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PUTTING ACROSS THE MESSAGE: SOME ACTING METHODS OF THE FOLK THEATRE IN RUSSIA •

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Mumming in Russia took place normally between Christmas Eve and 6th January. A band of young men would turn up at the house of one of the wealthier peasants with a formal request for permission to show their play:

Will you let us in, Sir,
Into your new Parlour?
Into your new parlour,
To meet our host there,
To speak our play.
If there is wine in the house
We will try it
We will try it,

And make sure it has not gone sour.

The players are led into the main room of the house, where a space is cleared for them and someone is sent to fetch a couple of chairs, which will form the only scenery. The two chairs are quickly lashed together to form the "throne", upon which the main character Tsar Maksimilian will remain seated for most of the action, as the central focus of the play. The players then arrange themselves in a rough semicircle on either side of the throne and the play, Tsar Maksimilian, the most complex and best-known in the Russian folk repertoire begins.

Among the first things to strike anyone unfamiliar with the conventions of this theatre would be the costumes. All the characters involved in the "serious" section of the play, the Tsar, his son Adolf, the ambassador, the royal champion Anika and the series of foreign combatants who come to challenge him (King Mamai of the Golden Horde, the Black Arab and the Zmejulan or Dragon Warrior) are dressed in real or imitation military uniforms. The following description of Tsar Maksimilian's appearance is typical:

He wears a military uniform jacket with epaulettes; his trousers bear the stripe of a general; across his chest he has a blue sash. He also has a crown of gilded metal, a sabre and medals made out of gold paper. (1)

In the choice of these costumes there has been no attempt at continuity of either style or period. Within a single performance one may find uniforms sewn by the actors themselves, alongside real uniforms from different regiments and epochs, borrowed from military personnel in the area. As one observer put it:

The costumes are a considerable mixture, beginning with the uniform of some major from the time of Ochakov and the defeat of the Crimea (eighteenth century) to the exotic garb of a retired dragoon (2).

In this century red army uniforms have also been used. A disregard of continuity is not the only thing that is strange about these uniforms. They are also patently at variance with the historical and geographical location of the play's theme (the martyrdom of a Christian prince by a pagan ruler).

The accurate depiction of historical reality is not something that the folk theatre is most concerned with. Each work of performed folk art is created anew at the time of performance, and the time of this performance and the time of the plot are for the audience one, that is, the present. Tsar Maksimilian and indeed Tsar Herod, the Biblical nativity play also popular in Russia, are more concerned with depicting tyranny and the wielding of authority in general.

An interesting exception to the usual lack of historical perception is the play How the Frenchmen took Moscow which describes events during Napoleon's ill-fated 1812 campaign. Here, Napoleon is shown in the historical costume familiar to us from his portraits. In Napoleon, as opposed to Maksimilian and Herod, the Russian actors, who originally devised the play not long after the ill-fated campaign itself, had a character whom they could fix within a particular historical period. They knew what he looked like from the satirical broadsheets, a whole series of which depicted the French retreat, and knew of his character and exploits from personal experience or from the anecdotes of contemporaries. To a certain limited extent this play was concerned with historical reality.

A partial explanation for the convention of military costume in the Russian folk theatre can be found in the important role played by the army in the preservation and dissemination of popular theatrical

traditions. It is well known, for example, that the performing of folk plays was a common barrack-room pastime throughout the nineteenth century. As a military gazette for the year 1869 states:

It must be said of the soldier that he is very fond of putting on a play, and from ancient times he has had his own popular repertoire. Tsar Herod, Tsar Maksimilian and his disobedient son Adolf are well-known at the military headquarters of any regiment (3).

Many of the earliest accounts of the play Tsar Maksimilian come from this milieu, and in innumerable cases the first appearance or continued popularity of a folk play in a particular locality can be directed attributed to the intervention of a soldier player. For example, locals told how Tsar Maksimilian was brought to the town of Kovel' in the Volynsk government in the second half of the nineteenth century. No-one remembered how he had taught the play to a group of local boys - "The soldier died but his comedy still lives on in Kovel' and is always performed every year during the Christmas festivities (4).

