardot's brief account of the final episode in the life of the "real" Don Juan Tenorio. Many of the motifs neither implied nor directly stated by Viardot are appropriated from the literary tradition of the Don Juan theme. Thus, the hero is again by nature essentially Hoffmannesque, while some of the philosophical moments in the play are strongly reminiscent of Nikolaus Lenau's dramatic poem, Don Juan. The "historical" family name of Don Juan (de Tenorio) and of the Commander (de Ulloa) are preserved by Bezhetskii, as is the locale (Seville) in which the legendary crimes and castigation of the seducer purportedly occurred. Similarly, the author expands the role of the Franciscan Brotherhood, motivates their conspiracy to destroy Don Juan, and reaffirms the origin of the rumour according to which the Commander's statue miraculously avenged itself upon an insolent mortal.

A noteworthy deviation from the Viardot "scenario" lies in the relationship established between the Commander and Donna Inez. In this respect Bezhetskii adhered neither to the original paternal-filial bond linking the Commander and Donna Anna as established in the Classical tradition, nor to the innovation introduced by Pushkin whereby Donna Anna appears as the Commander's wife. In Sevil'skii obol'stitel' Donna Inez is identified as the niece of the Commander de Ulloa and as the wife of Don Juan. In her relationship to the hero, Donna Inez recalls Molière's abandoned Elvire and to some degree Mozart and Da Ponte's Donna Elvira. However,

in her relationship with the Commander, we discover an interesting precedent in a German Don Juan version. In the drama Don Juan de Maranna (1858) by Adolf Widmann the hero marries the niece of the governor of Seville, Don Ulloa, whom he had killed in a duel.²⁷

Donna Inez, like her ancestors in Dom Juan and Don Giovanni, shadows her adulterous husband who has debased and rejected her. In what occurs as a distinct echo of Elvire's caveat, Inez presages Don Juan's imminent punishment:

Но помните, Жуан, Бог вас накажет!²⁸

As in the Classical versions, Don Juan's death follows hard upon this final encounter with a woman he has wronged.

In accordance with the donjuanesque tradition and with the Viardot narrative, Bezhet'skii retains the motif of the fateful duel between Don Juan and the Commander. As in the dramas of Molière and Pushkin, however, the murder occurs in the form of a flashback rather than as an episode in the direct

²⁷ Although Widmann's Don Juan de Maranna is in the genre of the Romantic melodrama, the conclusion of this play is indicative of the trend to rationalize the death of Don Juan. Honouring the invitation of the Statue, Don Juan arrives at the Commander's tomb where he falls asleep. His dream is a macabre vision of his own funeral. He awakens to find himself surrounded by soldiers who lead him off to his execution. See G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 61-65.

²⁸ Cf. "Je te le dis encore, le Ciel te punira." Molière, "Dom Juan," in Théâtre (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1912), Vol. II, p. 123.

action of the play. Although the murder of the Commander no longer marks the point of transition from the burlador to the convidado themes, as it does in the traditional bi-thematic versions, this motif does initiate the development of the theme of retribution in Bezhetskii's drama. The loss of a wealthy and generous benefactor provides the immediate motivation for Father Domingo's conspiracy for the "liquidation" of Don Juan. The presence of the Statue, although it no longer incarnates supernatural power, is retained as a feature of the original legend. What is more, the Commander's monument as the site of Don Juan's punishment and as the source of the legend of the Stone Guest is thus reasonably motivated.

Turning to Bezhetskii's interpretation of the hero's nature and to the exposition of his donjuanism, we conclude that the author patterned his Don Juan on the popular Hoffmannian model. In Sevil'skii obol'stitel' we recognize the avatar of the idealist adapted by Tolstoi and, more recently, by Mordvin-Shchodro. Bezhetskii, for his part, did not fail to introduce several changes in the conception of the hero and the theme of idealism.

Don Juan in this drama is on a quest for the absolute. He is impelled by mysterious, haunting voices to seek "the most priceless diamond" among the precious stones of Womanhood. The Satanic curse which befalls Tolstoi's hero, the

irrepressible compulsion to seek for the divine on earth is no longer externally and supernaturally induced. The Satanic curse of Tolstoi's metaphysical interpretation is rationalized in Bezhetskii's drama along more psycho-analytical lines.. Don Juan longs for a woman who would be worthy of him by virtue of being like Don Juan is himself.²⁹ She would be, in fact, his double. So intense and vivid are these self-induced moments of desire that they are projected externally in hallucinations which fuse with reality. Thus, he believes, while strolling through the crowds on the prado, to have perceived the Ideal in her physical form.

Моя мечта, горячих грез создание,
На несколько мгновений оживилась.
Раз вечером, с прогулки возвращаясь,
Я с незнакомкой встретился в толпе...
Красою дивной, так мне показалось, -
Она сияла... Увидав меня,
Она взглянула смело мне в глаза;
И этот взор, как океан, казался
Загадочен; В нем смесь была всего:
И юный стыд с нескромным любопытством,
И искра страсти, и мольба желанья,
Мелькнувшего, как птица, в небе знойном,
И тайная угроза... Чудный взор!
Глаза наяды на лице невинном! (29)

This aspiration is symptomatic of the profound egotism and exalted self-image characteristic of the superhuman Don Juan who flourished in the Romantic age. By virtue of his inherent pre-eminence he claims his right to self-

²⁹"Я думаю, что она должна характером походить на меня и даже превзойти. Тогда бы я был способен на всякий подвиг!"

fulfilment in a supreme love to be shared with the only woman in the world who would be worthy of him. It is then that Don Juan would become virtuous and capable of the most heroic of exploits and undertakings. It is noteworthy, however, that Bezhetskii's resolution of the theme of idealism differs from the Romantic conception of Tolstoi and from the Realist view of Mordvin-Shchodro in a very fundamental aspect. In the former two versions Don Juan's search is, in a sense, successful. Although he does not find the Ideal Woman, he finds his Ideal Woman. The fact that he is not fated to possess her does not alter the fact of the discovery itself. "Oh, God! I love her! . . . I am yours, Donna Anna," cries Tolstoi's hero in the ecstasy of his revelation. "All my doubts have vanished without a trace and I believe again as I did long ago!..."

"The joy of inexpressible bliss have I found in her embrace!" avows the Don Juan of Mordvin-Shchodro's play. "No, it was not mere passion... I swear it was not passion that intoxicated us both... No, it was my soul I poured into her in that blessed moment!" But he too is doomed never again to taste of that bliss.

In Sevil'skii obol'stitel' the theme of Idealism culminates in the stark realization that the Ideal does not exist. Inez, who offers him everything, including forgiveness for the murder of her uncle, reveals to Don Juan the truth that neither she nor any other woman in the world

can offer him the perfection he seeks:

Напрасно ты стремишься к совершенству,
На свете нет его! . . .³⁰ (117)

Don Juan, however, has already come to the same conclusion himself: there is no "priceless diamond" to be found on earth. "It seems to me," he admits to Pedro, "that all women are incredibly alike... Is it then worthwhile to repeat the same thing for the hundredth time?" Having arrived at this realization, Don Juan is ready for death. A morbid state of mind comes over him and impels him headlong to his rendezvous with fate. In the dichotomy of Don Juan's vision, the exquisite woman in radiant garb is not only the externalization of his yearning for perfection; it is also the visual manifestation of his own death-wish. Twice the apparition comes to haunt Don Juan, each time at the moment of his greatest despair and doubt. It is the phantom that draws him to the cemetery where death stalks him -- Don Juan's Ideal is also his Nemesis.

In Bezhetskii's "seducer of Seville" we recognize the charismatic conqueror of women's hearts. Like the Leporello of operatic fame, Pedro recites a catalogue-like compilation of his master's victims. The women represent

³⁰ Compare with Donna Anna's exhortation in Tolstoi's Don Zhuan:

"Покайтесь, дон Жуан! Еще не поздно!
Я знаю, что в вас веру погубило:
Искали вы блаженства -- есть оно!
Но на земле гнались вы напрасно
За тем, что только в небе суждено." (116)

every rank and station: there are wives of most noble dignitaries and sheltered daughters of Jewish merchants; there are cloistered nuns and gipsy dancing girls. "The number of these weak creatures we have seduced," vaunts the lackey, "is beyond all count." Indeed, to women Don Juan is the homme fatal -- irresistible and overpowering. "It is impossible not to love him," they concede in their helplessness, while the clergy fulminates and agonizes over its impotence to curb the power of his "diabolical suggestion."³¹

Все женщины, забыв свой стыд и долг,
Его речам растленным поддаются,
Не слушая своих духовников. (7)

For all his affinity to the frustrated Romantic idealist, Bezhetskii's Don Juan displays neither an animosity toward womankind nor a pathological lust for vengeance. In

³¹On several occasions in the play the notion of Don Juan's fraternity with Satan -- a motif developed in the Mañara legend -- is raised in relief. Besides being granted the epithet of "the Devil's progeny" (ischad'e satany) and his power described as "diabolical suggestion" (d'iavol'skoe navozhdenie), Pedro somewhat facetiously remarks on his master's consorting with the powers of the netherworld:

"Признаться сказать, и я сам иногда думаю,
что дьявол у нас часто бывает в гостях, хотя
в лицо никогда не видел." (18)

While Don Juan himself avows:

"Поверь мне, любезный Педро, что если-б
зла на свете не существовало, а царило бы
одно добро, то я первый бы умер от тоски." (90)

and:

"Если дьявол мне явится в виде хорошенькой
женщины, то я лучшего не желаю... У дьявола
тоже бывают свои хорошие стороны." (91)

this respect he is closer to the hero of Lenau's Don Juan than he is to that of Tolstoi's drama who, after each "betrayal," embarks on a deliberate and systematic programme of retribution. Bezhetetskii's Don Juan fully accepts the necessity of earthly love as a temporary alternative to the absolute. His women are abandoned neither for the sake of sadistic pleasure nor for "the sport of the chase" itself. He leaves his women because there is also sweetness in the sorrow of parting.

. . . в любви
Двойной смысл, двойная прелесть:
Одна -- в восторгах сладострастных,
Другая же -- в печали расставанья... (77)

Love burns most ardently and intensely on the verge of being extinguished. It is the presentiment of separation that elevates love to its climax and renders unto it its greatest charm. Love is doomed to wither and die in its very satiation:

Зачем друг друга уверять в любви,
Когда уж к ней крадется пресыщение? (77)

In the profession of this credo we recognize the fatal, inexorable "law of love" first expounded in Don Juan literature in the poem of Nikolaus Lenau.³² "Lips join together with the greatest tenderness when they are about to part," he says. He further assures Maria as he abandons her: "You are no less beautiful than on the day I first kissed

³²Gendarme de Bévoite; op. cit., p. 108.

you; it grieves me that I must leave you, but leave you I must."³³ Taking up this argument, Bezhetskii's hero concludes that the death of love must be anticipated and averted. Only timely retreat will save love from becoming a sham, a vulgar parody of its erstwhile splendour.

Тут скорее надо
Предупредить волшебницу любовь
И удалиться прежде, чем успеет
Рассеяться таинственный туман. (77)

However, the imperfection of earthly love is tolerable for Don Juan only as long as the perfection of an ideal love remains within the realm of possibility. Once hope is gone, so is the ability of terrestrial love to sustain him. He now recognizes that the Ideal to which he aspired is an illusion, a mirage in the desert:

Он точно озеро воздушное в степи
Измученного путника манит

³³ Du bist so schön und schöner noch vielleicht,
Als da ich dir geraubt den ersten Kuss,
Du warst mir immer hold, darum beschleicht
Mich Wehmut, dass ich dich verlassen muss.
Doch hin ist hin, der Zauber ist verkommen,
Ich hatte mir die Liebe nicht gegeben
Und weiss auch nicht, wer sie mir hat genommen,
Sie war ein neues, schönes, kurzes Leben!
Drum besser fort, als hier den Schmerz verschleiern,
Und täglich lächelnd Totenfeste feiern
So schön und reich, so herrlich war dies Lieben,
Dass ich entschwundnes Glück verriet' und krankte,
Wenn seinen Namen ich der Neigung schenkte,
Die noch für dich im Herzen mir geblieben.

Nikolaus Lenau, "Don Juan," in Werke (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1966), p. 461.

Прохладой неземной, лазурью дивной
И вдруг в лучах палящих исчезает...³⁴ (29)

Like the hero at the end of Lenau's dramatic poem, Bezhet'skii's Don Juan is bored and disillusioned. Even evil offers him no respite from the tedium vitae to which he has succumbed. Only death offers solace, for death alone does not repeat itself. As he collapses under the daggers of his assassins, Don Juan's heart refuses repentance, for it was Nature that led him to his crimes. Nature, fickle and deceptive, must bear the responsibility for her wayward offspring.

Although it combines motivic echoes of the Classical period with thematic features of the Romantic stage of the myth, A.N. Bezhet'skii's Sevil'skii obol'stitel', like Mordvin-Shchodro's Don Zhuan did not escape some of the drawbacks of the realist-oriented current in Don Juan dramaturgy. Absent again is the convidado theme and with it some of the most symbolic and absorbing moments of man's encounter with the bizarre and supernatural. It is true that a Phantom Woman does appear in the drama, but such presence is suggested more by psychic aberrations than by the action of miraculous agents.

³⁴ Compare in Tolstoi:

Так марево в пустыне аравийской
Пред путником рисует вдалеке
Озер и рек желанных очертанья;
Когда же он, собрав остаток сил,
Дотащится до них, изнеможенный, --
Исчезло все. Пред ним одна лишь степь,
Песков сыпучих пламенное море! (33)

The burlador theme, insofar as it is represented, introduces nothing extraordinary or conspicuously new in this play. Don Juan simply goes through the conventions of deserting his wife, of seducing Donna Laura, and of flirting with the barmaid Rosa and with the Gipsy singer Paquita. He is also obliged to kill, in the process, a vengeance-seeking rival -- a standard feature of the theatre of Don Juan since De Villiers. The Laura episode, although it occupies the better portion of two acts, contributes little in the way of character development or intrigue. Much more effective in this respect is the scene with Captain Alvaro which does highlight some salient features of Don Juan's character and philosophy, although, it must be admitted, this episode devotes excessive time to a secondary character.

In the overall view, however, Bezhetskii's attempt to base a dramatic version of Don Juan upon what was then considered to be a historical account is not only interesting in its conception but also rather unique among the many works on the theme created during and since the nineteenth century.

III. JIŘI MAHEN: JUANŮV KONEC

The death of Don Juan under the daggers of assassins is a motif which recurs in the one-act play by the Czech play-

wright Jiří Mahen entitled Juanův konec (Juan's End).³⁵

This short drama, written in prose, consists of nine brief scenes. Don Juan appears only in the final scene. The action of the play, which is virtually plotless, is set in the beginning of the nineteenth century during the Napoleonic wars.

Smugglers and cut-throats have gathered in a wretched, smoke-filled tavern near a forest in the highlands of Asturias. A raging thunderstorm has just passed and the atmosphere within is one of high tension and foreboding. This company of brigands is visibly divided into two camps, for they have come to witness the outcome of a ghastly wager between Don Juan and his former servant, Don José. Don Juan, the "Black Devil" as he is known locally, has sworn to return with a trophy -- the heart of Terezita, his fiftieth love. "Her eyes are the rarest wonder in the world," avows a young and sentimental Hunchback and then proceeds to relate his dream of the other night. He dreamt that the Archangel Gabriel descended from the heavens in order to slay Don Juan with his flaming sword:

³⁵ Jiří Mahen, Juanův konec (Prague: Nakladatelské Družstvo Máje, 1905). This is Mahen's first published play. Its original title was Konec Dona Juana.

Jiří Mahen is the pseudonym of Antonín Vančura (1882-1939). Vancura is known to have used other pseudonyms: Antonín Dubský, H. Lang, Jaromír Vyborný, Josef Musil, Ivan Had.

Zdálo se mi tedy dnes o archanděli Gabrielovi --
Měl ohnivý meč jako někdy v ráji na břehu nezná-
mých řek, jež jsou prý čarovnější našich, měl
přilbu na hlavě bohatých kštic, pancéř na prsou
jeho hořel bělavou září, a jeho štít byl žhavý --
jako slunce za čistých dnů. Ptal jsem se ho, kam
jde. -- Řekl mi: Jdu zabít dona Juana. (12)

"I swear," he says, "that this day Terezita will be
avenged."

A priest, caught in the storm, arrives to seek lodg-
ing for the night. He reports to the bandits that a new
price of one thousand gold pieces has been placed on Don
Juan's head. But the memory of poor Blasco is still too
fresh in their minds. His body still dangles in the wind at
the forest's edge where Don Juan hanged him for attempting
to betray him. Having discovered the nature of the company
he has stumbled upon, the brave young cleric launches his
invective: while they rob and pillage their countrymen, a
merciless foe is invading their land:

Do vlasti vpadají houfy nepřátel pod nejslavnějším
z vůdcův, který pokořil tři císaře -- a vy --
chcete uchvátit, co možno. Ovládl jste kraj,
který vám bude vyrván. Nemáte slitování, a proto
padnete --! (23)

The door opens to admit Don Juan. He holds a small
bundle wrapped tightly in a red bandana. "Here is my
wager, my stake," he shouts triumphantly. "Here is her
heart." Don Juan draws his pistol and calls for someone to
throw the heart into the air so that he might shoot it
through. José volunteers and, as the Hunchback counts to
three, a shot rings out and Jose drops stone-dead to the

floor. Don Juan had missed! The greatest marksman in Spain had missed! As he stares in incredulity at the corpse, the bandits rush at him from behind. Don Juan dies under their daggers without uttering a gasp. As the curtain descends, the Hunchback cries in hysteria: "Oh, Archangel Gabriel! Oh, Terezita! Mistress of my dreams...!"

Although the drama of Mahen is in many respects impressionistic, even symbolic, the naturalism of the climax permits its inclusion among the realistically-oriented versions in the present study. The play, as the title suggests, revolves around a single episode -- the death of Don Juan in the final scene. The foregoing scenes serve to create a mood of gloom and rising tension leading up to the startling and gruesome finale. Don Juan, when he does appear, is more an abstract than a concrete figure. We are told that he is forty-five years of age and ruggedly handsome. And yet, seduction does not appear to be his salient feature. Terezita is his fiftieth love -- a rather modest number for a middle-aged Don Juan. We are far indeed from the conqueror of a thousand and three in Spain alone. There is no more Leporello-Sganarelle-Catalinón to keep the catalogue current. Only the melancholy Hunchback inscribes in his soul the name of each victim:

A to byla padesátá láska dona Juana, jak my ho
jmenujeme -- černého d'ábla -- jak říká
venkované. Padesátá láska! Psal jsem je v
duše, jako bych byl s nimi žil! (31)

Don Juan is neither the burlador nor the idealist. Neither is he the wealthy grandee, the man of leisure. He is a highwayman, the ringleader of smugglers, thieves, and murderers. He is the most famous of sharpshooters: he shoots the mounts from under their riders who drop like stones to the ground. He appears out of nowhere at the moment of least expectation, as though borne on the wind. He inspires terror in friend and foe alike -- as long as his prowess does not betray him. When it does, his followers, their lust for blood whetted by a reward of a thousand pieces of gold, set upon him like a pack of wild dogs upon a wounded beast.

Although Don Juan's physical death comes from the daggers of his henchmen, his doom is in fact sealed by the wager with Don José for Terezita's heart. It is indeed poetic justice that the death of Don Juan should be his reward for the desecration of the heart -- the very symbol of love. In the Hunchback's prophetic dream, it is Terezita herself, in the image of the Archangel Gabriel, who descends from heaven as the harbinger of divine retribution:

Hrbáč: Bůh poslal archanděla Gabriele, aby zahubil dona Juana. -- Řekli mi, že by prý raději poslal d'ábla, aby se dohodl. -- Nevím, jak rozhodují moci nebes, ale myslím, že spravedlivě. . . Archanděl Gabriel! Dnes přijde. Ale má něčí podobu --

Knez: Ženy --

Hrbáč: Ano -- chtěl bych přísahat, že dnes bude
Terezita -- pomstěna!

The motif of a woman's vengeance, which is presented rather symbolically in Mahen's drama, is the very theme of the next play to be studied -- Spyrydon Cherkasenko's Don Khuan i Rozita. Here, the death of Don Juan will not be at the hands of those who fear and despise him as in Sevil'skii obol'stitel', nor of those who serve him as in Juanův konec; it will be at the hands of one who loves him. In Cherkasenko's version, it is Rosita who will find within herself the strength and courage to avenge herself upon a perfidious lover.

IV. S. CHERKASENKO: DON KHUAN I ROZITA

From the very beginnings of its existence in dramatic literature the theme of Don Juan established itself as a theme of retribution. "No hay deuda que no se pague" is the message preached in the theatre of Don Juan in every age and through every literary movement. Immorality, sacrilege, anarchism, and wilfulness are condemnable offenses which must be paid for on earth, in purgatory, or in hell.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the role of Don Juan's Nemesis was the exclusive domain of the Avenging Statue which, representing divine justice, exacted payment in the name of slain fathers and violated

daughters, of outraged husbands and abandoned wives. And yet, despite the fact that the bulk of Don Juan's crimes were crimes against his fellow man, the morality of the Classical age was not, it appears, about to deprive the powers of Heaven of personal intervention in bringing to an end the sinful career of an irreverent mortal. The victims of Don Juan's excesses would have to await the advent of a less tradition-oriented epoch before writers and playwrights would yield to them the right to requital.

However, the seeds of human initiative in the theme of retribution in Don Juan literature were sown already in Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla. Here, the seduced and abandoned fisher-girl, Tisbea, for all her social unimportance and physical helplessness, is determined to seek satisfaction in the presence of the king himself.³⁶ Subsequently, Mozart and Da Ponte's Elvira swears to "tear out the heart" of her unfaithful lover.³⁷ Donna Anna, epitomizing the plight

36 Seguilde todos, seguilde.
 Mas no importa que se vaya,
 que en la presencia del rey
 tengo de pedir venganza.

Tirso de Molina, "El Burlador de Devilla y convidado de piedra," in Arcadio Baquero (ed.), Don Juan y su evolución dramática (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1966), Vol. I, p. 224.

37 Ah, se ritrovo l'empio
 e a me non torna ancor
 vo'farne orrendo scempio
 gli vo cavar il cor!

See supra, p. 55 n. 25.

of the dishonoured and orphaned daughter, will know no rest until the blood of her father is avenged. Not one of these unfortunate victims, however, is destined to savour the taste of personal triumph, for it is once again the stone Commander who arrives to fulfill his divine commission.

In fact, the "democratization" of Don Juan's punishment did not manifest itself until the theme had advanced into the period of Romanticism and, in particular, when it encountered the influence of positivistic views. However, the progression of the theme of a woman's outrage and a woman's revenge is already discernible in Don Juan de Marana of Alexandre Dumas. In contrast to the hysterical Tisbea and the grieving heroines of Don Giovanni, we discover in Dumas' Inès the prototype of the calculating female fully prepared to commit cold-blooded murder in order to avenge her dishonour. Having coerced him to slay Don Sandoval, the fiancé who betrayed her, Inès offers Don Juan a goblet of poisoned wine. Ironically, it is she who becomes the victim of her own scheme and dies while the astute Don Juan, familiar with the wiles of women, mockingly refuses to drink the deadly potion.

The motif of administering poison to Don Juan's drink recurs in Sigismund Wiese's drama Don Juan (1840),³⁸ but this time he does not escape its pernicious effect.

³⁸G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 99-102.

Alexandra, seduced and abandoned by Don Juan, driven to madness by her despair, succeeds in murdering her tormentor together with his new mistress. A similar climax concludes Braun von Braunthal's drama Don Juan (1842).³⁹ The young Rosa is seduced by Don Juan in the very cemetery where her fiancé lies buried. She too is forsaken shortly thereafter, but fate ordains another crossing of their paths. Several years later Don Juan is granted a rendezvous with the mistress of a grandee. She offers him wine and then entices him to follow her to the cemetery where two freshly-dug graves await them. The woman is none other than Rosa and the wine they shared was lethally envenomed.

The poisoned goblet is but one of several recourses the victims of Don Juan resort to in their bid to avenge an outrage. Later, with the appearance of the desperate, volatile women typical of the post-Romantic versions, the subtlety of the poisoned drink gives way to the deliberate flash attack with a weapon. In Armand Hayem's Don Juan d'Armana (1886)⁴⁰ the betrayed Sahèle returns to plunge a dagger into Don Juan's heart and then into her own. Similarly, in Don Juan und die Kurtisane (1914), a drama by Oskar Schmitz, Miraflores vows that if she is not to possess Don Juan, then

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 102-105.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 179-182.

no other woman shall. To assure herself of this, she, with calculated sang-froid, dispatches her inconstant lover with her stiletto.⁴¹

The theme of vengeance of an honest and virtuous woman upon a perfidious lover is precisely the basis of a dramatic novel by the Ukrainian writer Spyrydon Cherkasenko (1876-1940) entitled Espans'kyi kabal'iero Don Khuan i Rozita (The Spanish Caballero Don Juan and Rosita).⁴² This work of dramatic literature on Don Juan was completed in Uzhhorod in 1928. It divides structurally into two parts with four acts in each and is written in unrhymed iambic pentameter verse.

Spyrydon Charkasenko's drama will undoubtedly rank highly among those versions whose purpose is to discredit the theme of Don Juan as a theme of courage, rebellion, of demonic fatalism or individualism. It thus continues the tradition of reaction against the Romantic idealization of a universal figure and of the trend to depose Don Juan from the elevated status of a tragic hero.

⁴¹See-Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 214-215.

⁴²Spyrydon Cherkasenko, Espans'kyi kabal'iero Don Khuan i Rozita (L'viv: "Novi Shliakhy," 1930). All quotations from the text are taken from this edition. For future reference, the title of this play will be reduced to Don Khuan i Rozita.

As in many a Don Juan play, the plot of Don Khuan i Rozita revolves around the hero's last amorous adventure. Having grown weary of the pale, artificial grand ladies of the court, Don Juan de Tenorio is captivated by the youth, natural beauty, and candour of Rosita, daughter of a poor Morisco fisherman. Rosita, suspicious of his motives, initially resists his advances. Eventually, however, Don Juan's charm, persistent courtship, and assurance of sincerity lead to her surrender. But she grants him her love on one condition: Don Juan must swear an oath of fidelity -- upon his very life. The love of Rosita, she warns him, must never know a past:

В "було" нема життя для мене,
Для мене "єсть" -- з тобою, а без тебе...
"Було" я й миті не переживу,
Але... й тобі не дам його зазнати!...
Нового "єсть" не буде по мені... (61)

But Don Juan is the very incarnation of compulsive infidelity. He indeed swears constancy to Rosita, but he mocks his promise as he did when he abandoned Donna Anna, wife of the Commander de Bobadilla, after killing her husband. Donna Anna reappears to warn him of her vengeful wrath:

Хуане, стережись... Чи ти забув,
Що нас звязала кров?... Я не на те
Тобі в обійми кинулась одважно,
Переступивши через труп свого
Достойного й значного чоловіка
Щоб ти, його убійник, жартував,
Щоб грішним грався ти моїм коханням! (38)

Denounced by Donna Anna as a witch, Rosita is seized by the Inquisition and condemned to the auto da fe. Don Juan engages a band of desperadoes to rescue Rosita, while he remains in the tavern to seduce the barmaid Laura. When Rosita returns, she realizes that she has been deceived and that her love is now indeed in the past. The rumour that she has drowned in the sea from grief troubles Don Juan but little, for he is relieved to be rid of the fisherman's daughter with so little effort. But suddenly, Rosita appears before him like a revenant from the other world. As he vainly strives to justify the breach of the oath he swore to her on his life, a stiletto flashes in Rosita's hand and plunges into the heart of Don Juan. His desperate cries for help are answered with cold contempt and revulsion:

О, ні, рятунку вже не сподівайся,
Високородний гранде: добре цілить
Розіта й слів додержує своїх!
Заприсяглась і я полинати разом
У небуття, але... у товаристві
Такому... гидко... (123)

The unheroic end of Don Juan in Cherkasenko's drama is highly representative of the author's views on the theme and the hero, views which he expresses in an auto-commentary in the introduction to the work. In this preface Cherkasenko proclaims his vociferous disagreement with those of his precursors who "perceived an awesome philosophical and mystical depth" in what is nothing more than a "simple, un-

pretentious folk legend."⁴³ He similarly rejects out of hand the theory which contends that the theme of Don Juan purports to resolve the "so-called 'problem of the sexes'." Don Juan, in Cherkasenko's estimation, is simply "an impudent and cynical voluptuary" who receives too great an honour by the insinuation that his punishment was in any way supernatural or miraculous:

. . . що ж до чудесного покарання безличного й цинічного зальотника камінною подобою Командора, то це, на думку автора, звичайний народний забобон . . . і гріхи не тільки легендарного, а й усіх мільонів інших донжуанів, коли карається часом, то не небом, а завжди далеко природніш і тому вульгарніш; і що в ділі цинічних зальотів жадною філософією, містикою, демонізмом, чи якоюсь "проблемою" взагалі, й не пахне. Який уже там демонізм у таких батярів! просто -- вибачте -- паскудство та й годі, для покарання якого зовсім не потрібно надприродних чинників.⁴⁴

With this intent in mind, the author deliberately divests his version of all "heavy philosophical and mystical artillery" and attempts to substitute in its place the qualities demanded by the contemporary theatre: staginess, lightness, excitement, dynamism, and "a modicum of healthy morality."⁴⁵ The result, as might be expected, is the oversimplification of

⁴³S. Cherkasenko, "Zamists' peredmovy," prefatory note to Don Khuan i Rozita (L'viv: Nakladom Vydavnychoi Spilky "Novi Shliakhy," 1930).

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

a universal myth. The hero who had for centuries incarnated not only the principle of sensuality, but also of courage and revolt is here reduced to the level of a petty scoundrel with the complexes of a wilful juvenile. Gone indeed is any suggestion of the diabolical fatality and mystique of the Romantic Don Juan. Gone also is the elemental charisma of the classic burlador. The success of the romantic intrigues of Cherkasenko's Don Juan is attributable to nothing more than handsomeness, wealth, and social status. Before she dispatches him, Rosita accuses Don Juan of having "violated" her with his beauty. "Destiny gave you an excess of it," she admits, "and therefore you have never encountered resistance from a woman."

But there is nothing new in this revelation; a prostituted physical beauty and a gift of eloquence has been a feature of Don Juan since Tirso's Tisbea was swept away by the "most handsome of men." Even the limited perspicacity of Don Juan's servant, the bumbling, dull-witted Catalion, is sufficient to divine the secret behind his master's success as a seducer:

І що вони знаходять в нім? Як бджоли
Круг улика, то так вони круг нього!
А головне, -- як той мисливий добрий --
Аби угледів -- вже й його! А чим
Бере? Солодкими речами. Й де
Береться? Чи грандеса то, чи дівка --
Розтопиться від них, як лій од світла... (29)

The eloquence of Don Juan is invariably the eloquence of falsehood and insincerity. In contrast to his precursors of the Romantic age, who were themselves transported by the inspiration and poetry of their words and no less deceived by them than were their victims, the hero of Don Khuan i Rozita is a calculating and compulsive hypocrite. Rosita initially remains sceptical, and surrenders herself only when Don Juan swears on his life an oath which he has not the least intention of honouring:

Коли в словах моїх було лукавство
 І підступна неправда, то нехай
 Життя моє урветься в тую ж мить
 Як не додержу або зраджу їх! (64)

The swearing of this perjurious oath suggests itself as a motif rather analogous to the motif of the invitation to the Statue in the traditional versions. They are both acts of desecration of something sacred and the punishment of Don Juan, whether by natural or supernatural agents, stems directly from the commission of this act. In both instances Don Juan mockingly brings his own destruction down on his head.

As in several anterior versions, we find the hero of Cherkasenko's drama challenged by a woman of strong character and independent will, a woman who will ultimately triumph over him. This recalls in particular Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar and the rôle of Donna Anna. Donna Anna challenges Don Juan's power by demanding that he surrender

the ring of Dolores as a pledge of his sincerity. Rosita also demands her pledge -- the unconditional renunciation of his donjuanism. The hero of Kaminnyi hospodar hesitated; a principle he himself was unable to comprehend prevented a false promise, but the Don Juan of Cherkasenko's play knew no such principle and swore the oath that sealed his doom.

As one of the powerful expressions of the Don Juan myth in the modern age, it is likely that Lesia Ukrainka's Kaminnyi hospodar would be to some extent reflected in Don Khuan i Rozita. Although the artistic and ideological gap between Lesia Ukrainka's masterpiece and Cherkasenko's rather less inspired conception of the theme is wide, there are nevertheless several discernibly analogical moments in the two plays. One might cite for example the echo of the theme of personal liberty developed in Lesia Ukrainka's conception of the "knight of freedom." As he reneges on the promise of marriage he had sworn to Donna Anna as they both stood over the corpse of the Commander he had killed, Cherkasenko's Don Juan declares:

Що мені
До світу нашого? Чи кращий він
За нас з тобою?... Вільним треба бути
Од всього -- в цім життя. Пливи туди,
Куди несе утіхи течія,
Туди, де сяє все новеє щастя,
Нове все рахвання!... (38)

The chord of anarchy, hedonism, and individualism in this passage seems to echo Don Juan's philosophy of personal liberty in Kaminnyi hospodar. In Cherkasenko, however, the tone is cynical and the intent purely egocentric, appearing as no more than a parody of this motif in Lesia Ukrainka's drama.

Similarly, the dialogue of Don Juan and Catalion about the duel with the Commander evokes a scenario quite reminiscent of the murder scene in Act IV of Kaminnyi hospodar. Although, as in the tradition of Molière, Pushkin, and others, the death of the Commander occurs as a flashback in Don Khuan i Rozita, we discover that the imbroglio took place in the boudoir of Donna Anna where Don Juan arrived for a nocturnal rendezvous. As in Lesia Ukrainka, the Commander's inopportune return and challenge cost him his life:

Та ж сам він винен!

.

Що він не догадався почекати
Спокійно за дверима й перебив
Мені візиту конфіденціальну
У командорші, в донни Анни... (30)

The motif of a marital relationship between Donna Anna and the Commander initiated by Pushkin and preserved by Lesia Ukrainka recurs again in Cherkasenko's version and suggests once again the influence of the anterior Ukrainian drama.

In accordance with the views expressed in his prefatory note, Cherkasenko's treatment of the theme of Don Juan is

strongly inclined toward a satirical and sarcastic coloration. The blend of tragedy and irony that elevated the tone and intensified the emotive quality of Kaminnyi hospodar is virtually non-existent in Cherkasenko's drama. Where Lesia Ukrainka had created the anarchist and individualist, the exponent of personal freedom above all else, Cherkasenko's Don Juan is but an advocate of his own licentious and unbridled self-indulgence. Where the hero of Kaminnyi hospodar proudly proclaimed that he gave women "all that they were capable of sustaining," the Don Juan of Cherkasenko merely seeks to satisfy his lust and greed. He must be the first to possess a beautiful woman and, recalling the Don Giovanni of operatic fame, his dominant passion is the "giovin principiante" -- the beginner in love:

Коли дивлюся на якусь красуню,
То вже її ревную я до того,
Кому вона достанеться. І я
Хотів би, щоб усяка з них спочатку
Належала мені... а потім -- все одно! (109)

And indeed, once she has succumbed to his seductive hypocrisy, his physical charm and promise of untold happiness in the lap of luxury, she is spurned in disgust:

До чорта! Час позбутись їх...
. . . І гидко й нецікаво,
Коли ти жінку знаєш всю напам'ять,
Як старець зна свою торбину... (33)

Cherkasenko's Don Juan is a compulsive seducer, a "pig" and a "he-goat," as his own lackey contemptuously

calls him; but, under the external facade of the sensualist there lurks the cynic and misogynist who fears and despises womankind:

Так, так... усі... усі на штиб один --
Від гордої грандеси, командорші
Із пишних палаців і тронних заль
Севільї та Мадрида -- й до таких
Пастушок із рибальських диких хиж
У всіх в душі все та ж праматір Ева. (20)

In this expression of contempt and suspicion we recognize a feature of the Romantic seeker for the absolute, and Cherkasenko indeed did not fail to include in his version a deliberately sarcastic reference to the theme of idealism. Cherkasenko's Don Juan purports to be on a quest for the supreme woman. His justification for abandoning one woman after another is that he had, as he says, "avidly emptied the costly cup of passion and found it incapable of intoxication."

Cherkasenko's is, of course, a parodic treatment of the theme of the idealistic Don Juan. Having rejected the "awesome philosophical and mystical depth" with which the writers of the nineteenth century had endowed the legend, he satirizes that ennobling, yet sinful aspiration which had aggrandized and destroyed many a Don Juan of the Romantic age. As an ideal-seeker, the hero of Don Khuan i Rozita is a brazen impostor. He harbours not the slightest trace

of the tragic victim of a primordial cosmic conflict between the forces of Heaven and Hell. He is but a fop and a "scoundrel" -- to apply the author's own epithet -- bored with the facile conquests he has made over women as shallow as himself, but ever on the alert for a new seductive adventure.

As a representative of the Don Juan type, Cherkasenko's hero proves to be distinctly ineffective, for he has been stripped of that essential and irreplaceable trait which assures his popularity for centuries -- his courage. In fact, this Don Juan cannot be credited with a single act of manliness or bravery through the course of the entire drama. Even while Rosita is being rescued from the Inquisition by a motley band of robbers and prostitutes, Don Juan sits idly in the tavern and flirts with the barmaid. When his death is imminent, he shares nothing in common with the defiant rebel who scorns cowardice and repentance even as the Statue drags him into the inferno. Instead, he grovels and whimpers his reluctance to die for his crimes.

As Don Juan drama, Spyrydon Cherkasenko's Don Khuan i Rozita is neither inspired nor innovative and, consequently, not particularly successful. The plot betrays triteness and the characters schematicism. Dissociating itself from all philosophical intensity on one hand, and from legendary tradition on the other, Cherkasenko's interpretation does not even propose psychological elaboration. It undertakes, however,

ostensibly to unmask the superficiality, egocentrism, and moral culpability of the donjuanesque type. Having removed a great deal, but having replaced little, the result of Cherkasenko's endeavour in Don Juan dramaturgy is a version conceptually as simplistic as the spirit of the hero it portrays.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The period of realistic orientation in Don Juan literature is generally a period of paradox: the theme flourished, but the hero did not fare well. While literary creations in his name proliferated, Don Juan himself was held up to disparagement and sometimes, to ridicule. The legend was exploited, but the classic Don Juan type emerged but rarely.

With the attenuation of the irrational and supernatural in the interests of realism, the hero decreased in stature and mythical significance. He who at one time could be destroyed only by an act of God became vulnerable to the vagaries of vindictive monks, mutinous henchmen, or of peasant girls with daggers in their skirts. Briefly stated, the essential connection with the classic hero who engendered and propagated the myth was quite weak. Many writers appeared to have declared a personal ideological war against a protagonist whose fame was founded to a large degree on his anti-social behaviour. Whether motivated by hedonism or idealism, Don Juan was regarded as a socially

dangerous phenomenon who threatened the security of societal values by killing men and dishonouring women. Such writers would choose a powerful man in order to render him weak; they would choose a great lover in order to show a man despised. The symbol of corporeal fortitude would become a body wasted by excesses; a charismatic youth would end his days as an old rake.

The Slavic authors who approached the theme of Don Juan from a realistic point of view reflect a common negative attitude toward the hero. Don Juan is portrayed as a criminal deserving of condemnation and death. Thus, in three of four versions discussed in this chapter (Bezhetskii, Mahen, Cherkasenko) Don Juan is killed. Moreover, we observe a progression in the manner in which the death of Don Juan occurs: assassination by enemies, then by friends, and finally by his lover.

In three of the Slavic versions examined Don Juan reflects features of the ideal-seeker adopted from the tradition of the German Romantic interpretations. Here again we might indicate a progression: in Mordvin-Shchodro's tragedy the Ideal is ostensibly found in Isabella who is torn away from Don Juan by madness; in Bezhetskii's version the ideal-seeker discovers that there is no Ideal to be found in the physical world; in Cherkasenko's dramatic novel not only is there no Ideal, but the entire conception of Don

Juan as an ennobled aspirer toward a supreme love is facetiously parodied.

Despite these vestiges of nineteenth-century Romanticism, the Slavic dramas discussed reflected a deliberate reduction of the miraculous and supernatural element so inextricably bound to the original legend of the Stone Guest. The elimination of the convidado theme invests these works with a realistic orientation, particularly with regard to the hero's punishment. This departure from the ancient tradition, however, did not prove effective and engendered among the least conceptually and artistically successful versions of Slavic Don Juan dramaturgy.

CHAPTER V

THE SLAVIC FACETIAE OF DON JUAN

Mais Don Juan est comme l'amour
dont il est le grand-prêtre.
Souvent sérieux et tragique, il
n'aime pas moins les gais propos
et les folles polissonneries. Pour
être vraiment lui-même, il doit
mêler le vin au sang, le rire
aux larmes, la gaudriole à la
philosophie.