Clearly, the milieu in which Tsar Maksimilian probably originated and in which it found such popularity, was one in which the depiction of power, authority, autocracy was envisaged in military terms. One should perhaps remember that before the Revolution Russian soldiers were forcibly drafted and cut off from family and civilian life for up to twenty-five years at a stretch. Their horizons were bounded by the army.

The extent to which the conventional message of the military costumes had obliterated any sense of historical incongruity can be clearly seen in the way this method of dress imposed itself upon other sections of the folk theatre where the role of the army in the producing and performance of plays was negligible. It strikes a particularly odd note in the play Tsar Herod, a play derived from the Nativity scenes of the South Russian and Ukrainian puppet theatre, the Vertep. Many versions of Tsar Herod show indecision over the choice of costume; on the one hand an adherence to the rich antique costumes of the puppet theatre in which Herod would be dressed in scarlet and purple robes, and the insidious influence of that other tyrant Maksimilian. So, in one version, Herod is dressed:

In a soldier's uniform over which a scarlet cloak is thrown, he has a broad sash round his waist, decorated with gold paper; across his left shoulder he has a sash made out of coloured paper; across his right shoulder a sword-belt covered with gold paper from which hangs a sabre; he wears a cardboard crown covered with gold paper and a pair of white gloves (5).

This blanket use of military-style costumes, however, presented the folk actors with some problems. Instant recognition is a prerequisite of the folk theatre. As the audience identifies with its heroes and condemns its villains, some means had to be found of distinguishing one uniform, one rank from another. Usually, larger quantities of medals, rosettes and stars denoted the more important characters, so that Maksimilian's jacket was sometimes scarcely visible behind his decorations. Similarly, in *The Ship (Lodka)* which describes the life of a robber band which plies the Volga in search of booty, the chieftain and his second-in-command are distinguished from the others by a greater abundance of gold lace and other ornamentation. A pair of white gloves was clearly a sign of aristocratic military tastes for the actors described above in *Tsar Herod*, just as a panama hat, a walking stick and an umbrella were the usual attributes of the "gentleman" in the satirical play *Barin (The Landowner)*. Regal characters like Maksimilian, Herod or King Mamai of the Golden Horde also wore crowns and carried the royal regalia, which in the case of the Muslim, Mamai, were further delineated by crescent moon symbols. In combining high-ranking military uniforms with a crown to depict royalty the folk actors are clearly confusing two separate conventions. It seems likely that the use of the crown and regalia derives from the eighteenth century dramatisations of courtly romances (*rytsarskie povesti*), such as the *Play of Kaleandr and Neonilda*, which were widely performed in all types of theatre known in Russia at that time, including the newly-emerged "urban democratic" amateur theatres. There was a considerable amount of cross-fertilisation between the latter and the folk theatre proper, and both drew their audiences from roughly the same classes of people. The investiture of royal authority, the bringing on of the royal regalia, was an extended, dramatic and

well-planned moment both in the folk plays and in the courtly dramatisations. The identification of the royal regalia with the power it symbolised can be seen in the convention whereby Maksimilian, finding his kingdom threatened by a foreign invader, temporarily removes and lays aside the regalia until the outcome of the battle is decided.

To a large extent then costumes act as signposts which tell the audience what the expect of a character. As soon as the old gravedigger who is summoned to bury the corpse of Adolf appears on stage, certain features of his appearance alone define him as both comic and erotic. His hump-back, his dishevelled hair and his sheepskin coat with the uncut wool to the outside, immediately connect him with a long tradition, familiar to Russian audiences, of buffoons and figures prominent in animal or agricultural fertility rites such as the hump-backed bear or the phallic hunchback Semik. Like him, the gravedigger is often adorned with a phallus. Another stock comic character widely known not only in the Russian folk theatre but throughout Eastern Europe was the Jew, a butt for mocking and often cruel satire. The physical attributes of this character, his foreign manner of dress and strange way of talking triggered off predictable reactions. He was portrayed almost invariably with stereotyped negative characteristics such as avarice, cowardliness and obsequiousness. When external signs have become inextricably linked with a particular type of character there may be amusing or confusing results, when the audience's anticipations are deceived. Thus, for example, the Russian actor-manager, Nemirovich-Danchenko, describes in his memoirs how difficult it was to portray Shakespeare's Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* as recognisably Jewish but at the same time an essentially tragic figure.

In the folk theatre, predictability and ease of recognition were a necessary and important part of audience enjoyment. It is difficult to explain otherwise the continued popularity of a tiny repertoire of oft-repeated plays with elementary plots and stereotyped or underdeveloped characters. Every work of folk art designed to be performed, whether it is a song, a piece of music, a folktale or a play is recreated at each

performance from a nucleus of material well known to both the performer and those who watch or listen.

Moreover, it was not just a question of the actors recreating. In many of the more primitive forms of dramatic expression such as masking, ritual agricultural games, mimetic figure dances, there was no strict dividing line between player and watcher so the act of creativity was genuinely shared. Even during the more sophisticated plays of the repertoire such as Tsar Maksimilian or St. George in England, audiences were able to shape performances in a variety of ways. The receptivity of an audience, its moods, its physical make-up, the presence of women or children, the village priest or the local gentry could all influence the length and choice of scenes, the quality of the humour and so forth. Comparing texts of Tsar Maksimilian collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively, we can see how the tastes and understanding of the modern audience have pruned away those parts of the play, the martyrdom of Adolf and the duel scenes, which were seen to be no longer relevant, and left the comic interludes not only because of their humour but because they are regarded now, as in the past, as vehicles for comment upon the contemporary scene. This is particularly true of the doctor, whose traditional appearance shows him to be a near cousin of England's Dr. Brown. In earlier variants he often wears a dark jacket with a top hat or bowler hat and carries a little bag with a variety of medical instruments and potions. An indispensable part of the costume was a pair of spectacles which indicated "the man of learning". Sergei Aksakov, in his description of a performance of Tsar Maksimilian in 1855, points out that the soldier actors used the doctor and his drunken assistant to satirise the inadequacies of their own military hospital, the poor standard of treatment, the lack of medicines, etc. (6). Similarly, Nina Savushkina writes of a performance in the early 1960s where the doctor, now wearing a white coat, shows up the lack of medical equipment in the village. The doctor is terrified of dropping and breaking the only thermometer: "for you won't get a new one at the chemist's shop even with a prescription" (7).

Types whose function is being satirised, like the doctor or the priest, tend to be depicted in a distortedly "realistic" fashion. The

doctor looks more or less like a doctor and brings with him the recognisable tools of his trade. The Orthodox priest too, with his long hair and pigtail, his cassock, cross, Bible and censer seems at first not out of character. The comic effect is produced when they begin to practise their trade, when the doctor offers impossible cures for impossible diseases or feels his patient's pulse at the ankle, or tries to sound him with a hammer. The smith in Tsar Maksimilian who comes to chain Adolf also carries a hammer, but as it is here a legitimate sign of his trade, used for its intended purpose, it does not provoke laughter. When the priest swings the censer, it turns out to be an old boot on the end of a string or a container of evil-smelling, slow-burning dung which suffocates the audience with its fumes. Through this combination of the expected and the unexpected, people revealed their opinions of the professions they mocked.

Although the familiar was undoubtedly an important ingredient in the folk theatre, there were also attempts to create that sort of emotional tension in the audience which we tend to connect with the concept of dramatic entertainment. One way in which this was done was by the use of sharp contrasts between alternating moods and types of action or characters. Everything in the folk theatre was exaggerated and emotionally charged. The tyrants Maksimilian and Herod, and the robber chieftain in The Ship, storm and threaten violently; Prince Adolf awaiting execution, or the maiden captured by the robbers, sorrow, weep and supplicate, stressing their weakness and pitiful condition. But scarcely has Adolf, the favourite of the crowd, succumbed to the executioner's axe, when in hobbles the old gravedigger to perpetrate all manner of indignities upon the corpse. Moods are heavily reinforced by tone of voice, facial expression and gesture. Maksimilian, for example, always conformed to the same physical type: "he was tall, with a beard, had a menacing face and spoke in a loud, harsh voice" (8). Characters who were fighting or quarrelling emphasized their antipathies by wildly rushing about, stamping their feet, waving their arms and weapons in the air. A foot may be stamped too, both in the Russian and the English folk theatre, for the purpose of lending weight to a character's words or to draw attention to him. The rhythmic beating of a spear or some other weapon on the ground performed the