Gendarme de Bévotte,
La Légende de Don Juan

The inclination to treat Don Juan in a facetious manner is virtually as old as the hero himself. In fact, the tendency to denature Don Juan in parody, travesty, and burlesque begins with the earliest adaptations of the legend by the Italian commedia dell'arte before the middle of the seventeenth century.¹ This process manifests itself even in the most recent versions and there is every indication that the comic genres will continue to constitute a substantial proportion of donjuanesque literature. It is quite natural, therefore, to encounter among the Slavic versions of Don Juan

¹G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), pp. 95ff.

a series of interpretations treating the hero and his adventures in a humorous, satirical, and even in an ironic tone. The present chapter will be devoted to a study of the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan, represented in five Russian plays of the twentieth century: N.S. Gumilev's Don Zhuan v Egipte, V.L. Korvin-Piotrovskii's Smert' Don Zhuan, A.V. Amfiteatrov's Don Zhuan v Neapole, P.P. Potemkin and S.L. Poliakov's Don Zhuan--Suprug Smerti, and S.I. Aleshin's Togda v Sevil'e.

Although a discussion of Don Juan comedy might most naturally commence with the commedia dell'arte, it would not be inappropriate to begin with the progenitor of all Don Juans -- El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra. Gendarme de Bévette has observed that the Spanish play already contained the seeds of the various elements which writers of comedies liked to develop for the amusement of their public.² Nevertheless, Tirso de Molina, as a cleric, invested El Burlador with a moral message and trod upon rather soft ground as regards the induction of comic features into his play. "The prototypic Don Juan," writes George Bernard Shaw, "was presented . . . as the enemy of God, the approach of whose vengeance is felt throughout the drama growing in menace from minute to minute."³ The sobering

²Ibid., p. 97.

³George Bernard Shaw, "Epistle Dedicatory to Arthur Bingham Walkley," in Man and Superman (London: Constable and Co., 1931), p. x.

thrust of the moral calling for timely repentance could not be weakened by the inclusion of indiscriminate humour. Indeed, one visualizes the Mercederian monk dispensing his dosage of the comique with the scrupulosity of an apothecary. Thus, the comic element in El Burlador is almost exclusively the property of Catalinón, the lackey, who is nevertheless more bound to the didactic moments of the play than to instances of comic relief.⁴

The comedists and comedians of the commedia dell'arte who appropriated the Don Juan theme in consequence of various performances of El Burlador in Naples since 1625,⁵ did not fail to exploit the inherent comic potentialities of the servant. In these impromptu harlequinades, what was once Tirso's now funny, now pitiable (but ever moderately so) Catalinón, merges with the rascally buffoon, Arlecchino, who with Pantalone and others of his ilk, indulges in continuous lazzi, coarse jokes, and vulgar expletives with which the commedia dell'arte regaled its spectators.⁶

⁴With the exception of several puns and quips scattered through the play, the comic moments involving Catalinón rarely extend beyond the shipwreck scene and the two meals with the Statue, where the servant's nonsensical jabbering is more indicative of his state of utter terror than of an attempt at comedy.

⁵Oscar Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963, p. 100.

⁶A rare commedia dell'arte Don Juan scenario from the latter part of the seventeenth century based on the notes of the actor Biancolelli is reproduced in G. Gendarme de Bévotte (ed.), Le Festin de Pierre avant Molière (Paris: Ed. Cornély et Cie., 1907).

Neither was the statue of the venerable Commander spared a farcical fate. This emissary of God, this resurrected spirit of a dead man, which endowed Tirso's play with its most dramatically impressive moments, becomes in the Italian bouffonades merely a sensational machine and a pretext for even more slapstick antics.⁷

The commedia sostenuta, on the other hand, was more restrained in its exploitation of the comic. However, even in the earliest surviving version in this genre, Cicognini's Il Convitato di pietra,⁸ written before 1650, practically all the new elements introduced by the author are of a comical nature. Readily apparent in this play is the augmented role of Don Juan's servant, now called Passarino, and of Ottavio's servant, Fighetto, as well as the introduction of such stock characters of the commedia as the doctor (il dottore) and

⁷ A striking example of the degree to which the once awesome and dignified statue was reduced in time is provided in La Statue du Commandeur (1892), a pantomime play by Paul Eudel. Here, the Commander's statue attends Don Juan's supper, which is actually an orgy, and is plied with champagne until it becomes drunk! This trick is added to Don Juan's list of offences when the statue regains its sobriety and drags him to hell. See G. Gendarme de Bévoite La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, p. 230.

⁸ Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Il Convitato di pietra in G. Gendarme de Bévoite (ed.), Le Festin de Pierre avant Molière (Paris: Ed. Cornély et Cie., 1907).

Benedetto Croce in Aneddoti di varia letteratura (Naples: 1903), cited by Oscar Mandel, testifies to the fact that the Convitato di pietra was erroneously attributed to Cicognini. Mandel, in discussing this work prefers to refer to it as the "pseudo-Cicognini." Cf. Oscar Mandel, op. cit., p. 100.

Pantalone. The natural consequence of the increasing dominance of the comical and farcical elements in Don Juan theatre was the rapid deterioration of El Burlador's religious and moral message. More regrettable, however, was the attenuation of the role of Don Juan himself who progressively diminishes in stature to the advantage of traditional buffoons.

In contradistinction to the seventeenth century, in which the farcical excesses of the commedia dell'arte contrasted with the post-El Burlador tragedies and tragicomedies of Dorimon, de Villiers, Molière, Rosimond, Shadwell, and Córdoba y Maldonado, the eighteenth century became almost exclusively the domain of Don Juan comedy and farce. With the exception of perhaps only two plays -- Carlo Goldoni's Don Giovanni Tenorio ossia il dissoluto (1736) and Antonio de Zamora's No hay deuda que no se pague (1744) -- Don Juan is otherwise the property of virtually every comic genre of that period. In France, he becomes a favourite of the vaudevilles, farces, and pantomimes of the théâtre de la foire;⁹ in Germany and Austria, he flourishes in the Puppenspiele in company with Hans Wurst and Kasperle;¹⁰ in

⁹ One of the earliest and most popular French vaudevilles which spawned numerous imitations was Le Tellier's Le Festin de pierre (1713). See Armand Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), p. 113.

¹⁰ An example of a Don Juan puppet play is provided in Don Juan and Don Pedro or the Dead Stone's Banquet, a translation of an Augsburg performance of Don Juan und Don Pietro, oder das Steinerne-Todten-Gastmahl before 1787, in Oscar Mandel, op. cit., pp. 259-277.

England he was parodied in burlesques and "pantomimical entertainments;" and in Italy his theme was the subject of various ballets and the comic operas of Tritto and Bertati (both entitled Il Convitato di Pietra).

Rejuvenated and reinforced in the arts by the opus magnum of Mozart and da Ponte, which paid its own due to the vaudevilles and puppet-shows,¹¹ the comic tradition continued through the nineteenth century. Now, however, as the theme begins to manifest itself increasingly in the nondramatic genres of literature, the facetiae of Don Juan become more subtle and refined. The blatant bouffoneries of the comedy stage cede to a humour that becomes satirical, sarcastic, and ironic. While London theatres rocked with

It is opportune at this time to indicate that the role and significance of the puppet theatre in the development of the Don Juan theme is a point of contention among scholars. Gendarme de Bévotte, after devoting an entire chapter to the Hauptactionen and Puppenspiele (Chapter VIII), concludes that their literary value is nil. Cf. G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), p. 361. Leo Weinstein dispenses with the entire subject in one sentence. Cf. Leo Weinstein, op. cit., p. 35. Oscar Mandel, on the other hand, plainly regrets the absence of a separate study of Don Juan as a puppet, although "his popularity is well authenticated." Cf. O. Mandel, op. cit., p. 257. It is evident that the problem merits further investigation.

¹¹Vestiges of the buffo tradition in Don Giovanni are readily recognizable in such episodes as the "catalogue aria," the exchange of clothes between Don Giovanni and Leporello, Don Giovanni's pummelling of Masetto, and in Leporello's antics during the feast near the opera's finale.

laughter to parodies of Don Giovanni,¹² Byron was satirically depicting Don Juan as his contemporary.¹³ While George Sand fulminated against him as a curse on womankind, as an impostor, and an "insolent fop,"¹⁴ Barbey d'Aurevilly conceived Don Juan as the very principle of sensuality and fertility.¹⁵ In Richepin's L'Inconnue, written near the end of the nineteenth century, Don Juan is a personification of the "fountain of youth."¹⁶

¹²For example William T. Moncrieff's "operatic extravaganza" Giovanni in London or The Libertine Reclaimed (1817), reprinted in O. Mandel, *op. cit.* Also Thomas Dibdin's Don Giovanni or A Spectre on Horseback (1817).

¹³Lord Byron, Asimov's Annotated Don Juan. Notes by Isaac Asimov (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972).

¹⁴George Sand's invective against Don Juan is found in Chapter LXII, entitled "Don Juan" in the novel Lélia. George Sand, Lélia (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, Editeurs, n.d.), Vol. II, pp. 89-107.

¹⁵J.A. Barbey d'Aurevilly, "Le plus bel amour de Don Juan," in Oeuvres romanesques complètes (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1966), Vol. II, pp. 59-79.

The implication this story makes is that Don Juan is capable of impregnating a woman without having so much as touched her. The young and innocent daughter (she is only thirteen!) of one of Don Juan's mistresses sits down in an armchair just previously vacated by him, and immediately feels herself with child.

¹⁶In this one-act play (1892) by Jean Richepin, the perverse novelty of seducing an ugly old hag stimulates Don Juan's desire. No sooner does he embrace her, however, than she regains her youth and beauty. The mere touch of Don Juan is the source of regeneration and vitality. See G. Gendarme de Béville, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 232.

Similarly, in the poem Don João by the Portuguese poet Manuel da Silva Gaio, the earth literally bursts forth in bloom under Don Juan's feet. When he commits suicide by plunging headlong into the sea, an island of luxuriant vegetation surges out of the water where he fell. See Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), University Microfilms Doctoral Dissertation Series, No. 8747, p. 166.

The versions of Barbey d'Aurevilly and Richepin are indicative of a new conception of Don Juan, of a reaction against the leading conceptions of the hero that prevailed in the nineteenth century. While some writers continued the time-honoured tradition of envisioning Don Juan as a punished libertine, others adhered to the Hoffmannesque view or fell under the influence of the Mañara legend. Whichever direction an author might take, however, he was invariably confronted in the final act with the problem of "disposing" of his hero. Traditionally, this might be accomplished in one of two ways: damnation or salvation. It is precisely these alternatives that began to appear so incongruous with the nascent image of the hero as a victor over fate, as the Don Juan triumphant.

The progenitors of this triumphant, spiritually indomitable if not physically invincible Don Juan were as contemptuous of the interpretations in which the hero falls to his knees and begs forgiveness as they were of those in which he is basely tricked by the Statue, in a challenge to his honour, into offering his hand by which he will be dragged to Hell. Don Juan needs no salvation; nor does he merit eternal damnation. He simply follows his instincts and acts according to the dictates of his powerful nature. If society and its laws should get in his way, so much the worse for them. If he is irresistible to women, it is because he offers them more than other men; if he is cursed

by deceived husbands and fathers, it is because he takes from them what was not theirs to start; if he abandons his loves, it is because love too is subject to an inexorable law of diminishing returns.

The classic statement of the Don Juan triumphant is, without doubt, Baudelaire's poem "Don Juan aux enfers" (1843).¹⁷ The image evoked in the five quatrains is a veritable inspiration: Don Juan is in Charon's boat crossing the Styx to Hades. On the shore behind him he leaves his victims writhing, wailing, hurling their invectives:

Montrant leurs seins pendans et leurs robes ouvertes,
Des femmes se tordaient sous le noir firmament,
Et, comme un grand troupeau de victimes offertes,
Derrière lui traînaient un long mugissement.

There Sganarelle grins and cries for his wages; there Don Luis with trembling finger points out to the dead the "impious son;" there stands the hollow-eyed Elvira come to view her traitor-spouse; and at the bow:

Tout droit dans son armure, un grand homme de pierre
Se tenait à la barre et coupait le flot noir,
Mais le calme héros, courbé sur sa rapière,
Regardait le sillage et ne daignait rien voir.

Don Juan is majestic in his scorn, magnificent in his contempt. As he was a "superman" on earth, so will he remain in the netherworld -- no repentance, no submission, no redemption and apotheosis, just the cold arrogance and

¹⁷ Charles Baudelaire, "Don Juan aux enfers," in Les Fleurs du mal (Paris: Editions Garnier Frères, 1961), pp. 22-23.

self-satisfaction of having lived according to his own rules.

Baudelaire's was a powerful statement of the Don Juan myth, a statement that would be echoed in many works and in many tongues.¹⁸ At the turn of the twentieth century the Russian poet Valerii Briusov turned to the Baudelairean image of the impenitent and dauntless hero, in his sonnet "Don-Zhuan" (1900).¹⁹ Here, Don Juan is a voyageur, an indefatigable explorer of wondrous archipelagoes on the endless sea of life:

Да, я -- моряк! искатель островов,
Скиталец дерзкий в неоглядном море.
Я жажду новых стран, иных цветов,
Наречий странных, чуждых плоскогорий.

Women, with submission and pleading in their eyes, surrender to his passionate call. The conquest of each body reveals a new soul, and each soul is a new enchanting world to be explored. He destroys, he sucks life out like a vampire, but he knows no remorse. The unknown mystery that draws him ever onward is his justification, and he needs no other:

Да, я гублю! пью жизни, как вампир!
Но каждая душа -- то новый мир,
И манит вновь своей безвестной тайной.

The triumph of Don Juan lies in his spiritual

¹⁸For a discussion of a number of these versions see the chapter entitled "Don Juan Defended" in Martin Nozick, op. cit., pp. 159-205.

¹⁹Valerii Briusov, "Don-Zhuan," in Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i perevodov (St. Petersburg: "Sirin," 1914), Vol. II, p. 38.

invincibility. Even if he fails, he is grand in his downfall. Should he be cast into Hell, he will face Satan with the same fearless arrogance and defiance with which he confronted his earthly persecutors. What is more, it is doubtful that Hell itself will contain him for long. The descent into the netherworld is in fact the point of departure of several donjuanesque plays wherein we observe a fusion of the comic genres with the conception of Don Juan as a symbol of victory over annihilation or damnation. Hell itself is powerless to restrain the hero's indomitable will to survive, for, as the Demons of Moncrieff's operetta discovered, he is indeed "a match for the Devil."²⁰ His fate, after his encounter with the statue of the Commander, is the subject of the first two plays to be considered in our discussion of the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan.

I. THE SEQUELS OF KAMENNYI GOST'

It would not be an exaggeration to state that the influence of Pushkin's Kamennyi gost' is felt to a greater or lesser degree in almost every subsequent Russian version of the theme of Don Juan. Such influence might range from as little as a simple association of character names and relationships to as much as the direct inspiration of literary creations which propose to take up the story of

²⁰O. Mandel, op. cit., p. 412.

Don Juan from the very point at which Pushkin's "little tragedy" leaves off. Two dramas in particular constitute what may be regarded as "sequels" to Kamennyi gost'. These are the short plays Don Zhuan v Egipte (Don Juan in Egypt) by Nikolai Stepanovich Gumilev (1886-1921) and Smert' Don Zhuana (The Death of Don Juan) by Vladimir L'vovich Korvin-Piotrovskii (1891-1966).

Nikolai Gumilev was fascinated by the donjuanesque image. "The figure of Don Juan," writes Vsevolod Sechkarev, "of the strong, bold, and passionate lover, was undeniably close to the heart of Gumilev."²¹ Creatively, Gumilev is known to have approached the Don Juan subject at least twice -- from two distinct and contrasting points of view. His first rendition is the sonnet "Don-Zhuan" from the cycle Zhemchuga (1907-10).²² The poem is quite remarkable in that within the compass of fourteen lines the poet encapsulated three different portraits of Don Juan, each representing a

²¹V. Sechkarev, "Gumilev -- Dramaturg," in N. Gumilev, Sobranie sochinenii (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1966), Vol. III, p. ix.

Like Pushkin, Gumilev appears to have acquired a donjuanesque reputation and the epithet "Don Juan" is known to have been applied to the poet on several occasions. Cf. Sam Driver, "Nikolaj Gumilev's Early Dramatic Works," The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (Fall 1969), pp. 331 and 333.

²²Nikolai Gumilev, "Don-Zhuan" in Sobranie sochinenii (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1962), Vol. I, p. 130. An English translation of this sonnet is available in Burton Raffel and Alla Burago (trans.), Selected Works of Nikolai S. Gumilev (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), p. 42.

different stage in the evolution of the theme.

The Don Juan of the first quatrain is the classic Don Juan Tenorio who seeks adventure and courts danger as he rushes from one amorous conquest to the next. Like the hero of Briusov's sonnet, he is the conquistador of love:

Моя мечта надменна и проста:
Схватить весло, поставить ногу в стремя
И обмануть медлительное время,
Всегда лобзая новые уста;

In the second quatrain there is a progression. Here, we recognize the repentant and converted hero ending his days as a pious monk in atonement for his sins. This is the Don Juan of the Mañara legend, born of the Age of Romanticism:

А в старости принять завет Христа,
Потупить взор, посыпать пеплом темя
И взять на грудь спасающее бремя
Тяжелого железного креста!

The sestet presents yet another image of the hero -- the modern "molecular" Don Juan given to introspection and soul-searching. His donjuanism is but a shallow veneer, a gay festive mask which camouflages a haunting fear of oblivion, of isolation and of his own triviality:

И лишь когда средь оргии победной
Я вдруг опомнюсь, как лунатик бледный,
Испуганный в тиши своих путей,

Я вспоминаю, что, ненужный атом,
Я не имел от женщины детей
И никогда не звал мужчину братом.

The pathetic portrait of the "superfluous atom" which completes this triptych of donjuanesque miniatures was evidently not the final impression Gumilev intended to leave of

the hero. Indeed, quite shortly thereafter the poet returned to the theme of Don Juan -- this time in a short verse play entitled Don Zhuan v Egipte.²³ Forming part of the collection Chuzhoe nebo (1912), this play was composed either during or immediately after the author's second voyage to East Africa. This would explain at least in part the title and the extraordinary choice of locale for this adventure, so far from Don Juan's native Andalusia. Structurally, Don Zhuan v Egipte consists of one act with no scenic division. It comprises 259 iambic tetrameter lines with a regularly alternating rhyme scheme (abab). The action, which is set "in our day," is this:

Don Juan, thanks to quick wit and agility, has succeeded in escaping from Satan's infernal realm. Having climbed for many decades through subterranean caverns, he finally emerges amid the ruins of an ancient temple on the banks of the Nile. His homecoming to the world, to "the enchanting place of love's delights," evokes a vivid recollection of his final moments on earth when, "laughing with Donna Anna," he offered his hand to the Guest of Stone. Together they plunged through the abyss into hell-fire and there, through flashes of crimson lightning, Don Juan beheld the face of the Archfiend. While the voracious devils

²³ Nikolai Gumilev, "Don Zhuan v Egipte," in Sobranie sochinenii (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1966), Vol. III, pp. 2-16. Also published in Gleb Struve et al. (eds.), A Century of Russian Prose and Verse (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), pp. 108-120. Excerpts from the text are from the Struve edition.

savagely set to burning and torturing the Commander, Don Juan retreated into the shadows and made his break to freedom. Now, the glimpse of a sail assures him that he has truly returned to civilization and, according to don-juanesque logic, "a boat means a man, and a man means a sister or a bride."

A group of tourists enters the temple and leading them is none other than Leporello, the erstwhile servant of Don Juan. While his master sojourned in Hell, Leporello studied in Salamanca, earned the title of professor, became a university dean, and is now an egyptologist -- "the most renowned in all Europe." Accompanying him is his young, vivacious fiancée and her father, Mr. Poker, a millionaire hog-dealer from Chicago.

Leporello's initial joy at the reunion turns to trepidation, for his fiancée is now prey to the greatest seducer the world has ever known. The force of attraction between Don Juan and Miss Poker is indeed immediate and inevitable, for he is ever handsome, romantic, poetic, while she, for her part, has "never missed a performance of Mozart." For all his erudition and scholarly fame, Leporello is still very much the lackey and Don Juan the undisputed padrone. While the academic parvenu desperately courts his prospective father-in-law's millions, Don Juan quietly enchants the bride-to-be with words of love. As in utter helplessness they watch the irresistible lover and his newest

conquest walk hand-in-hand into the sunlight, the jilted groom vainly consoles the abandoned father on their mutual loss. "Don Juan, after all, is no ordinary man," he sighs. "He is the seducer of Seville himself. . . . Oh, how I, a university dean, long to serve Don Juan once again!"

The exotic locale of Don Zhuan v Egipte, the unusual mixture of traditional and untraditional characters combined with the "present-day" setting of the action ostensibly impart a highly modernized coloration to Gumilev's rendition of the Don Juan theme. However, a closer examination of the principal motifs of this partially facetious, partially serious interpretation discloses a series of interesting relationships with the Classical conception of Don Juan. In the play, Gumilev re-creates and amplifies the hero he had already sketched in the first quatrain of the sonnet "Don-Zhuan." In Don Zhuan v Egipte we rediscover the bold, adventuresome Don Juan who craves to "leap into the stirrup" of his magnificent charger, the thundering of whose hooves is the very sound of glory:

Мой конь -- удача из удач,
Он белоснежный, величавый.
Когда пускается он вскачь,
То гул копыт зовется славой. (118)

This is the Don Juan who has truly succeeded in his desire to "deceive slow-moving time" and, spanning centuries, he stands with one foot firmly planted in the soil of Renaissance Spain -- the world of Donna Anna, the Commander, and the Statue -- and the other in the twentieth century,

where he conquers the heart of a woman of the New World, an heiress to millions from the modern industrial capital of America.

The most immediate link Gumilev's play shares with the spirit of the Classical tradition of Don Juan literature, however, is the kinship it bears to the version of his precursor and compatriot, Aleksandr Pushkin. Don Zhuan v Egipte, as we have stated, may be regarded as a sequel to Kamennyi gost' in that its point of departure is in fact the conclusion of the anterior version. Don Juan's opening monologue in Gumilev's play is a direct allusion to the events attendant upon his invitation to the statue of the Commander in Pushkin's drama:²⁴

Но что же делалось с тех пор,
Как я смеялся с донной Анной
И грозный мертвый командор
Мне руку сжал с улыбкой странной?
Да! Мы слетели в глубину,
Как две подстреленные птицы,
И я увидел сатану
Сквозь обгащенные зарницы. (108-109)

It is noteworthy that of all the intervening versions, only in Kamennyi gost' are Don Juan and Donna Anna together at the moment of the Statue's arrival. Only Pushkin conceived of supplanting the time-honoured invitation to supper with the summoning of Don Alvar to stand guard at Donna Anna's

²⁴"Я, командор, прошу тебя прийти
К твоей вдове, где завтра буду я,
И стать на стороже в дверях."

A.S. Pushkin, "Kamennyi gost'," in Sochineniia (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1958), Vol. II, p. 391.

chamber door. An atmosphere of "laughter" and banter does indeed prevail in Kamennyi gost' just before the arrival of the Statue. Don Juan importunes his charming widow for a "single cool and quiet kiss" which she chidingly grants.

Pushkin, as we have already noted, wrote the final chapter in the story of the Classical Don Juan. His hero is free from the thematic complexities and radical characterological transformations which beset the original legend in the Romantic and Realist interpretations. Gumilev returned to the classic conception of Don Juan as the gay, recklessly daring deceiver far removed from the tormented idealists and penitent converts which dominated donjuanesque literature in the interim. The fact that Leporello refers to Don Juan as the "seducer of Seville" (sevil'skii soblaznitel') and to himself as his former "secretary" confirms the kinship between Gumilev's hero and his Classical ancestors who, instantly taken by the first woman encountered, would launch their seductive assault and look on with glee as the servant entered yet another name in the famous catalogue. His senses, like those of his namesake in Mozart-da Ponte and Pushkin, are finely honed and ever on the alert for the odor di femmina:

Я вижу парус чьей-то лодки;
Я так давно не целовал
Румянца ни одной красотки.
Есть лодка, есть и человек,
А у него сестра, невеста... (109)

He is either in Hell or in love; there is no middle road for Don Juan.

It is difficult indeed to agree in this regard with Sam Driver, one of the very few commentators on the dramaturgy of Gumilev, who claims to recognize in the hero of this version "the seeker after the ideal, the Don Juan of the more recent tradition."²⁵ In truth, there is nothing in Gumilev's play to warrant such an interpretation. This Don Juan is no more the idealist than was Pushkin's insouciant hero who effortlessly reconciled the memory of the departed Inez, the anticipation of Laura's ardour, and the challenge of conquering the Commander's charming widow. Donna Anna, to whom the hero of Kamennyi gost' had sworn on bended knee an oath of fidelity and moral rebirth, is now but a fleeting memory to be quickly obliterated in the presence of a young and robust female.

The entire action of Don Zhuan v Egipte is basically the isolation and elaboration of a traditional episode common to the majority of Classical Don Juan plays. The scenario is in effect the staging of the "stealing of the bride" motif recurrent in the Aminta episode in El Burlador, the Charlotte episode in Molière's Dom Juan, and in the Zerlina episode in

²⁵ Sam Driver, "Nikolaj Gumilev's Early Dramatic Works," The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (Fall 1969), p. 341. Driver also observes that "in Don Juan, the ideal is achieved," implying that Miss Poker is a latter-day reincarnation of the tragic and martyred heroines of the Hoffmann-inspired tradition. (p. 339).

Don Giovanni. In each instance the woman is betrothed -- wherein her particular piquancy for Don Juan -- and succumbs to the seducer, casting caution and marriage vow to the winds. This motif is noticeably absent in Pushkin's play, omitted in favour of the Laura scene and obviated, perhaps, by the fact that here Donna Anna herself represents a wife to be stolen away from her husband. Thus, Gumilev's version, in reinterpreting this traditional motif in a new light, in a sense complements Pushkin's drama in a consecutive reading of the two works.

Miss Poker is not quite the gullible Aminta, the opportunistic Charlotte, nor the facile Zerlina. She is wealthy, educated, and cultured. And yet, her exclamation "Ia ne khochu!... Net, ia khochu!" rings remarkably like a deliberate echo of Zerlina's momentary vacillation between duty and desire: "vorrei e non vorrei" (she has, after all, frequented performances of Mozart in Chicago). The American heiress, if approximations are to be made, identifies more closely with the impetuous inamorata of the village scene than she does with the reserved noblesse of Donna Anna or the pathetic indignation of Elvira.

The seduction of the American Miss is conventionally donjuanesque and reiterates the standard elements of the deceiver's modus operandi in such situations: eloquence, flattery, the promise of happiness, and, of course, the inevitable denigration and ridicule of the bridegroom. In

the hero of Don Zhuan v Egipte we discover a highly poetic soul; almost every apostrophe addressed to Miss Poker is a veritable serenade. His lyricism, however, transcends the customary formulae, the concetti and oft-rehearsed epithets of endearment that belong to the seductive arsenal of his Classical ancestors. "The lyrical speeches," writes Sechkarev, "breathe with a genuine, although momentary passion, and Gumilev has succeeded in eschewing all previous models."²⁶ The poetic eloquence with which Don Juan courts and enchants Leporello's fiancée is inspired, tender and sensual, with subtle overtones of the erotic:

Я лгу? Не верите вы мне?
 Но знаю я, что ваши плечи,
 -- Я целовал их уж во сне --
 Нежны, как восковые свечи.
 А эта грудь! Ее хранят
 Теперь завистливые ткани,
 На ней есть синих жилок ряд
 Капризных, милых очертаний. (115)

The substantially augmented role of the servant has been, as we have noted, a salient characteristic of don-juanesque comedy since the earliest adaptations of Tirso de Molina's play by the commedia dell'arte. This feature is readily apparent in Don Zhuan v Egipte, wherein Leporello is raised to the status of a principal character. In fact, he is given to speak almost as many lines as Don Juan

²⁶V. Sechkarev, op. cit., p. viii.

himself.²⁷ Gumilev, in a notable departure from tradition, combined in the person of Leporello the role of the servant with that of the deserted fiancé. Thus, in the context of Gumilev's play, his ancestors in Don Juan literature are on the one hand Catalinón, Sganarelle, and Leporello, and on the other -- Batricio, Pierrot, and Masetto. There is, nonetheless, an interesting precedent for Don Juan's seduction of the bride of his own servant to be found among the Classical renditions of the theme. Having exchanged clothes with Leporello in order to expedite his pursuit of Elvira's chambermaid, Mozart's Don Giovanni returns to relate to his servant that, in this disguise, he had been taken for Leporello himself by a woman who had realized her mistake only after Don Juan had made love to her. Cursing his master's perfidy, Leporello admits, in his exasperation, that she could have been his very wife. This, of course, only sweetens Don Juan's victory.²⁸

²⁷ To be precise, of the total of 259 lines in Don Zhuan v Egipte, 124 are devoted to the speeches of Don Juan and 98 to those of Leporello. Needless to say, it is the speeches of Leporello and particularly the dialogues with the American hog-dealer that enhance the element of humour and satire in Gumilev's play.

²⁸ Giovanni: M'accarezza, m'abbraccia
 "Caro il mio Leporello!
 Leporello, mi caro!" Allor m'accorsi
 ch'era qualche tua bella.

Leporello: Ma se fosse costei stata mia moglie?

Giovanni: Meglio ancora!

The totally untraditional conception of Leporello as a famous scholar, an egyptologist and university dean is no doubt the most intriguing feature in Gumilev's representation of this character. It poses an interesting question in the evolution of donjuanesque literature; notably, is this indeed a bold innovation introduced by Gumilev to the original role of the servant, or is this once again the elaboration of a motif already inherent in the theme?

Sechkarev suggests that Leporello's erudition is a feature transposed by Gumilev to the servant of Don Juan from Goethe's Wagner in Faust.²⁹ This submission is not without merit, for the conflux of the Faustian and donjuanesque themes and the blending of types has enjoyed popularity since Vogt's fusion of the two heroes.³⁰ Sechkarev's analogy notwithstanding, we need not necessarily search beyond the Don Juan theme itself. Gumilev's conception of Leporello is undeniably innovative; however, this motif also represents the fruition of a long-standing aspiration the servant traditionally harbours for respect, dignity, and social rank. In Le Festin de pierre, for example, Molière's Sganarelle, donning the cloak of a physician, proudly declares:

²⁹V. Sechkarev, op. cit., p. vii.

³⁰Nicolas Vogt, Der Färberhof oder die Buchdruckerei in Mainz (1809), a tragedy-opera-ballet extravaganza. See Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 96-97.

"Mais savez-vous, Monsieur, que cet habit me met déjà en considération, que je suis salué des gens que je rencontre, et que l'on me vient consulter ainsi qu'un habile homme?"³¹

A note of rebellion and personal ambition "to play the gentleman" is also sounded in Leporello's Introduction which opens the Mozart-da Ponte opera:

Voglio far il gentiluomo,
e non voglio più servir
no, no, no, no, no, no,
non voglio più servir!

This ambition, finally realized in Gumilev's play, Leporello lives to regret upon discovering that he was by far happier as Don Juan's lackey and "secretary" in affairs of love than he is now as a savant of world repute. He is ready to renounce his deanship and academic laurels for the opportunity to serve Don Juan again. It is at this point that the true meaning of his master's precept becomes abundantly clear:

Я твердо помню: Лепорелло,
Желаешь спи, желаешь пей,
А не в свое не суйся дело. (120)

There is perhaps a moral to be derived from the denouement of the play and from the irony of Leporello's concluding speech. "It seems probable," writes Driver,

³¹Molière, "Dom Juan ou Le Festin de pierre," in Théâtre (London: J.M. Dent, 1912), Vol. II, p. 141. The motif of Leporello posing as a quack physician is reiterated and developed when he assumes the name Doctor Leporius in Potemkin and Poliakov's comedy Don Zhuan -- Suprug Smerti. Cf. infra, p. 330 ff.

"that Gumilev was satirizing in Leporello one aspect of himself, and he almost surely was satirizing certain of his associates with whom he was obliged to assume that aspect. . . . Their escape was a vicarious one, into library stacks, into classical antiquity and medieval romance. Gumilev would not be, like Leporello, 'a mole in long-forgotten libraries.' He would not merely escape into exotic books, but enact the escape."³² What is certain is that in the contest between the heart and the mind, between the sword and the pen, the heart and the sword -- two unmistakable symbols of Don Juan -- are the victors. Leporello wears his bookish knowledge and precarious fame like an ill-fitting cloak. By her own admission Miss Poker chose him as her fiancé because "strength, youth, and courage never frequent the salons of our Chicago." But Don Juan, equally contemptuous of Leporello's scholastic charade as he is of the American's millions, paints for Miss Poker the bleak picture which will be her destiny with one who is not only a slave to his profession but who is also fated to be the eternal lackey:

Но он лакей, всегда лакей,
 В сукне ливрейного кафтана
 И в гордой мантии своей,
 В пурпурной мантии декана.
 Страшась чего-нибудь не знать,
 Грызясь за почести с другими,
 Как пес, он должен защищать

³²Sam Driver, op. cit., p. 342.

Годами созданное имя.
 К природе глух и к жизни слеп,
 Молю библиотек позабытых,
 Он заключит вас в темный склеп
 Крикливых слов и чувств изжитых. (117)

In sharp contrast to Leporello and the pale dandies of the salons, Don Juan is strong, young, and courageous. Here again is the audacious and roguish seducer who mocked repentance and scorned contrition, inviting the dead to a fateful rendezvous. Such challenge to the supernatural is typical of the Classical Don Juan; such defiance is also inherent in the Don Juan Gumilev created. He descended into Hell, but Hell itself was powerless to restrain him:

Я был в аду, я сатане
 Смотрел в лицо, и вновь я в мире,
 И стало только слаще мне,
 Мои глаза открылись шире. (119)

Don Zhuan y Egipte is a reaffirmation of the hero's immortality and universality. He is of the lineage of the Don Juan triumphant epitomized by Baudelaire, but with his roots deep in the Classical tradition of the unyielding, unrepentant follower of his natural penchant, whatever the consequences. He inherits the insouciant joie de vivre and poetic soul of Pushkin's hero. His ordeal in Hell has neither aged nor broken him, but merely "opened his eyes." This play reasserts that the power of Don Juan is undiminished by time or space; that the entire world is the theatre of his amorous exploits, be it in the ruins of an ancient temple on the Nile or in the boudoir of a splendid villa on the Guadalquivir.

Nikolai Gumilev's rendition of the Don Juan subject struck a new and refreshing note during the interval of the hero's revitalization by the Modernists. The Age of Realism, in exploiting the donjuanesque theme for the exposition of social ills and human corruption, had attempted to reduce the mythical hero to ordinary proportions, divesting him of his struggle with the supernatural, a struggle which was his very birth-right. Succeeding generations would make him even more "molecular."³³ The Modernists, on the other hand, seem to have perceived more clearly the symbolic nature of Don Juan, and Gumilev -- perhaps more clearly than most.

As exemplified in Don Zhuan v Egipte, the fate of Don Juan after the encounter with the Guest of Stone has from time to time intrigued writers no less than did the adventures which led up to that decisive moment. Speculation as to what might befall the hero in the after-life and the thematic ramifications of such reflection engendered a number of works, particularly in the domain of donjuanesque facetiae. We will recall that in Moncrieff's burlesque,

³³The application of the term and concept "molecular" in Don Juan studies goes to the credit of Oscar Mandel, who writes: "I had rather call this third stage of Don Juan's evolution his Molecular stage, for ours might well be known as the Molecular age. The name points to the science which dominates our lives; to our habit of analyzing all things down to their indivisible minimum; to the dehumanization of life; to our sense of isolation and fragmentation; to the virtual abandonment of the idea of human progress; and to our small helplessness." Oscar Mandel, op. cit., p. 25. We recall, however, that in Gumilev's sonnet one of the images of Don Juan was that of a "superfluous atom."

Giovanni in London,³⁴ the libertine is unceremoniously evicted from Hell for the consternation he creates among the devils with his licentious escapades, which include the seduction of Proserpine herself. He returns to earth and is eventually reformed by the wise and virtuous Constantia, whom he marries.

In an early nineteenth-century German puppet-show, Don Juans zweites Leben oder Kasperles Gefahren,³⁵ the seducer is permitted to leave Hell and resume his earthly life on condition that he deliver to Satan, within the course of a year, one thousand and three victims. He soon discovers, much to his chagrin, that since Mozart set him to music, Don Juan is everywhere recognized as an impostor. Having failed to fulfil his quota, he is reclaimed by the Arch-devil and returns to the netherworld. On the other hand, his servant Kasparello, merits a better fate; he marries the fairy-queen Innocentia and shares her realm.

In Edmond Rostand's well-known play, La Dernière Nuit de Don Juan (1921),³⁶ the Devil similarly grants Don Juan an

³⁴William Moncrieff, "Giovanni in London, or The Libertine Reclaimed," (1817) in O. Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 403-446.

³⁵Recorded in K. Engel, Deutsche Puppenkomödien (Oldenburg, 1875), Cf. Gendarme de Bévoite, op., cit., pp. 221-222.

³⁶Edmond Rostand, La Dernière Nuit de Don Juan (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1921).

additional decade of life on earth after the Commander has taken him to Hell. When the period of grace expires, Don Juan's reward is to spend an eternity in the puppet-box as a marionette. In another example, a cinematographic version by Ingmar Bergman entitled Djävulens öga (1960),³⁷ Don Juan is commissioned by Satan to return to earth in order to seduce a woman whose chastity, according to an old proverb, is "a sty in the Devil's eye."

Even George Bernard Shaw, in his contemporized adaptation of the Don Juan theme, did not fail to exploit the opportunity to comment facetiously on the posthumous existence of the hero. In the episode from Man and Superman frequently referred to as "Don Juan in Hell," Don Juan, since being condemned to the infernal regions, has become excellent friends with the Commander who abides in Heaven. The irony of this delightful interlude within the play is that each would gladly exchange places with the other, for neither Heaven nor Hell lives up to their respective expectations.³⁸

Among the Slavic propagators of Don Juan literature, Gumilev was the first but not the only writer to continue

³⁷See Armand E. Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), p. 132.

³⁸G. Bernard Shaw, Man and Superman (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1931).

the adventures of the hero from the point at which the traditional version leaves off. In the 1920's, reflection on the fate of the seducer after the adventure with the Statue inspired another dramatic poem, this time by the Russian émigré poet, Vladimir L'vovich Korvin-Piotrovskii.³⁹

Smert' Don Zhuana is known to exist in two variants. The earlier version appeared in a now rare 1929 Berlin edition of four dramatic poems under the general title of Beatriche;⁴⁰ the latter, in a recently published two-volume edition of Korvin-Piotrovskii's collected works entitled Pozdnii gost'.⁴¹ However, despite the author's declaration

³⁹ Korvin-Piotrovskii remains among the least investigated and evaluated of the Russian émigré writers. His collections of poetry and dramatic poems include: Polyn' i zvezdy (1923), Kamennaia liubov' (1925), Beatriche (1929), Vozdushnyi zmei (1950), and Porazhenie (1960).

Born in Belaia Tserkov' in 1891, Korvin-Piotrovskii saw action as an artillery officer in the First World War and the Russian Civil War, after which he emigrated and settled in Berlin and, in the 1930's, in Paris. In 1963 the poet emigrated to the United States and resided in Los Angeles until his death in 1966.

The scant handful of published commentary on Korvin-Piotrovskii, mostly short reviews and necrologies, appears in the second volume of his posthumous collection Pozdnii gost' (1968-69).

⁴⁰ Vladimir Piotrovskii, "Smert' Don Zhuana," in Beatriche (Berlin: Knigoizdatel'stvo "Slovo," 1929), pp. 161-186. The poet's earlier collections were published under the second part of his double surname.

⁴¹ Vladimir Korvin-Piotrovskii, "Smert' Don Zhuana," in Pozdnii gost' (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1969), Vol. II, pp. 173-194.

All quotations from the text of Smert' Don Zhuana are taken from the Kamkin edition. For purposes of comparison with the earlier variant, the "Slovo" edition is used.

that his dramatic creations underwent fundamental revision in the intervening years,⁴² there is, with the exception of several minor metrical and stanzaic modifications, no appreciable difference between the two published variants of Smert' Don Zhuana. The dramatic poem comprises 443 iambic pentameter lines (the earlier variant contained 433) with infrequent and irregularly interspersed rhyme patterns. It divides structurally into three scenes.