same function. Anika, the royal champion, who beats his spear three times on the floor, emphasizing the action with a measured "trakh, takh, takh!", may be easily compared to Eustacia in Hardy's description of the mummies in the Return of the Native who "proceeded in her delivery, slapping the sword against the staff or lance at the minatory phrases, in the orthodox mumming manner" (9). Other characters, conveying quite different messages, act in an equally "aggressive" manner. The comic figure of the old gravedigger, with his unkempt hair and beard, his hump-back, his tattered clothing, his hobbling gait and his crutch, his coughing, spitting, scratching and rude noises certainly gives no short measure in his portrayal of an unsavoury old age. The same principle of grotesque exaggeration governs the portrayal of Pakhomushka in the play of the same name. Pakhomushka, a drooling, stammering, twitching creature, who wears his boots on the wrong feet and a number of hats piled on top of his head, could not be other than a wholly comic character, from the same ritual stable as "grandpa" gravedigger (10).

Almost all gesture and movement on the Russian folk stage, whether or not its purpose was to underline some point in the play, seems to our unaccustomed eyes somewhat stilted and overdone. There are, I think, a number of reasons for this. In the first place there is the question of strict adherence to traditional conventions. The depiction of emotions, characteristics or concepts in the "serious" parts of the plays was strictly bound by instructions transmitted orally from one generation to the next. Only the comic characters were free to improvise. Misunderstanding the significance of this division led to comments by educated observers such as Aksakov's to the effect that "the doctor and his assistant were the only animated characters in the whole play". Many of the players' conventional gestures were quite predictable and by no means limited to the folk theatre; respect, supplication and submission, for example, were all depicted by bending the knee, or going down on both knees. The defeated warriors in St. George also drop on one knee - "Captain Bluster is 'killed'. He falls on his left knee, drops his sword point and remains in an attitude of supplication" (11). Other gestures, however, were more ingenious. For example, death by execution was commonly shown in the Slavonic

folk plays by the removal of the condemned man's hat upon the point of a sword or spear. In Tsar Maksimilian, the executioner, Brambeus, would also swing his sword several times over Adolf's head. Adolf would then fall to the ground, covering his head with his hands to make believe it was no longer there.

There can be no doubt that the popularity of the folk theatre among the military was responsible for much of the behaviour of the actors on stage and that the habits engendered by hours of drill contributed largely to the sense of stiffness. In virtually every play of the Russian folk repertoire the "serious" characters move like soldiers on the parade ground. They enter the acting area stiffly and purposefully, they present arms with a stamp of the foot, salute, wheel to the left or right and march off, declaim their lines while striding round or back and forth across the stage or while standing stiffly to attention, facing either the audience or their interlocutor. The image of soldiers on the parade ground is also conjured up by one of the methods commonly used by the actors for organising themselves on stage. There were of course no wings. In the absence of a conveniently placed exit through which a player might retire when his presence was no longer required, the whole troupe was obliged to remain on stage throughout the action. Often they arranged themselves in two parallel lines from which each would step forward to deliver his lines in the manner of an officer making his report to an inspecting general.

The limitations imposed by the nature of the acting arenas were of course one of the major problems faced by the folk actors. The stage was not physically delineated in any way. Its size and shape varied from one performance to another, it was devoid of scenery and props were kept to a minimum. The stage is where the actors are at any given moment. It does not exist before their formal request for "room to rhyme", indeed it might be said that the request in itself formally initiates the barrier between actor and audience which is necessary for the performance to begin. Similarly, it ceases to be a stage when the actors signal that the performance is at an end and reintegrate themselves into the real world. This may be done either by arranging some communal activity such as a dance, song or even a

light-hearted brawl, or by openly stating that the play is over. So, for example, in *Tsar Maksimilian* the messenger comes into the middle of the room and addresses the audience:

Now, honoured sirs
The curtain comes down
Our play is done

Our actors deserve a tip from everyone (12).