From the viewpoint of form and narrative substance, Smert' Don Zhuana constitutes a direct sequel to Kamennyi gost' and forms, as it were, a mythical progression from the life of the hero to afterlife. Where Pushkin had brought Don Juan to the point of death, Korvin-Piotrovskii leads him to the threshold of eternity. Even the dramatis personae -- Don Juan, Leporello, Donna Anna, the Monk who extolled her beauty, and the statue of Don Alvar -- are straight out of Pushkin's rendition.⁴³ What is more, an immediate connection between the two versions is affirmed by the line:

Я гибну -- кончено -- о, Донна Анна!

with which Pushkin concludes Kamennyi gost' and which Korvin-

⁴²V. Korvin-Piotrovskii, "Avtobiograficheskaia spravka," in Pozdnii gost' (Washington: Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1969), Vol. II, p. 217.

⁴³Even the name of Laura, although she does not appear in Smert' Don Zhuana, comes quickly to the tongue of Leporello in an echo of the "catalogue motif." See infra, p. 312.

We also observe that two out of three scenes of Korvin-Piotrovskii's version are located on the grounds of the monastery of St. Anthony -- the location of Scenes I and III of Kamennyi gost'.

Piotrovskii cites as the epigraph to Smert' Don Zhuana, thus effecting the transition from the former work to the latter.

The present dearth of critical material on Korvin-Piotrovskii notwithstanding, certain commentators have not failed to point out the poet's creative communion with Pushkin and his epoch. "Korvin-Piotrovskii ~~know~~ Pushkin to perfection," observes Iu. Ofrosimov. "He keenly perceived every intonation, every rhythm; Pushkin's classic iambus became his beloved poetic metre."⁴⁴ K. Vil'chkovskii adds to this account:

Он, формально, по крайней мере "исходит"
из поэтов ~~нашего~~ Золотого века и, конечно,
Прежде всего, из Пушкина . . . и это
сказывается особенно разительно на его
драматических вещах, во всем, как будто,
созданных по образу и подобию пушкинских
"малых трагедий."⁴⁵

This prosodic and generic affinity with Pushkin's dramatic writings was complemented thematically when Korvin-Piotrovskii turned to the theme of Don Juan and, more precisely, to its adaptation in Kamennyi gost'.

⁴⁴Iu. Ofrosimov, "Pamiati poeta," in V. Korvin-Piotrovskii, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 258.

⁴⁵K. Vil'chkovskii, "Literaturnye zametki o poezii V. Korvin-Piotrovskogo," Ibid., pp. 227-228.

Interestingly, Pushkin himself appears as a character in Korvin-Piotrovskii's works. In the shortest of his dramatic poems, Noch' (originally entitled Pered duel'iu), Pushkin is the hero who is visited by the mysterious stranger in black who commissions the Requiem in Motsart i Sal'eri.

In Smert' Don Zhuana Don Juan is indeed dead -- killed by the statue of Don Alvar whom he had so arrogantly summoned to witness his nocturnal rendezvous with the Commander's widow, Donna Anna. However, before departing to its ultimate destination, the spirit of Don Juan is obliged to share the chapel-tomb of Don Alvar for the prescribed period of forty days which, according to religious teachings, the newly disembodied soul must yet dwell on earth. For lack of a statue for its reincarnation, the soul of Don Juan enters the image of a saint painted on the chapel window.⁴⁶

Donna Anna returns daily to the cemetery to mourn the double loss of her husband and lover, but she does not come alone. Now, her consoler and companion is none other than Leporello who, by virtue of having inherited Don Juan's wealth and property, has become a nouveau riche. Moreover, so skilfully has Leporello understudied his master's role as a seducer that he is now fully accepted by Donna Anna as the Don Juan-surrogate. In this ironic peripeteia, Don Juan, who dispossessed the Commander and many a husband beside, must now surrender the spoils of his victory to a foppishly ridiculous caricature of himself in the person of his own lackey.

⁴⁶ Don Juan's transformation into a holy man is a facetious echo of the disguise motif in Scene III of Kamennyi gost' wherein he assumes the guise of a monk. On the other hand, it also recalls the veneration of Don Juan as a saint in the versions inspired by the Mañara legend.

It is quite evident that in highlighting the death of Don Juan, Smert' Don Zhuana stands in diametric opposition to the idea the hero's invincibility exalted in Don Zhuan v Egipte. Where Gumilev had portrayed the Don Juan triumphant, immortal and indomitable, Korvin-Piotrovskii shatters this glorified image in displaying a terminal, physically and spiritually vanquished Don Juan who, in the impotence of his ~~ethereal~~ state, must suffer the usurpation of his power and fame through the wiles of an opportunistic hireling.

In notable contrast to Gumilev's version, with which Korvin-Piotrovskii engages, as it were, in a belletristic polemic, the satirical thrust of Smert' Don Zhuana is directed mainly against Don Juan, not against Leporello. For example, despite the ostensible funebrity of Scene II, the appearance of a ghostly Don Juan as a "novice in affairs beyond the grave" is more suggestive of mockery than of sympathy:

Гей, командор! Любезный дон АЛЕВАР,
Прому тебя, смени вражду на милость,
Я новичек еще в делах загробных, --
Скажи, могу ли я, печальный дух
Беспечного когда-то дон Жуана,
Примерить плоть по мерке и по росту?
Хоть чью-нибудь, хоть не из очень важных --
Один костюм, железный иль бумажный,
Из дерева, гранита иль стекла?⁴⁷

(181)

⁴⁷ Even as he seeks physical substance -- "be it iron or paper, of wood, of granite or of glass" -- for his personification, the earthly remains of Don Juan are being interred in St. Anthony's cemetery. Like Miguel Mañara, Don Juan bears witness to his own obsequies; however, in the Mañara legend the funeral vision struck terror in the heart of Don Miguel and wrought his miraculous conversion. In

The foregoing excerpt is effectively indicative of the manner in which the author is able to endow an essentially pathetic moment -- a disembodied spirit desperately clinging to the last vestige of terrestrial existence -- with a perceptibly facetious coloration. Don Juan, who in his day reigned in the world as the undisputed master of deception and disguise, must now humbly appeal to the munificence of a former adversary for a costume with which to clothe the nakedness of his soul. In this ironic incongruity, he whom the monk of St. Anthony's proclaimed "the vile, the dissolute, the godless Don Juan" is now obliged, for want of more appropriate attire, to assume the semblance of a man of God:

В стекло? Ах, так, уже соображаю, --
 Поблекший образ снова оживить,
 Стать росписью, святым и, может быть,
 Сопутствовать красавицам из рая -- --
 Невинных дев вести стезей эфира?
 Ну что ж, и то, была бы лишь квартира! (182)

Smert' Don Zhuana we observe a deliberately parodic treatment of the funeral motif as Don Juan, once again a bystander at his burial, comments facetiously on the proceedings to the statue of Don Alvar:

"Ба, похороны, тут уже хоронят!
 Кого бы это? Господи помилуй...
 Послушай, командор, какая шутка, --
 Возможно ль? Похороны дон Жуана.
 Ну и дела! Пойми, меня хоронят,
 А сам я здесь, стою, гляжу, и плакать
 Готов от умиления. Ей-ей,
 В носу цекает. Право, я от скорби
 Готов чихнуть пометом голубиным,
 Что на усах невежливо засох.
 Но тсс... Идут... А ладан не из важных,
 Я думаю, по случаю купили." (182)

Indeed, the very man who lived for the flesh and by the flesh, who revelled in the pleasures of the senses, must now incarcerate his soul in the dessicated, two-dimensional body of a transparent saint and guard the propriety of the chapel. Twice the reproachful glare of the holy man in the window frustrates the intimacy of a pair of lovers seeking a moment of tenderness away from public view. An unidentified young blade importunes his mistress for "a single little kiss" which she coyly grants -- a kiss not unlike the one Don Juan himself was granted in Pushkin's play but a moment before the entry of the stone Commander. But the second couple are no strangers. The enamored Leporello profits by the privacy offered by the shrine to make a declaration of love. As he affectionately leads Donna Anna out into the sunset, Don Juan, betrayed and abandoned, parts with the world forever:

Прощай, мой друг!
И ты прощай, пустой сосуд, что мною
Наполнен был и пересох до дна.
Все кончено. Рассыпся, донна Анна! (194)

The downfall of Don Juan is rarely amusing. And yet, behind a mood of melancholy and nostalgia evoked by the hero's eternal banishment from life, there is evidence to indicate that Smert' Don Zhuana is in fact another case of a facetious treatment of the Don Juan subject. The overall tenor of the play is satirical, for it exposes the inherent fallacy of donjuanism. A philosophy of infidelity

has the flaw of turning back upon itself through the inculcation of infidelity in others. Neither Leporello nor Donna Anna has the will to remain faithful to the man who created a cult of inconstancy.

The idea of Don Juan's utter collapse is juxtaposed with the success story of Leporello. Indeed, the figure of the traditional servant receives in the Korvin-Piotrovskii version a rather unusual if not totally original treatment. In view of the substantially altered and expanded role which visibly predominates over that of Don Juan, a strong case might be made to identify Leporello as the leading character.⁴⁸ Here, divested of his customary naive candor, his folksy superstition and ludicrous bumbling, he emerges as a shrewd and ambitious conniver, a crafty opportunist who attains his goal literally over the dead body of his master.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Statistics would tend to bear out this view. Out of the 443 lines which comprise the final variant of Smert' Don Zhuanu, Leporello's speeches amount to a total of 193 lines, whereas those of Don Juan number only 90 -- clearly less than half.

⁴⁹ According to Leporello's assurances to the monk, his elevation to a position of rank and wealth is fully justified. There is some suggestion of the influence of Gumilev's interpretation of the servant in Leporello's pretension to erudition:

Я изучал науки в Саламанке,
И философии не вовсе чужд.

and to noble descent:

Мой древний род всегда был благороден,
Я дворянин по праву и по чести.

The author is, of course, satirizing Leporello, as did Gumilev in this respect. What the reader concludes from these assertions is that Leporello is not only sly and opportunistic, but also deceitful and, perhaps, an unmitigated liar.

As noted in the preceding discussion of Gumilev's play, the motif of Leporello's aspiration to wealth, fame, and status is not particularly novel and is already in evidence at the Classical stage of the myth. In focusing particular attention on the servant-figure and specifically on his role in Don Giovanni, Otto Rank observes that Leporello "is more than a mere pupil of his master, that he is perhaps identical with him."⁵⁰ Leporello does indeed appear to identify with Don Juan and does in fact on several occasions in the opera substitute for him. However, this occurs only with a very significant peculiarity, for, as Rank has remarked: "The tragedy of Leporello is that he is permitted to represent his master only in the painful and critical situations."⁵¹ The originality of Korvin-Piotrovskii's interpretation of the servant-figure stems from the fact that the substitution is no longer painful and critical, but pleasurable and profitable. In Leporello's becoming the Don Juan-surrogate in the eyes of Donna Anna, the substitution is complete.

Founded on Pushkin's "traditional" rendering of the Don Juan legend, Smert' Don Zhuana, like Gumilev's Don Zhuan v Egipte, preserves readily discernible motivic

⁵⁰ Otto Rank, The Don Juan Legend, trans. David G. Winter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 47.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 46.

echoes of the Classical burlador and convidado themes. Although physical death has reduced him to the impotence of a passive observer of earthly life in which he may no longer participate, Korvin-Piotrovskii's hero leaves no doubt that he derives from the sensual, the reckless and hedonistic Don Juan Pushkin conceived. This fact is clearly evinced in the quintessential mode of characterization which has long since become a standard motif of the Don Juan play -- Leporello's "complaint monologue."

Проклятое житье.
 Ни дня покоя. Шпаги да кинжалы.
 Да мертвый хрип на темных перекрестках,
 И здесь и там, -- Даура, донна Анна,
 И кто еще? А ты броди до утра,
 И для чего? Зачем, подобно вору,
 Я вынужден дрожать за каждый шаг,
 Скрывать лицо под маской, извиваться,
 Не спать ночей, худеть, носить записки,
 И твердо знать, что рано или поздно
 Испанский гранд или злодей наемный
 Нечаянно проткнет тебя кинжалом?
 Ну-ну, судьба. Проклятое житье! (175)

This Don Juan lived for passion and violence; he is remembered by those he leaves behind as "the seducer and tyrant of all the local matrons and maidens."⁵² Even the anchorite of St. Anthony's monastery reappears to denounce.

⁵²In the "Slovo" edition:

"Он самый дон Жуан.
 Всех здешних дам и дев -- без исключенья --
 Любовник и тиран."

In the Kamkin edition:

"Он самый дон Жуан.
 Все девушки помешаны на нем.
 С ним и во сне грешат."

him as "that heretic who seduced all the girls of Madrid."⁵³

This portrait of the hero must, however, not go unqualified. It is to be recalled that Korvin-Piotrovskii endowed his disclosure of donjuanism as a philosophy of sensualism and a psychology of compulsive infidelity with a manifestly satirical coloration. Therefore, the portrait of Don Juan as an irresistible and fatal conquerer of women's hearts is juxtaposed with another portrait -- that of the autumnal seducer whose prowess is already in decline. Although he still rides on the reputation gained in flamboyant youth, he was already fighting a losing battle against the inexorable passage of time. Secure in the knowledge that revealing the "truth" about his master will no longer earn him a proper thrashing, Leporello shamelessly divulges to the monk that Don Juan was aging and weakening:

Увы, Жуан. Несчастный мой приятель.
Но будем ли к усопшему суровы?
Тем более, что стоило лишь выждать --

⁵³In the "Slovo" edition:

"Как? Дон Жуан? Тот самый еретик,
Что соблазнил всех девушек в Мадриде?"

In the Kamkin edition:

"Как? Дон Жуан? Тот самый соблазнитель,
Бессовестный, безбожный дон Жуан?"

It would appear that Korvin-Piotrovskii quite deliberately amended the monk's characterization of Don Juan in the earlier variant to conform in the second edition to the epithets used by Pushkin's monk in Kamennyi gost':

"Развратным,
Бессовестным, безбожным Дон Гуаном."

И он бы стал безгрешнее монахинь.
 Да, мой отец, пыл молодости бурной
 В нем отцветал и блекнул с каждым днем.
 Ведь страсть и грех проходят с волосами,--
 А он лысел. Крепился -- но лысел.
 Лишь год еще иль много два, не больше,
 И верьте мне, искуснейший цирюльник
 Не справился б с прической дон Жуана. (186)

This mockingly compassionate portrait of a balding, withering Don Juan -- "more sinless than a nun" -- is perhaps no more the truth than is Leporello's subsequent allegation that with his last breath Don Juan bequeathed to him and charged him with the succour of Donna Anna.⁵⁴ To alleviate the pangs of his own guilt for disloyalty to his master, Leporello thus appears to rationalize that timely death mercifully spared Don Juan the agony of every libertine who must inevitably face the spectre of decrepitude and old age. In this description we observe the dichotomy of the hero which developed in the nineteenth century: the heroic image of the dauntless libertine and the sarcastic portrait of Don Juan in decline.

In dealing with the convidado theme, Korvin-Piotrovskii adheres essentially to Pushkin's redaction of the ancient legend of the Stone Guest. As in Kamennyi gost', the angry

⁵⁴ Having decided to offer Donna Anna a proposal of marriage, Leporello cleverly camouflages his own opportunistic interests with Don Juan's alleged testament:

Он говорил: "запомни, Лепорелло,
 Я на тебя оставил донну Анну,
 Клянись ее до гроба защищать" ...
 Сударыня, и я ему поклялся... (193)

and vindictive Statue which comes to punish its tormentor represents the husband dispossessed of life and spouse by Don Juan. The servants of Donna Anna, incredulous of having witnessed the spectral statue among the columns, recall:

Покойный командор (Господь помилуй!)
 Небось уже успел в раю обжиться, --
 Сочти по пальцам, сколько дней прошло,
 Как он погиб от шпаги дон Жуана
 И вдовий траур сшила донна Анна? (174)

The symbols and motifs of the *convidado* theme -- the cemetery, the sepulchre,⁵⁵ the invitation, the arrival of the statue, the fatal handshake -- are all preserved and distilled in the form of a monologue by Don Juan:

. . . . Сохранилась
 Лишь память, да руки окаменелой
 Глухая боль в потемках бродит.
 Как сжал он руку мне, ревнивый камень,
 Мертвец надменный, мстительный и злобный,
 Когда пришел послушно на мой зов
 Оберегать любовное свиданье!
 Как бросил навзничь яростно меня
 И заскрипел гранитными зубами -- --
 Вон он стоит, суровый и безмолвный,
 И, верно, ждет цветов от донны Анны. (188)

⁵⁵Two of the three scenes of *Smert' Don Zhuana* in fact take place inside the chapel-tomb of Don Alvar. Pushkin actually makes no mention of a chapel, only of a statue and a sepulchre or tomb (*grobnitsa*). Korvin-Piotrovskii's reversion to the chapel is an echo of the earliest stage of the *convidado* theme and to the original setting of the banquet of the dead which Don Juan attends. With the reduction of the double invitation motif to a single summons by Don Juan, the chapel-tomb is replaced simply by a statue, as evidenced in Molière and Mozart-da Ponte.

An interesting parallel emerges between the versions of Korvin-Piotrovskii and Gumilev in this respect. In *Don Zhuan v Egipte* the action also evolves in a temple-tomb; however, the original statue of the Commander is here appropriately represented by the carved images of Egyptian gods.

There is, however, a significant departure from the classic point of culmination of the convidado theme -- the descent into Hell. In virtually every Classical adaptation of the Don Juan theme, and certainly in the most representative versions, the hero is condemned to the torments of the inferno. In El Burlador, for example, Don Juan sinks with the tomb and statue of Don Gonzalo through the chapel floor; in Molière, the earth opens to swallow him up; in Mozart-da Ponte, he is engulfed by the flames of Hell; in Pushkin, he tumbles through the ground. Even Gumilev could not resist the vivid image of the headlong plunge through the abyss "like two birds shot down in mid-flight." In contrast to this, there is no fall nor even condemnation to Hell in Korvin-Piotrovskii's interpretation. The earthly remains of Don Juan are interred, while his soul awaits, in the limbo of the chapel, its departure to Purgatory. Don Juan is granted the time to witness the vanity and inconsequence of his life. The image of a saint, so strange and incongruous in the beginning, eventually becomes part of him. When Don Juan disappears, the saintly image shatters to the ground, for the two are no longer distinct.

In viewing Don Zhuan y Egipte and Smert' Don Zhuana essentially as sequels to Pushkin's Kamennyi gost', we have observed a distinct and contrasting authorial approach not only to the Don Juan type, but also to the means of portrayal of the hero. In the case of Gumilev, we note the direct

approach: Don Juan participates fully and actively in the episode. He speaks for and represents himself. In his role as a symbol, he reconfirms the triumph of courage, virility, sensuality, and youthfulness. He is poetry and force.

In contradistinction to this direct means of portrayal, Korvin-Piotrovskii depicts his hero obliquely. Don Juan no longer represents his true self, for he does not appear as Don Juan. His passive participation is emphasized in the deformation of a saintly guise which distorts and immobilizes the vibrant image of the archetypal seducer. He is seen primarily through the eyes of the other characters and, mainly, through those of Leporello -- his opportunistic and disloyal servant. In this rather unusual and innovative treatment of the servant-figure, Leporello actually overshadows Don Juan and fairly emerges as the principal protagonist. Never before, it would appear, has Leporello's role as the Don Juan-surrogate culminated in the definitive replacement of Don Juan in the heart of Donna Anna. In sharp contrast to Gumilev's interpretation, in this contest of master and man for the favours of a woman, the servant is the undisputed victor.

Kamennyi gost', as the motivational work behind the creations of Gumilev and Korvin-Piotrovskii, was in essence a tragedy, virtually devoid of any deliberate exaltation, exculpation, or satirical coloration. The two sequels, however, reflect a departure from the original tone of the

fundamental version and a polarization of views of the archetype. While Gumilev's enthusiasm raised the hero beyond the emotional restraint of Pushkin's rendition, Korvin-Piotrovskii endowed his version with a distinctly ironic flavour and discernibly satirical orientation. The expiation of Don Juan's sins consists not only in the traditional punishment meted out by the Avenging Statue, but also in the blow to his honour in having to take his place among those deceived in love.

II. A.V. AMFITEATROV: DON ZHUAN V NEAPOLE

The adaptation of the Don Juan theme to the genres of pure comedy arrived as a relatively late development in Slavic dramaturgy. Despite the lengthy and firmly established tradition of donjuanesque comedy in the literatures of Western Europe, the Slavic poets and playwrights of the nineteenth century maintained a staunchly serious approach to the subject of Don Juan. It is in fact safe to conclude, on the basis of current research, that no original Slavic rendition of the theme in a purely comic vein appeared before the beginning of the twentieth century.

The advent of the Modern Age of Don Juan, the dawning of which coincides roughly with the turn of the present century, was reflected in Slavic literature in a distinctly lighter, more casual and fanciful creative perspective of the hero and theme. Respect, even reverence for the myth

which had heretofore been reserved for the expression of moral, philosophical, religious and social ideas began to yield to the deformation attendant upon an increasingly satirical inclination. This tendency is already discernible in N. Tolstoi's Don Zhuan of 1900 -- an obscure and rather ineffectual "story in verse" loosely patterned on Byron's classic of the same name.⁵⁶ The adventures of the hero, a young adolescent and nascent sensualist called, variously, Juan, Giovanni, and Joe, merely serve as a pretext for the author's satirical divagations on art, morals, education, society, and other aspects of nineteenth-century Russia. The aesthetic weaknesses of this version notwithstanding, N. Tolstoi's Don Zhuan clearly testifies to the adoption of new, unconstrained, informal, and facetious attitude to the original legend, thus setting the stage for a transition from the tragedy-oriented dramas of the nineteenth century to the donjuanesque comedy that would eventually prevail in the twentieth.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ N. Tolstoi, Don Zhuan (Moscow: I.N. Kushnerev, 1901). The title page bears the year 1900.

⁵⁷ The extent of Tolstoi's deformation of the hero and the legend is readily apparent in the following quotation from Canto I, stanza xix:

Зачем Жуан игрушка страсти нежной
Нахалом должен быть, иль низким подлецом?
Страсть элемент и, в грации небрежной
Изображенная каким-нибудь лицом,
Должна красива быть, жива и благородна.
Пределы высших чувств ей, как и низших, сродны.
Она, как и любовь, включает все в себя,
Карикатур не корча из себя.
А потому рассказ мой будет без обманов,
Без вычурных фигур и каменных болванов. (28)

In the domain of dramatic literature, there appears to be little doubt that Gumilev's Don Zhuan v Egipte largely prepared the way for the subsequent development of Slavic Don Juan comedy. In his dramaturgy, it must be said, the Russian Acmeist evidently esteemed the mythical hero too highly to blatantly satirize him or even to return to the sarcasm of his sonnet "Don Zhuan." Nevertheless, the influence of this terse serio-comic dramatization should not be undervalued, for its salient motifs are readily discernible in what must be regarded as the first truly comic interpretation of Don Juan in Slavic theatre: A.V. Amfiteatrov's Don Zhuan v Neapole.

After emigrating from Russia in 1905, Aleksandr Valentinovich Amfiteatrov (1862-1938) spent the major portion of his life in Italy. It is not particularly surprising, therefore, to encounter among the works of this writer's voluminous literary legacy a play about Don Juan in Naples. Don Zhuan v Neapole, in addition to recalling Gumilev's play with which, as will be seen, it shares more than simply a titular connection, also reflects a peculiar feature

Here, for the first time in a Slavic conception of the theme, sensuality is a virtue and passion no crime. The exculpation of Don Juan of any sin committed in the name of carnal pleasure clearly obviates not only the intervention of "artificial figures and stone dummies," but also it would appear, any necessity whatever to connect the hero of this work with the classic Don Juan.

typifying donjuanesque literature in the early twentieth century. "It seemed," writes Leo Weinstein of this period, "as if the subject had been hopelessly splintered and various writers were collecting the pieces and turning them into poems, short stories, or one-act plays which recounted isolated adventures of the hero."⁵⁸ Amfiteatrov's comedy is clearly symptomatic of the dilemma confronting his contemporaries and their recourse to creations of an episodic or anecdotal nature. Simultaneously with the fragmentation of the legend, Don Juan becomes more cosmopolitan than ever, giving rise to a host of "Don Juan in . . ." versions. Gumilev had transported him to Egypt, Amfiteatrov -- to Naples, but he is no less at home in Berlin or Baltimore, in Montmartre or Melanesia.⁵⁹ The universal hero had at last become truly international.

Amfiteatrov's creative enterprise in the realm of Don Juan dramaturgy culminated in little more than a banal situation comedy, the simplicity of which the author himself took no pains to conceal:

⁵⁸Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 155.

⁵⁹These place-names, among many others, actually appear in the titles of the series of "Don Juan in . . ." versions. See Armand E. Singer, The Don Juan theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), and periodic supplements.

Мы не задаемся большими и новыми планами. Пред вами пройдет в условиях трех единств, несложная комедия о безобразном муже, обманутом хорошенькою женою, о красавице, ищущей свободной любви сквозь ревнивые решетки, о любовниках и воздыхателях, плутоватых служанках, пронырливых посредниках. Ради всего этого встанет из гроба и выйдет на сцену знаменитый обольститель, который побеждал женщин тем, что открывал им веселье любви в то время, как другие предлагали только посеребренное рабство.⁶⁰

This mottled cast of stock comic characters, any and all of whom might readily find a place in the standard vaudeville or burlesque, congregates in a comedy of errors replete with deceptions and disguises, with plots and counter-plots, all seasoned with a generous dose of farcical antics and capped off with a "profound" moral perhaps best expressed in the formula "la donna è mobile." Amfiteatrov assembles all this, and more, in a comedy-farce which sets out to prove once again that Don Juan is a skillful seducer, and all the more so if the woman happens to be pretty and married to a fool. In brief, the scenario revolves around Don Juan's pursuit of Gabriella, the wife of Leporello whom he has not seen since his supper with the Statue in Seville ten years ago.

⁶⁰A.V. Amfiteatrov, "Don Zhuan v Neapole," in Sobranie sochinenii (St. Petersburg: "Samooobrazovanie," n.d.), Vol. XIX, pp. 167-286. The play itself is dated at Fezzano, 15 March 1912.

In conformity to the author's facetiously avowed "desperate feminism," the expression of his intent in the comedy is delegated to one of the female characters, Lopsided Marianna, who delivers the Prologue from which the above passage is excerpted.

Having arrived incognito in Naples, Don Juan promptly embarks on the courtship of Gabriella, reputed to be the fairest and most virtuous woman in the city. Encountering Leporello, who now lives under the assumed name of Don Egidio Ratazzi, a prosperous neapolitan wine merchant, Don Juan re-engages him as his servant and go-between in his romantic intrigues. In the belief that nothing will deter Don Juan from his purpose in seducing Gabriella, the forlorn Leporello decides to conceal his marriage to her in order to ensure the success of a plan to foil his master. Ostensibly arranging a nocturnal rendezvous for Don Juan in the boudoir of Gabriella, Leporello plans to substitute for his wife the old and lame chambermaid, Lopsided Marianna.

Meanwhile, Gabriella, having learned Don Juan's true identity and of Leporello's plot to deceive him, devises a counter-plot to trick her husband and to discover for herself whether the reputation of Don Juan is indeed justified. Don Juan is subsequently apprised of Leporello's nuptial tie to Gabriella and of the conspiracy to ridicule and dishonour him. The bonus of teaching his perfidious lackey a lesson simply whets the seducer's appetite for the affair.

In the farcical climax of the comedy, it is Leporello who is tricked into entering the wrong bedchamber and is caught in flagrante delicto with Marianna by the townfolk who have gathered to witness the spectacle. Foiled by his own plan, the wretched Leporello is publicly accused of

adultery; however, Marianna's papal bull absolving her of any sin in the name of pleasure exonerates them both. The play ends happily for all, and particularly for Gabriella who, no longer doubting the reputation of Don Juan, grants him another assignation for the evening. Turning to the audience, she confirms:

Видите ли, я шепну вам по секрету: верите ли вы, не верите ли женщине, -- вы ею, все равно уже обмануты. Следовательно, выбор только в том: быть обманутым с удовольствием или без удовольствия. . . . Итак, мужья, ступайте с миром по домам и верьте женам вашим больше, чем самим себе, а словам их больше, чем собственным глазам. (285)

This abbreviated scenario, which omits the more trivial subplots, episodes, and intrigues, facilitates the identification of some of the fundamental motifs shared by the versions of Amfiteatrov and Gumilev. Among such analogical moments we find the reunion of Don Juan and Leporello after a lengthy period of separation, Leporello's rise from a lackey to a bourgeois parvenu,⁶¹ his acquisition of a bride in the interim,⁶² Don Juan's pursuit of the romantic coquette, and

⁶¹Under the facade of a wine merchant, Leporello is actually made up to be an undercover agent of the viceroy's sbirri, that is, a spy. However, this clandestine occupation is common knowledge to the townfolk who simply regard it with derision and contempt. Gumilev's transformation of Leporello from a lackey to a world-famous egyptologist is far more inspired than Amfiteatrov's rather indistinct and inconsequential suggestion of his pseudo-political connection with the civil authority in Naples.

⁶²Like his counterpart in Gumilev's play, Leporello strives (unsuccessfully, as it turns out) to conceal his plebeian origin and poses as a descendant of the aristocracy in order to contract a profitable marriage.

finally the cuckolding of the servant by his own master.

The "resurrection" motif or, perhaps more accurately, the "return from Hell" motif, as a point of departure, is original to neither Amfiteatrov nor to Gumilev, recurring in earlier comedies, puppet-plays, and burlesques dealing with Don Juan after his famous Sevillian adventure with the Stone Guest. Leporello goes through the typical drolleries and exaggerated mock terror upon this unexpected reunion with his former master, whom he takes for a revenant from beyond the grave.⁶³ After all, did he not personally witness Don Juan's supper with the Statue and the plunge into Hell? Has he not already credited the incorrigible seducer with the cuckolding of Satan himself? As it turns out, however, Leporello has done Don Juan too great an honour. In the vestigial allusion to the traditional climax of the classic Don Juan play, we witness in Amfiteatrov's comedy the reductio ad absurdum of the convidado theme. Tirso de Molina's thrilling drama of banquets with the dead and of supernatural vengeance is here reduced to the banality of a cheap hoax perpetrated by Don Juan himself -- in collusion with none other than his mortal rival, Don Ottavio -- for reasons no more

⁶³ The reunion motif often provides occasion for comic antics of the lazzi type. In Moncrieff's burlesque operetta Giovanni in London, for example, Leporello refuses to acknowledge Don Giovanni who has just returned from Hell. This promptly earns the servant a thorough caning, which clearly recalls his days in the service of Don Juan. An analogical moment occurs during the reunion of Don Juan and Leporello in Gumilev's Don Zhuan y Egipte.

compelling than to escape from bothersome creditors. This burlesque distortion of the ancient legend occurs in the following dialogue which is representational of the manifestly facetious tenor of the play:

Лепорелло: . . . Но, позвольте, синьор, по какому случаю вы живы?

Дон Жуан: Вероятно, потому что не умер.

Лепорелло: Но вас взяли черти, синьор, -- это известно всему миру.

Дон Жуан: Глупая сказка, которую я сам распустил в народе, чтобы не слишком гналась за мною инквизиция. Нет, Лепорелло, не черти, а долги выжили меня из Испании.

Лепорелло: Но, синьор, я сам был при том, как вы ужинали с мраморным Командором и потом вместе провалились в театральный трап.

Дон Жуан: Маленькая комедия, чтобы замести следы, разыгранная по соглашению с доном Оттавио -- в благодарность за то, что я великодушно уступил ему донну Анну и ⁶⁴ благословил их на законный брак . . . (191)

Even the ribald commedia dell'arte endowed the statue of the slain Commander with more dignified a purpose and more honourable a fate.⁶⁵ As for Don Juan's legendary

⁶⁴The references to the supper invitation, to Don Ottavio, and to "la statua gentilissima" (see footnote 65 below) suggest that Amfiteatrov based his travesty of the convidado theme on the Mozart-da Ponte version. This, of course, is at variance with Gumilev's flashback to the Stone Guest episode, which was founded on Pushkin's redaction.

⁶⁵Interestingly enough, the Italian buffo tradition tended not to distort greatly the finale of Tirso's original play. To be specific, the episode with the Stone Guest appears to be the most developed part of the mid-seventeenth century commedia dell'arte scenario preserved in the notes of Domenico Biancolelli. Despite Arlecchino's interminable lazzi during the banquet scenes of Don Juan and the Statue,

descent into Hell, the hero of Amfiteatrov's comedy comes no closer either to eternal damnation or to victory over the powers of the netherworld than a mere drop into a makeshift trap-cellar.

Amfiteatrov's rather uninspired travesty of the Avenging Statue theme even raises an inconsistency in the Prologue to the play. Here, the author promises his audience the resurrection of Don Juan who will rise from the grave in order to demonstrate once more his power over women. One is almost led to expect the reincarnation of Gumilev's triumphant protagonist who conquered not only women's hearts, but Satan and death itself. The author fails to justify this expectation. Even from the perspective of the burlador theme, Don Juan, whose superiority over other men is allegedly attributed to the fact that "he conquered women by revealing to them the delights of love, while others offered only silvered servitude," is given little opportunity to prove this. Amfiteatrov's hero appeals to sexually frustrated females more by virtue of his notoriety than by ingenuity or

the comedy ends in the traditional fashion with Don Juan being dragged to Hell. See G. Gendarme de Bévoite (ed.), "Scénario des Italiens," in Le Festin de Pierre avant Molière (Paris: Ed. Cornély et Cie., 1907).

In Amfiteatrov's comedy, as though the exploitation of the Avenging Statue in order to defraud posterity was insufficient offence to the Commander's memory, Don Juan adds sarcastically:

Увы! Статуя Командора приказала долго жить.
Кладбищенские мальчишки отбили Командору нос
и наследники продали la statua gentilissima
маклакам, которые пережгли нашего друга на
известь. (232)

forcefulness of his personality. Gabriella in fact scorns the amorous advances of Don Juan when he first appears as Alvaro, a soldier in the viceroy's guard. However, upon learning his true identity, Gabriella herself pursues the legendary seducer and connives to ensure his "victory" over her virtue. Triumph over a woman who presents no challenge, let alone offering resistance, does Don Juan but little honour.

Despite this unconvincing portrait of the libertine in Don Zhuan v Neapole Amfiteatrov attempts to vindicate his hero. Don Juan is the soul of music and poetry. If Don Juan ceased to be, exclaims the author through the words of Leporello, what would become of Mozart, of Byron, of Pushkin and Aleksei Tolstoi? The seducer of 1003 women, the slayer of 1003 husbands, stern fathers, vindictive brothers, must continue to inspire the genius of great artists. Love and death are the great themes in the world; to love and to kill -- such is the life-breath and sustenance of Don Juan:

Все это -- моя профессия, моя привычка, мой
воздух: любить -- обманывать, любить --
убивать. Я обольщаю, как другие дышат...
Я убиваю, как другие едят... (242)

It is truly ironic that the hero who had indeed inspired the creation of so many classics of world literature and music fares so poorly in the version of Amfiteatrov. This artistically weak and conceptually simplistic comedy-farce provides no new insights into the hero and offers no

meaningful contribution to the progression of the theme. The author's professed "feminism" -- a mere euphemism for "free love" in this instance -- might conceivably have engendered a more credible and effective portrait of the sensuous woman seeking emotional self-expression and emancipation from domestic incarceration. Even though he would have been anticipated in this respect by Pushkin's memorable Laura, the embodiment of feminine sensuality and free spirit, such an image would be worthy of reiteration and development. Unfortunately, Amfiteatrov's Gabriella appears as little more than a scheming coquette who, after a brief "fling" with Don Juan, will surely be abandoned and return to her drudgery with Leporello. However, the question of love and liberation, of feminine assertiveness and self-expression so ineptly treated by Amfiteatrov, is to recur some years later in a much more effective and original manifestation of the Don Juan theme in comedy by the Soviet playwright, Samuil Aleshin.

Before proceeding with Aleshin's extraordinary interpretation of Don Juan, there remains to be discussed yet another view of woman in the context of donjuanesque the-matics.

III. POTECHKIN AND POLIAKOV: DON ZHUAN--SUPRUG SMERTI

Continuing into the 1920's, the Slavic tradition of Don Juan comedy is represented in the collaborative enterprise of two Russian literati of the post-Revolutionary emigration to the West. In 1924 in Paris, Petr Petrovich Potemkin (1886-1926)⁶⁶ and Solomon L'vovich Poliakov (1875-1945)⁶⁷ co-authored a comedy in prose under the somewhat bizarre title of Don Zhuan -- Suprug Smerti (Don Juan -- Consort of Death).⁶⁸ The play's first and only publication was in 1928, two years after the death of Potemkin.

Thematically, Don Zhuan -- Suprug Smerti concerns itself not as much with the legend of Don Juan as it does with speculation on life, death, and immortality -- a profound

⁶⁶Potemkin authored several collections of poetry, among them: Smeshnaia liubov', Geran', Perekhod, and the posthumous Izbrannye stranitsy published simultaneously with Don Zhuan. See A. Chernyi, "Put' poeta," in P.P. Potemkin, Izbrannye stranitsy (Paris: TAIR, 1928), pp. 5-9.

⁶⁷S.L. Poliakov, also known under the hyphenated surname Poliakov-Litovtsev, was a journalist and fiction writer. His emigre works include the play Labirint and the historical novel Sabbatai Tseri (Messiah bez naroda). See Gleb Struve, Russkaia literatura v izgnanii (New York: Izdatel'stvo imeni Chekhova, 1956), p. 123.

⁶⁸P.P. Potemkin and S.L. Poliakov, Don Zhuan -- Suprug Smerti (Paris: TAIR, 1928), pp. 84-143.

Despite the apparent obscurity of this play, Armand Singer, in an unverified bibliographical entry, claims to have seen a report on an English "version" (translation?) by Nan Bagby Stephens, dated 1928. See Armand E. Singer, The Don Juan Theme, Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1965), p. 149 (Item 1464a).

My efforts to locate and verify Stephens' version have not proved successful.

subject indeed for a comedy-fantasy, but such, it would seem, was the mood of the times in the literature of exile. One need but turn to the Don Zhuan of Boris Zaitsev to see a recurrence of such themes, although in a more philosophical and melancholy tonality.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the play of Potemkin and Pàliakov also has its serious, even pathetic moments.

The play, as the title suggests, deals with the encounter of Don Juan and Death. The subject, however, is by no means untried. In the course of three and a half centuries of his literary existence Don Juan has met death many times and in many ways. It has stalked the hero in the boudoirs of noble ladies and at darkened crossroads, in taverns and castles, on the highway and on the sea. But death is not only the burning grip of the Avenging Statue; it is also the comforting embrace of an exquisite woman.

These two images of death -- a statue and a woman -- are common in the literature of Don Juan, for each has a special symbolic significance linked to the original legends of Don Juan Tenorio and Don Miguel Mañara. The statue incarnates Avenging Death; the woman -- Consoling Death. It appears that when the violent castigation of the hero

⁶⁹Boris Zaitsev, "Don Zhuan," in Rafael (Berlin: Izdatel'stvo "Neva," 1924). See supra, pp. 204 ff.

by the Avenging Statue was no longer thematically de rigueur, the personification of death assumed its mythical feminine form.

Various episodes in the legend of Don Miguel Mañara (or Don Juan de Maraña) attest to the figurative association of woman and death. It is said that one night Don Miguel stole into the bedchamber of a young woman where, instead of the tender embrace he anticipated, he was greeted by a female corpse framed by four tapers.⁷⁰ On other occasions the spectre of death appears to Don Miguel in the semblance of his deceased wife whom he pursues down a deserted alley. When the figure turns to face him, he finds himself staring into the hollow eye-sockets of a skull.

Such encounters of Don Juan and death inherent in the Mañara tradition were adapted as motifs in dramatic literature. In the play Don Juan de España (1921) of Gregorio Martínez Sierra, Don Juan is haunted by the figure of death as the mysterious Veiled Lady who eventually comes to claim him.⁷¹ Similarly, in Boris Zaitsev's Don Zhuan death identifies herself to Don Juan as one of his "paramours." At the end of the play he expires in her consoling embrace.

⁷⁰G. Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1929), Vol. II, p. 29.

⁷¹Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 148-152.

Potemkin and Poliakov's satire on immortality is, as we have mentioned, only tenuously connected with the theme of Don Juan and shows no meaningful relationship with the original legend. Of the traditional dramatis personae only Don Juan and Leporello are preserved, while the remainder of the "cast of thousands" which participates in the mass-scene of the third act consists of a motley agglomeration of townfolk, government officials, Inquisitors, and even a character described as "an anthropomorphic automaton with a gramophone record" for a voice.

This comedy-fantasy, which is appropriately set "outside time" takes its point of departure from the premise that Death is a woman. Hence, it follows that Death can be seduced, and all the more so if she happens to encounter the most famous seducer in the world. Thus, it befalls Don Juan to put his skill to the test in the greatest challenge of his amorous career.

Exiled, excommunicated, and dogged by the Inquisition, Don Juan awaits the arrival of his beloved Donna Anna. In place of his desired guest, however, Don Juan is visited by Death -- a magnificent woman behind whose exquisite face glows the faint outline of a skull. The consequences of this encounter are subsequently described to the citizens of Madrid before whom Don Juan confesses his motives and success:

Однажды, в минуту горделивого безумия, я похитил у вас Смерть. Взял за руку и ввел в жизнь. Я желал измерить безмерную силу Дон Жуана. . . . Когда она пришла, строгая и грозная, и позвала меня: "Дон Жуан, я за тобой" -- я мнил: вот она -- моя единая любовь. Вот она -- Донна Анна. (141)

And, in a moment, Don Juan transformed Death into an ordinary woman, seduced her, stripped her of her majestic grandeur, powdered her face, and named her Vita. It was not long, however, before Don Juan recognized the terrible mistake he had made. Death, deprived of her supernatural majesty and her awesome might, has sunk to insupportable banality, shallowness, and bourgeois mediocrity. Don Juan, after a decade of marital fidelity and boredom, can no longer conceal his despair and confides to Leporello:

Ах, Лепорелло! Если бы ты только знал, как ужасна Смерть в образе жизни! Если бы ты знал, как Смерть ничтожна, жалка, пошла, мнительна, труслива, когда она сходит со своего таинственного высокого пьедестала! О, самая последняя гитана Мадрида благороднее, тоньше, святее, величественнее Смерти, отрекшейся от своего царственного скипетра! Лепорелло, слуга мой, друг мой, умоляю! Освободи меня от нее!... (127)

It is for good reason indeed that Don Juan appeals to his servant to liberate him from his intolerable situation: while Don Juan made love to Death, Leporello made off with her scythe, the instrument of mortality. Having locked it away securely, Leporello has since become the

world-famous Doctor Leporius who guarantees endless life to all his patients.

It is at this juncture that semi-facetious treatment of the Don Juan theme merges with the purely satirical treatment of the theme of immortality. Having become the wife of Don Juan, Death has abandoned her great purpose and the epidemic of immortality, aptly named "delirium aeternitatis" by its discoverer, Doctor Leporius, rages through the land. The sick and the decrepit mournfully cry out for the peace of the tomb; promiscuous wives and libertines clamour for Death to liberate them from aging husbands and miserly fathers; the Inquisitors thirst for their heretics at the stake.

In the resolution of both themes at the end of the play, Leporello obediently surrenders the scythe of Death to Don Juan who, before a massive throng which has gathered to storm the royal palace so that Death might be restored, expiates his sin:

И вот, теперь, я решил искупить мой грех.
Я возвращаю Смерти ее царственное величие,
ее божественный скипетр, ее страшную мощь. (142)

And now, physically weary of life, but spiritually elated, Don Juan claims his right as Death's first victim and expires peacefully in her arms.

Despite the banality and blatant absurdity of the plot, the play of Potemkin and Poliakov manages to achieve a curious blend of the comic and the sentimental. Episodes of sheer farce alternate with moments which are not only touching, but also reflect some degree of philosophical depth. Among the latter we must include Don Juan's discourse on love and death:

Смерть -- источник всякой любви. Она рождает любовь, она ее и питает. Как жарко я прижимал к моей груди любимую женщину при мысли о том, что она смертна, что будет час и ты [Смерть] нас разлучишь. Какой холодный ужас объял бы мир без мысли о смерти, о последней цели. (104)

Rather unique also is his comparison of donjuanism and mortality. Just as Death is destined to rush senselessly and chaotically from victim to victim and never see the final fulfilment of her task, so must Don Juan vainly pursue woman after woman and never attain his goal:

Вы сокрушаете старика, а завтра он возвращается в мир ребенком и победоносно смеется над вашим могуществом. Вы сеете гробы; вы пожинаете колыбели. Вы похищаете любовника, но никогда вы не могли убить любовь. . . . Ведь и я, как вы, бесцельно вертелся в пустом пространстве. От Клары к Агнессе, от Лауры к Долорес, от Черезиты к Микаэль. А когда я в этом мучительном и бессмысленном верчении встретил однажды Донну Анну, -- она исчезла безвозвратно. (102)

Contrasting with the more serious motifs in the scenes involving Don Juan and Death, the incidence

of comedy is once again bound mainly to the figure of Leporello. Here again we encounter the traditionally hapless lackey who is forced to dress as a pilgrim-woman, to deliver his master's billets-doux, and to suffer the sundry discomforts which have been his lot for centuries. In what appears to be a deliberate echo of the purely farcical adaptations, the servant indulges in slapstick scenes of biting, hair-pulling, pummelling, and general mayhem when the Inquisitors arrive to arrest Don Juan. Even these watchdogs of morality are depicted as lecherous and ridiculous brutes. They regale in peering through a key-hole to watch Don Juan make love to Agnes, the innkeeper's daughter, all the while pushing each other aside to get a better view.

The lampooning of the Inquisition, however, is by this time as familiar in Don Juan literature as Leporello's peripatetic errands and his ambition for wealth, rank, and fame. This latter aspect of the servant figure, as we have observed, appears to be a favoured motif of the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan. In Potemkin and Poliakov's comedy Leporello realizes his ambitions when he discovers that being in possession of Death's scythe, he is able to guarantee immortality:

Славный инструментик! . . . Значит?...
теперь то хоть лопни, не помрешь. Хоть
подохни, останешься в живых. . . .
Доктор Ле-по-ри-ус! Принимает от 4 до 7.
Гарантированное сохранение жизни. (107)

The motif of Leporello as a quack doctor, which is traceable as far back in time as Molière's Dom Juan, is here again closely bound with the augmented role of the traditional servant -- a typical feature of Don Juan comedy. We clearly recognize a variation on the motif of Leporello as a parvenu already encountered in the foregoing Slavic facetiae of Don Juan. A natural consequence of this motif, as witnessed in the versions of Gumilev, Korvin-Piotrovskii, and Amfiteatrov, is the notion of rivalry between Leporello and Don Juan. This also recurs in the comedy of Potemkin and Poliakov. Here, Leporello marries Agnes the innkeeper's daughter whom Don Juan was seducing at the moment the Inquisition and Death came to claim him. Ten years later, the sight of Agnes rekindles Don Juan's passion and she, of course, finds it impossible to resist his advances. Thus, Leporello is again in danger of being cuckolded by his master.

This time, however, the virtue of Agnes and the honour of Leporello are spared, for Don Juan discovers that his old servant wields the power that can liberate him from his disgusting marriage to Vita and return Death to a mirthless world. Without hesitation, Don Juan cancels the secret rendezvous and returns Agnes to her husband untouched, admonishing her:

Агнесса, этот человек тебя любит. . . . Люби
его и будь верна во имя Дон-Жуана! (128)

The preaching of marital fidelity is indicative of the degree to which Don Juan steps out of character in the Potemkin-Poliakov comedy. Although he retains some vestigial features of the donjuanesque type in the first act (eg. the seduction of Agnes, the references to his dissolute reputation, and his behaviour with Leporello), in the second and third acts we search in vain for any meaningful relationship with the universal hero and the traditional theme. In Act II Don Juan is no more than the pitiable consort of a shallow and domineering woman, and in Act III -- a benevolent civic activist whose death, although once again from tedium vitae, has distinct overtones of martyrdom.

As a Don Juan play, Don Zhuan--Suprug Smerti suffers from the weaknesses and deficiencies characteristic of the deterioration of the myth in the 1920's and 1930's. Although reminiscent of some of the Modernist versions wherein the element of the supernatural was substantially enhanced after the realistic treatments of the theme, the fantastic in this Russian play becomes simply preposterous and therefore ludicrous. Its most glaring drawback, however, which even many qualitatively inferior renditions managed to avoid, is the play's inability to justify and motivate the presence of Don Juan as its principal hero. Thus, it is representative of the numerous works which relate to the donjuanesque myth in name only, rather than in any real connection in terms of theme, plot, and characterization.

IV. S.I. ALESHIN: TOGDA V SEVIL'E

The Modern Age of Don Juan has manifested itself largely as a period of cerebration and commentary on the hero who successfully continues to elude definition and explication.⁷² The belletristic reflections of the nineteenth-century writers: Hoffman, Musset, Gautier, Stendhal, George Sand, Kierkegaard, and others, have ceded in our time to exposes of a pseudo-scientific nature. An age given to psychoanalytic speculation and clinical case-study evidently could not resist the urge to examine Don Juan as pathological syndrome and psychological complex.

A number of recent commentators have undertaken to "unmask" Don Juan, to strip him of his charisma in order to expose the fallacy in his popularity and admiration as the universal archetype of virility. To impugn Don Juan on this level means, of course, to attack the most vital aspect of the hero -- his masculinity. Leadership in this trend of thought is ascribed predominantly to the Spanish biologist Gregorio Marañon and to his hypotheses regarding the indecisive manhood of Don Juan. According to Marañon, the

⁷² Jacinto Grau offers the opinion that it is precisely the inability of writers, even great writers, to comprehend the nature of Don Juan that is largely responsible for the relatively small number of true masterpieces on the theme despite the vast volume of literature it has inspired. See Jacinto Grau, "The Seducer Who Does Not Seduce," in O. Mandel (ed.), The Theatre of Don Juan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 642.

very physical appearance of historic incarnations of the donjuanesque type betrays their sexual ambivalence:

The physique of the genuine Don Juan confirms his indecisive male characteristics. Don Miguel de Mañara, considered as one of the human models of the Seducer, looks like a pretty girl in the portrait painted by Murillo. In the only authentic portrait that we know of him, Casanova -- a notable Don Juan -- has the perfection and delicacy of features of a woman.⁷³

There is also the unmistakable insinuation in the theorizations of Marañón that Don Juan is not only feminoid, but also latently homosexual.⁷⁴ In attestation to this he cites biographical data from the life of one of the presumed historical prototypes of the Don Juan figure, Don Juan de Tassis, Count de Villamediana. Ranking among the greatest sensualists in history, Villamediana was discovered also to be the leader of a gang of paedarasts in Madrid.⁷⁵

⁷³Gregorio Marañón, "Don Juan," Ibid., p. 638.

⁷⁴Don Juan, to be sure, has no shortages of defenders on the issue of his virility. Challenges and rebuttals to Marañón's contentions appeared in the writings of Salvador de Madariaga, José Ortega y Gasset, Jacinto Grau, Emile Capouya, and others. For an interesting survey of some of the major theories and controversies surrounding the psycho-/physiological aspects of Don Juan, refer to the chapter "Don Juan in the Laboratory" in Martin Nozick, "The Don Juan Theme in the Twentieth Century" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1953).

⁷⁵Gregorio Marañón, Don Juan et le donjuanisme (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), pp. 57-58. For a brief discussion of Villamediana as an historical Don Juan prototype, see supra, p. 12.

The trend toward the emasculation of Don Juan found its expression in fictional literature as well. One of the most poignant literary ventures to shatter the myth of his sexual prowess is to be found in Kniha Apokryfů, a brief volume of pithy satirical and ironic sketches by the Czech writer Karel Čapek. In the pathetic story "Zpověď Dona Juana" (1932), the hero, no longer in his prime, lies dying from a sword wound in his breast. Padre Jacinto persuades the notorious libertine to unburden his soul in confession. Don Juan proceeds to disclose the details of his sinful life -- except for one terrible secret, a secret divined long since by Padre Ildefonso who comes to tell the moribund seducer:

Proto, Done Juane, jste hrál muže od jinošství; Byl jste ztřeštěně statečný, dobrodružný, pyšný a okázalý, abyste v sobě překonal ten pokořující pocit, že jiní jsou lepší a mužnější než vy; ale byla to lež, a proto jste marnotratně kupil důkaz za důkazem; žádný vám nemohl stačit, protože byl jen předstíraný a jalový -- vy jste nesvedl ani jediné ženy, Done Juane.⁷⁶

The effeminate, bisexual Don Juan of Marañon is here further reduced by Čapek to an asexual, impotent sham. His irresistible seductiveness consisted of a lie, an oft-rehearsed act, unconsummated and terrifying for him at the

⁷⁶Karel Čapek, "Zpověď Dona Juana," in Kniha Apokryfů (Prague: Československý Spisovatel, 1955), pp. 193-194. This story is also available in an English translation by Dora Round as "Don Juan's Confession" in Karel Čapek, Apocryphal Stories (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949).

moment of truth:

A když přišel ten okamžik, kdy pod ženou klesají kolena -- to muselo býti pro vás peklo, Done Juane, to muselo býti peklo, protože v tu chvíli jste prožíval svou zlořečenou pýchu a zároveň své nejstrašnější ponížení. A musel jste se vydrati z náručí, jehož jste za cenu života dobyt, a prchat, ubohý Done, prchat z loktů přemožené ženy, a to ještě s nějakou krásnou lží na těchto neodolatelných rtech. Muselo to býti peklo, pane Juane.⁷⁷

The process from emasculation to effeminization of Don Juan brought one Russian playwright of the Soviet period to the only apparently logical conclusion: Don Juan was a woman. This is precisely the central argument of the racy three-act comedy by Samuil Iosifovich Aleshin (b. 1913) entitled Togda v Sevil'e (Don Zhuan).⁷⁸ Completed in 1947 and performed for the first time by the Gor'kii Theatre in Dnepropetrovsk in 1960,⁷⁹ Aleshin's facetious adaptation is probably the sole dramatic version of Don Juan in Soviet literature to date.

The comedy is set in Seville in the year 1342.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 194.

⁷⁸The edition used for the purposes of this study is: S.I. Aleshin, "Togda v Sevil'e (Don Zhuan)," in P'esy (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1962), pp. 136-209.

⁷⁹According to the note "O dramaturge," in S.I. Aleshin, Shest' p'es (Moscow: "Iskusstvo," 1968), pp. 359-360. "Togda v Sevil'e" also appears in the more recent collection of nine plays in S.I. Aleshin, P'esy (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1972).

Aleshin ranks among the leading contemporary Soviet playwrights, whose works enjoy popularity on the domestic stage and abroad. His dramatic creativity began in 1942 with the play Mefistofel'. Togda v Sevil'e was his second play (1947).

Twenty-three years earlier Don Ludovico de Tenorio, a grandee of Spain, fathered an only child -- a daughter. In order to preserve the family inheritance and spare his daughter the fate of a cloistered nun, the true gender of the child was concealed and the world knew only that Don Ludovico had a son -- Don Juan de Tenorio.

As the play opens, Don Juan and his servant, Florestino, have arrived incognito in Seville in order to escape hordes of pursuing female admirers. At a tavern Don Juan encounters Don Ottavio de Montra, a friend of his late father, and the handsome, brave Commander of the Order of Calatrava, Don Gonzalo de Ulloa y Maldonado. Don Juan is invited to take up residence in the house of Don Ottavio, which is also occupied by Ottavio's sister, Donna Laura, and her two young daughters, Lucia and Rositta. Despite all efforts to conceal his identity, the news soon spreads that Don Ottavio's house-guest is none other than the famous Don Juan. All the women, including Donna Anna, the wife of the Commander, fall madly in love with Don Juan and vie with each other for his attention. This earns him a challenge to duel with no less than six foppish suitors of Lucia and Rositta. Don Juan effortlessly disarms them all, which simply increases the women's admiration and they redouble their seductive advances.

Meanwhile, the astute Commander discovers the true sex of Don Juan and the two suddenly realize that they are

in love with each other. An elaborate plan is devised to effect their escape together. Don Juan feigns a seductive overture toward Donna Anna and is immediately challenged to a duel by the "outraged" Commander. A mock combat takes place on a precarious ledge after which Donna Anna is apprised that her husband fell over the cliff. Now free to pursue her romance with Don Juan, Donna Anna attends a nocturnal rendezvous near the Commander's "statue" (in reality, the Commander himself, suitably made up). Don Juan proceeds to taunt the statue according to the traditional formula. The Commander descends from his pedestal and takes Don Juan by the hand. An explosion of fire and smoke (artificially created by Florestino) conceals their escape on a pair of fleet-footed horses.

Samuil Aleshin's, as we see, is a light-hearted, "tongue-in-cheek" treatment of the Don Juan subject and, at the same time, an original and innovative adaptation of the legend. The presentation to world literature of a transvestite Don Juan, and a female one for that matter, was a daring undertaking indeed by this Soviet playwright, despite the fact that the ground had already been cleared for such a step not only by Marañon's allusions to Don Juan's effeminate features, but also by the long list both history and fiction offer of females forced by circumstance into a male role. The implications of Aleshin's play, however, extend beyond the notion of a simple masquerade. The abundance of manly and heroic female types notwithstanding, the exponent of Don Juan as the archetype

of brute virility and elemental masculinity might wince at the preposterous suggestion that a woman engendered the myth of Don Juan. Reaction to the play as "an unworthy and frivolous joke" was indeed anticipated by Aleshin. And yet, the very appeal of the comedy lies in its utter implausibility. A note of facetious duplicity rings in the author's preface to his play:

Я понимаю, что проще всего отнестись к моему рассказу как к шутке. Примем я предвижу, что найдутся критики, . . . которые оценят этот рассказ как шутку недостойную и легкомысленную, если только не подберут еще более уничтожающего прилагательного. Но я ничего не могу поделать. Я там был. В Севилье. В 1342 году. Я это видел. Дело было именно так, как я об этом рассказываю.⁸⁰

"I dare you to prove me the liar," he seems to say, "after all, stranger things have happened."

The concept of Don Juan as a woman is an original notion and, no doubt, offers a range of thematic possibilities. It is also curious that such an interpretation should have been conceived in Soviet Russia where "Donjuanism in its pure state lost its natural social acuteness after the October Revolution."⁸¹ In the view of V. Revutsky, however, it is precisely the peculiarities of post-war Soviet literature that created the ambience for such a conception. "Don Juan's

⁸⁰ S. Aleshin, op. cit., p. 138.

⁸¹ Cited from B. Kissin's article on Don Juan in Literaturnaia Entsiklopediia (Moscow, 1930), by V. Revutsky, "A New View of Don Juan: Samuel Alyoshin's Comedy 'At That Time in Seville,'" Slavonic and East European Review, XLIV, No. 102 (January 1966), p. 93.

courageous character," he writes, "is a reflection of the bellicosity of the Soviet girl, whose type was created during the Second World War,"⁸² although it may be argued that the militant ideology of the Soviet patriotic play has little in common with the motivations in Aleshin's comedy. It is the contrasting characters, according to Revutsky, embodying high moral principles on the one hand and frivolous opportunism on the other, that invest the play with a modern post-war, peculiarly "Soviet" moral orientation. It must be admitted, however, that despite Revutsky's efforts to view Togda v Sevil'e in the context of modern Russian literature, despite the portrayal of a "manly" woman, bold and adept at the martial arts, the play remains somewhat of an anomaly of Soviet fiction.⁸³ There is something inherently "decadent" in the very nature of the Don Juan myth, in themes of anarchism, sensuality, and compulsive infidelity, which perhaps explains its flourishing in the most rebellious of creative movements: Romanticism and Modernism. With Realism, the donjuanesque theme was incongruous; with Socialist

⁸²V. Revutsky, op. cit., p. 83.

⁸³Attempts to identify the principal characters of Togda v Sevil'e with the more standard types of Soviet literature have not proved rewarding. The several studies consulted in this respect, namely Xenia Gasiorowska, Women in Soviet Fiction 1917-1964 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), and A.M. Van der Eng-Liedmeier, Soviet Literary Characters (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1959), simply confirm the atypicality of Aleshin's dramatis personae.

Realism -- highly incompatible. It is extremely difficult to envision the development of a Soviet Don Juan tradition. Indeed, besides Aleksandr Gidoni's "novel in verse," no Soviet version has appeared since Aleshin's 1947 comedy.⁸⁴

Although the representation of Don Juan as a woman might ostensibly obviate any suggestion of sexual activity, there are scenes in Togda v Sevil'e which transcend the mere risque and border on eroticism. The significance of the mock duel scene between the Commander and Don Juan, vividly described in Florestino's "blow-by-blow" commentary will not escape but the most naive spectator. "We cannot hear the ringing of their rapiers, but how the sparks are flying!"

⁸⁴Aleksandr Gidoni [Guidoni], "Don Zhuan," Sovremennik, Nos. 30-31 (1976), pp. 55-139.

The concept of Gidoni's novel in verse, written partially in a concentration camp in the Mordovian SSR, is intriguing: Don Juan is a Soviet citizen of Spanish parentage (Maraña). As an infant he is brought to Russia where his father falls victim to the Stalinist purges. Possessed of an irresistible beauty and a penchant for sensuality, Don Juan is initiated in the art of love at age fourteen by a Young Pioneer group-leader. Later, he falls in with the boisterous and promiscuous life of the university, where he commits the indiscretion of seducing (or rather being seduced by) the wife of one of his professors. Caught in bed by the outraged husband, Don Juan is sentenced to a term in a labour camp. Here, he becomes the assistant and, of course, the lover of the camp doctor who is also the camp commandant's wife. Released early for "good behaviour" Don Juan eventually finds himself on a Soviet plane which is hijacked and re-routed to Turkey. Thus, the Soviet Don Juan becomes a defector and begins a new life in the West.

Actually, Gidoni's "Don Zhuan" qualifies more as an émigré or even as a "dissident" version rather than a Soviet version in the strict sense. Although composed in the Soviet Union and dealing with a "Soviet" hero, the work was published in Toronto after being brought illegally to Canada.

he exclaims, almost toppling off his perch on the tree from the excitement of the "combat" he is witnessing.⁸⁵ In another scene, the intimacies concomitant with the attempted seduction of Don Juan by all four women are perhaps suggestive of the next stage in the progression of the female Don Juan. It may indeed yet occur to some "innovator" to create a lesbian Don Juan posing as a male seducer in order to ostensibly "legitimize" a sexual taboo.

The most striking feature of Aleshin's play -- the portrayal of Don Juan as a female -- emerges, as we have suggested, as a synthesis of two modern developments: the psycho-physiological theorizations of the Marañon school and the popularization in Soviet literature of a new type of heroine. In Aleshin's unusual treatment of the original bur-lador theme there is a marked shift from "active donjuanism" to "passive donjuanism." The influence of G.B. Shaw suggests

⁸⁵Флорестино: . . . Вот они стали у края. Мой господин слева, а сеньор Командор справа. Мне не видно их лиц, но представляю, с какой любовью они глядят сейчас друг на друга, ха-ха! Начали!! Командор нападает! Борьба происходит на половине Дон Жуана!.. Мы не слышим с вами звона их шпаг, но искры прямо так и брызжут! . . . Флеш-атака! Кор-а-кор! Льеман! Батман! Все отбито. Ну, я вам доложу, один стоит другого!.. Командор опять нападает... Дон Жуан открыт! Надо колоть!! (205-206)

itself in this transformation.⁸⁶ According to the Shavian conception of the Don Juan problem, which was illustrated in Man and Superman, it is the female who, in response to the "life force theory," pursues the male in order to fulfil her biological task of procreation. In Aleshin's play this also receives a facetious treatment and fuses with the author's satire on the aggressive sensuality of the donnas, each of whom is living proof of the adage that nothing so fascinates a woman as a man with a bad reputation. Don Juan confides the secret of his woeful success to the Commander and Don Ottavio:

Стоит только женщине услышать, что я Дон Жуан, как она немедленно начинает ждать, чтобы я ее соблазнил или хотя бы сделал такую попытку. . . . Тогда они влюбляются в меня и начинают преследовать. (144)

Worthy of mention also is Aleshin's reinterpretation of the traditional theme of the Stone Guest in the context of his modern comedy. The arrival of the once awesome Avenging Statue here receives not only a "plausible" rationalization, but also a comical treatment. Aleshin's is in fact a burlesque of the original convidado theme, complete with witticisms, insolent quips, a "living" statue (the Commander in disguise), which descends from its pedestal and ritualistically takes Don Juan by the hand, all culminating in a display of pyrotechnics. In this transformation of the

⁸⁶V. Revutsky, op. cit., p. 92.

tragic into the comic, the author's intent is analogous to the farcical improvizations of the Italian impromptu comedy. Transformed and abbreviated (the motifs of the invitation and the banquet are deleted), the convidado theme, as in Amfiteatrov's Don Zhuan v Neapole, becomes the staging of an elaborate hoax by Don Juan and the Commander. The legendary descent into Hell becomes the beginning of a new life for both: Don Juan finally fulfills the long-awaited aspiration to real womanhood, while Don Gonzalo realizes the opportunity to rid himself of a frivolous and unfaithful wife.

In this, the latest of the Russian Don Juan plays, we are as far from the Classical theme of supernatural retribution of Pushkin's rendition as from the Romantic conception of salvation expressed in Tolstoi's version. The Don Juan of Aleshin is no longer the instinctual sensualist nor the anguished ideal-seeker, but simply a victim of circumstance -- a discriminatory legal technicality, to be precise. Although born of the controversies over donjuanism and problems of sexuality, the hero of Togda v Sevil'e identifies neither with the powerful, fecundating symbol of brute virility of Madariaga's conception, nor the pitiful impostor of Čapek's story. Aleshin's Don Juan is but a manly woman who incarnates the positive qualities of both sexes. She represents,

once again, the Don Juan triumphant who claims a victory over destiny, even if it means the end of "Don Juan."

If the theme of Don Juan is essentially a theme of freedom, rebellion, and self-expression, Aleshin's Togda y Sevil'e partakes in the statement of this aspiration. Its hero, or rather its heroine, also struggles against the constraints of custom, law, and society. Her liberation, however, comes not in becoming Don Juan, but in becoming a woman. Once she has found love in the man who recognizes and appreciates the female in her, the role of the legendary seducer becomes superfluous and is accordingly discarded.

Although not a masterpiece of Don Juan dramaturgy, Togda y Sevil'e is a highly entertaining comedy based on the times and adventures of a universal literary figure. Its effectiveness and appeal lie on one hand in the originality of the conception of the hero and, on the other, in the vigorous tempo of the action. Aleshin's will rank, no doubt, among the more spirited donjuanesque comedies of the modern period. This work also has the distinction of being to date the sole dramatic interpretation of the Don Juan theme in Soviet Russian literature. As such, it maintains particular interest for the Slavist and for the Don Juan specialist alike.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The evolution of the Don Juan theme in literature appears to reflect a pattern of cyclical alternation between the serious and the comic. Thus, if the representative Don Juan versions of the seventeenth century (with the exception of the commedia dell'arte) demonstrate a common tragic tonality, those of the eighteenth are for the most part in the various genres of comedy. With the further expansion of the theme in the Romantic period, the serious approach once again prevailed, while in the twentieth century it would appear that we are witnessing a return to the predilection for the humorous interpretation.

Significantly, the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan coincide essentially with the Russian versions created in the twentieth century. This fact would tend to indicate that these writers were attuned to the emergence of a more casual attitude to the hero and the theme in the literature of Western Europe. Moreover, this development seems to verify the fact that, as in Western literatures, the Don Juan theme passed through a period of "acclimatization" in non-humorous interpretations before its adaptation to the comic genres. In Russian literature this initial stage is reflected in the versions of the nineteenth century -- Pushkin, Tolstoi, Morvin-Shchodro, and Bezhetskii. Similarly, the first versions in Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian

are also characterized by their serious, even tragic, tenor.

It was after this period of "acclimatization" that the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan -- the versions of Gumilev, Korvin-Piotrovskii, Amfiteatrov, Potemkin and Poliakov, and Aleshin -- emerge in the twentieth century.

The first two versions to be discussed, Gumilev's Don Zhuan v Egipte and Korvin-Piotrovskii's Smert' Don Zhuana, are indicative of some of the features characterizing Slavic Don Juan comedy. Typical of these interpretations is a mixture of reality and fantasy, a blend of wit and humour with pathos. Notable also is the expanded role of the servant who, having realized his aspirations to emulate his master, actually competes with him and, on the rare occasion, is victorious. These versions, however, offer not only an interesting contrast in the depiction of Leporello, but of Don Juan himself. Gumilev's recreation of the mythical hero derives directly from the Modernists' fascination with the Baudelairean portrait of the eternal and indefatigable seducer; Korvin-Piotrovskii's -- from the spiritually vanquished Don Juan of the more recent tradition of realist-oriented works. The ultimate source of both these versions is unquestionably Pushkin's Kamennyi gost', of which they appear to be deliberate sequels.

Amfiteatrov's comedy-farce Don Zhuan v Neapole and Potemkin and Poliakov's comedy-fantasy Don Zhuan -- Suprug Smerti provide yet an additional development in the facetiae of Don Juan. Not only is the role of the servant expanded, but so is the role of the female characters. This expanded role of the woman culminates in Aleshin's comedy Togda v Sevil'e wherein, in a highly innovative interpretation, it is the woman herself who assumes the role of Don Juan.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The introduction and subsequent development of the Don Juan theme in the literatures of the Slavs occurred as a natural consequence of its diffusion through the literature of Western Europe. Moreover, this introduction was not, as is often thought, a belated phenomenon. By all indications, this took place during the most intensive period of the universalization of the myth -- the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In Poland and Russia, where Don Juan first ventured into Slavic territory in theatrical performances of French and Italian provenance, the initial process of translation and adaptation ultimately gave rise to original interpretations. Thus, commencing with Aleksandr Pushkin's Kamennyi gost', indigenous Slavic creativity has produced numerous works in a wide variety of genres, firmly establishing the donjuanesque tradition and reaffirming its universal appeal.

The Slavic Don Juan tradition, as is that of most European literatures, is conceptually and artistically most richly represented in the genre of the drama. It is in cognizance of this fact that the foregoing study has concentrated on the heritage of Don Juan in Slavic dramatic literature.

Within the wide Slavic repertoire of Don Juan lies a "hard core" of at least fifteen dramatic versions created in the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, and Croatian languages. Fourteen of these versions have been examined in this study.

Our approach to the investigation of the Don Juan theme in Slavic drama was essentially thematic. From this perspective, the works were classified into four categories: the traditional versions, the Slavic avatars of Miguel Mañara, the realistic versions, and the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan.

At the very outset of our study it was asserted that Don Juan is neither historical fact nor pure fiction. Don Juan is myth -- a fusion of ancient legends evoking long-forgotten archetypal patterns with the more recent tradition of artistic literature. The Don Juan figure, however, as we understand him, is readily traceable to two characterological prototypes: Don Juan Tenorio and Don Miguel Mañara. Chapter I provided a historical and thematic conspectus of these two prototypes, their legends, and their role in the evolutionary process of the Don Juan theme. Slavic Don Juan literature, as indeed the entire universal donjuanesque tradition, springs directly or in spe from these incarnations of the mythical archetype.

The dramas of Pushkin, A.K. Tolstoi, and Lesia Ukrainka

examined in Chapter II are exemplary of the integrity of Slavic Don Juan literature and of its communion with the classics engendered by the theme in Western Europe. Each of these three versions is in turn a distinguished interpretation of the donjuanesque myth and represents an important moment in its development.

The versions of Pushkin, Tolstoi, and Lesia Ukrainka are the Slavic manifestations of the "traditional" version. They are traditional in that they preserved the bi-thematicism typical of the Classical period. Each of these authors succeeded in re-creating and re-interpreting in an innovative manner the original burlador theme -- the theme of compulsive onfidelity, and the convidado theme -- the fascinating theme of the Stone Guest.

Aleksandr Pushkin's Kamennyi gost' of 1830 is the earliest of the indigenous Slavic versions. Created in the spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century masterpieces, this drama brings to a close the Classical Age of Don Juan literature, preparing the way for the Mañara legend and the evolution of the Romantic Don Juan.

A new phase of Don Juan literature is reflected in the 1867 variant of A.K. Tolstoi's Don Zhuan which represents effectively the Romantic stage of the myth. Inspired by the opera of Mozart and Da Ponte, and particularly by developments in Germany and France, Tolstoi elaborated E.T.A. Hoffmann's revolutionizing conception of Don Juan

as a tragic hero -- the seeker of the supreme woman and an ideal love. Tolstoi's Don Zhuan is a work whose place in the evolution of Don Juan literature is analogous to that of Dumas and Zorrilla. As these versions re-created in drama Prosper Mérimée's innovative prose rendition, Tolstoi accomplished equally as much for the tale of Hoffmann.

Demonstrating a remarkable depth of perception of the mythical foundation of the Don Juan legend, Lesia Ukrainka's version counts among the modern classics of Don Juan literature. Her interpretation in Kaminnyi hospodar of 1912 is clearly mythopoeic, re-creating archetypal conflicts, aspirations, and obsessions whose primordial significance had been obscured or distorted through the ages. This version is characterized by a conceptual and artistic richness. As the first Ukrainian Don Juan drama, Kaminnyi hospodar testifies to the ability of great writers to adapt, without drastic and disruptive changes, an old universal theme to the demands and conditions of the Modern Age.

Chapter III of our study discussed the Slavic avatars of Miguel Mañara, a historical figure of seventeenth-century Spain, whose colourful legend formally merged with the mainstream of Don Juan literature in the first half of the nineteenth century. Fascinated though they were by the vibrant dissoluto punito of the classic expressions of the Tenorio

legend, Slavic writers were attuned and responsive to new developments in the progression of the myth. Popularized by Mérimée, Dumas, and Zorrilla, the nascent image of Don Juan as the Prodigal Son was portrayed in the very next Slavic version after Pushkin -- A.K. Tolstoi's 1862 variant of Don Zhuan. Although the hero is based on the Hoffmannian model, the Russian poet deviated from the German interpretation and, instead of granting the victory over the soul of Don Juan to Satan, he dramatizes the miracle of the hero's salvation through love. Thus, Tolstoi was the first author to effectively juxtapose Hoffmann's conception of the ideal-seeker with the legend of Miguel Mañara -- a feature recurring in various subsequent works on the Don Juan theme.

Deriving directly from Don Juan de Marana of Alexandre Dumas-père, the Polish version of Stanisław Rzewuski resumes the Mañara legend. In Ostatni dzień Don Juana (1888), however, the author introduces an innovative interpretation of the miracle of the hero's salvation. Here, in order to be worthy of mercy, Don Juan must himself prove capable of this redeeming virtue. Thus, in the dramatization of an unprecedented motif, Don Juan transcends the image of a penitent saint and enters that of the Saviour himself.

Continuing the Mañara tradition and the powerful influence of the Romantic interpretations into the twentieth century, Boris Zaitsev, like Tolstoi, juxtaposed the theme

of idealism with the theme of salvation. In Don Zhuan of 1924, however, there is a clear progression: the ideal is attainable to Don Juan, even for a brief moment in this life. What Hoffmann and Tolstoi had denied their hero, Zaitsev would grant him. He will see the Eternal Woman before his death and expire not only in the certainty of his redemption, but also in the knowledge that his quest has not been in vain.

Chapter IV presented an investigation of the realistic versions. The four Slavic Don Juan dramas discussed herein are symptomatic of a degenerative trend which beset the theme in the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. This trend manifested itself in the rationalization or deliberate suppression of the supernatural component inherent in the legend, and intensified the image of the destructive, anti-social protagonist.

Three of the plays (Mordvin-Shchodro, Bezhetkii, and Cherkasenko) testify to the continuing and pervasive influence of the German Romantic tradition of Don Juan. This recurrence of the ideal-seeker, however, betrays a conceptual retardation and a psychological immaturity which repeatedly attempts to rationalize compulsive infidelity with an obsession for the ideal woman.

The common authorial attitude to the donjuanesque

type in these versions clearly reflects a negative bias, resulting in a certain predictability of character portrayal.

In Mordvin-Shchodro's tragedy in verse, Don Zhuan, the third Russian version to appear in the nineteenth century, the hero derives directly from the Romantic tradition and from the Don Juan envisaged by Tolstoi. However, with the attenuation of the metaphysical and supernatural, this drama tends toward a social exposition of the evils of donjuanism and toward a realistic resolution of the plot.

The renewed attempts to identify a historical prototype of the Tenorio legend was highly consistent with the Realist orientation in Don Juan literature in the late nineteenth century. The drama of A.N. Bezhetskii, Sevil'skii obol'stitel', appears to have been directly inspired by such pursuits and offers a noteworthy attempt at the creation of a "historical" Don Juan play. Here, as in the scenario allegedly discovered by L. Viardot in the Crónicas de Sevilla, the climactic castigation of Don Juan no longer comes from supernatural, but rather from social forces -- the daggers of hired assassins.

Yet another stage in the reduction of Don Juan's mythical grandeur is represented in Jiří Mahen's Juanův konec. Within the compass of this brief play Don Juan

weakens at a critical moment, wavers in his once fearsome prowess, and falls under the knives of his mutinous henchmen.

In the theme of retribution reinterpreted in Cherkasenko's Don Khuan i Rozita the democratization of Don Juan's punishment is taken to its ultimate degree. Reduced in character and motivation to the level of an over-pampered fop, this caricature of a libertine pays for his wilful excesses at the hands of a humble fisherman's daughter.

It was in reaction to such interpretations as the foregoing realistic versions that Don Juan was destined for a rehabilitation. Under certain of the Modernists, who perceived the symbolic significance of the universal hero, Don Juan began to recover his mythical quality. A potential return to the Romantic idealization of the "homme fatal" was, however, tempered by a marked predilection for humour, wit, irony and satire.

The merger of the inspirational "Don Juan triumphant" and the old tradition of Don Juan comedy gave rise in Slavic literature to what we have collectively described as "the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan." These versions, like those in the other categories, vary in quality and conceptual innovativeness. Whereas such comedies as Amfiteatrov's Don Zhuan v Neapole and Potemkin and Poliakov's Don Zhuan -- Suprug Smerti give the impression of triteness and banality,

the lyrical serio-comic renditions by Gumilev (Don Zhuan v Egipte) and Korvin-Piotrovskii (Smert' Don Zhuana) reflect a remarkable conciseness and strength of character portrayal. The effectiveness of these two versions is to some extent attributable to the thematic relationship they bear to the Classical version, and specifically to Kamennyi gost'.

Remarkable as a modern facetious interpretation is Aleshin's Togda v Sevil'e which arrives at the conclusion that only a woman could have engendered the legend of Don Juan. Even despite the expression of such a bizarre "theory," Aleshin's rendition does honour to the image of this universal hero and testifies to the unlimited flexibility of the theme.

One of the important aspects of the objective of this study was to demonstrate that the theme of Don Juan is well represented in Slavic literature. It has been shown, therefore, that this powerful theme inspired works beyond the two or three versions often regarded as constituting the entire Slavic heritage of Don Juan.

The intensive part of our investigation has centred on the Slavic Don Juan versions in the realm of dramatic literature. However, there is now sufficient evidence to indicate the influence of the theme in a variety of other literary genres. The investigation of these manifestations of an old, but still evolving universal theme may provide a challenging and rewarding enterprise for the Slavist.

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ABSTRACT

DON JUAN IN SLAVIC DRAMA

Since his earliest known appearance in Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra (publ. 1630), Don Juan has assumed a leading position among the universal heroes of literature.

Original Slavic creativity on the Don Juan theme begins in the first half of the nineteenth century, although the hero was introduced through foreign works at a much earlier stage. Now, the Slavic repertoire of Don Juan literature includes dozens of versions and interpretations in a wide variety of literary genres.

This thesis investigates the subject of Don Juan in Slavic dramatic literature, where the theme appears to be qualitatively and quantitatively best represented. Fourteen original Slavic dramatic versions in four languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Czech) are analyzed from a thematic and comparative perspective. These works have been classified into four major categories.

The first category has been called "the traditional versions." The three works discussed herein are examined from the standpoint of their re-creation of the archetypal features of the Don Juan Tenorio legend as reflected in

its outstanding interpretations of the Classical Age.

The second category has been named "the Slavic avatars of Miguel Mañara." The three works discussed under this heading have been created in the spirit of the legend of Don Miguel Mañara popularized in the Age of Romanticism.

The third category consists of "the realistic versions," so termed because of their tendency to attenuate, of not eliminate, the supernatural elements of the legend in the interests of greater verisimilitude. Four Slavic dramas are included in this section.

Finally, the fourth category has been defined as "the Slavic facetiae of Don Juan." The common feature shared by the five versions studied here is a deliberately humorous or ironical approach to the hero and the theme.

In having examined the Slavic heritage of Don Juan in dramatic literature, this thesis attempts to demonstrate that:

- 1) There is a distinct and definable Don Juan tradition in the Slavic literatures.

- 2) The universal appeal of the Don Juan myth made a strong impression upon Slavic poets and playwrights, and inspired the creation of a whole series of versions, the most effective conceptually and artistically being in the traditional genre of Don Juan literature -- the dramatic.

3) The history of the donjuanesque theme on Slavic territory is a long one, and that this theme has evolved through two centuries, this evolution being in continuance into the present time.

4) Slavic Don Juan drama, although reflecting many original and innovative features, is fully integrated with the trends and developments in universal Don Juan literature.

5) Several of the Slavic versions constitute important contributions to Don Juan literature. They rank among the classic interpretations of the theme and constitute milestones in the process of its evolution.