Somehow, in this ill-defined arena the actors had to convey a sense of location and, perhaps even more difficult, a sense of changing location without the support of scenery. Sometimes, highly stylized gesture was used to delineate objects, buildings, a view, in short everything that was physically absent from the stage. In *The Ship*, for example, through mimetic gesture, the actors manage to convey the idea of a boat being rowed down the river Volga and the sound of water splashing against the oars. The imaginative picture is further extended by the words of the song "Down the river, Mother-Volga" (Vniz po matushke po Volge) which describes the wide waters of the river and the turbulence of waves as a storm blows up.

Although the lack of scenery may pose some problems, it also brings some unexpected bonuses. It allows enormous freedom in the choice of locations. In *Tsar Maksimilian*, for example, we are moved effortlessly and immediately from the royal palace to Adolf's prison cell or the wilderness to which he has been exiled, to the place of execution, to the battlefield. The folk theatre has its own dimensions of time and space. Enormous distances are covered in a few steps, years pass in minutes, with no external signs to tell us what has happened. The actors do not strive to maintain a sense of continuity in the locations they describe. We are told that Adolf is taken out to a place of execution, yet when the two gravediggers summoned to bury him accidentally trip over the corpse, they find themselves at the foot of the throne, in the presence of the Tsar in the palace. In some plays of the Czech theatre the presence or absence of a character was in itself an indication of place.

While the King retreated to the back of the stage, the scene changed to a prison and the bench became the place of torture. Then when George and Barbara (the

two martyrs) stepped aside from the torture table, the King was seated once more and the audience returned to the palace (13).

The problem of a fluctuating, ill-defined acting arena also has a bearing on the important question of actor identity. The stage was not physically separated from the auditorium and there were moments when distinctions between the role of the performer and watcher became blurred. It was accepted that members of the audience should prompt, encourage and offer advice, that they should join in the songs and dances. Subsidiary parts were often played by members of the audience, recruited on the spot. The audience was constantly being drawn into the plot by a direct appeal from the actors for an opinion on the action. As often as not the actors addressed their remarks to the audience rather than to fellow actors on stage. Conversely, the actors on occasion mingle with the audience. *Tsar Maksimilian*, for example, sends his soldiers on a wild goose chase, to hunt an imaginary devil:

They rifle people's pockets, pull the women's headscarves off, seize the chance of looking up their skirts. Squealing and swearing starts up, pandemonium is let loose and sometimes, if the searchers are too free with their hands, it ends in a brawl (14).

In such conditions, outlandish, unrealistic costumes and mannerisms not only provided a sort of informational shorthand which obviated the need for explanations and character analysis in the plot, but also were a means of preserving the identity of the actors as actors. It is more than likely that the strange manner of declamation employed by the folk actors had a similar function. Lines were declaimed, rather than spoken, in an unusually loud, rapid monotone, resembling a chant rather than normal speech. Perhaps the barked commands of the drill sergeant had something to do with this initially. Weird distortions of the voice were a common trick in the folk theatre. Female characters, always acted by men, talk in high-pitched squeaky voices. The old gravedigger has difficulty with his speech. He talks with a terrible lisp, smacking his toothless gums, or groans and mutters under his breath.

But if the folk actor strives to preserve his identity as an actor, does he also feel the need to conceal his identity as an individual under the disguise of the costume? Although his art and the material he works with are to a certain extent derived from ritual and ritualistic diversions, the attitude of the folk actor to his disguise was somewhat different from that of, say, the Christmastide or other ritual maskers. One of the prime functions of disguise for the latter was concealment and confusion. Faces were made unrecognizable by the application of soot, burnt cork, beetroot juice and flour, men and women exchanged clothing, young people imitated old age and vice versa; garments were worn inside out and upside down, socks were worn instead of hats, and boots placed on the wrong feet. One is reminded that in Russia reversal of clothing was a recommended method of escaping the clutches of ill-disposed spirits such as the *rusalka* and the *leshii*. The concealment of personal identity has remained a primary function of disguise during Christmastide mumming in Russia as was noted by the Soviet folklorist Yulia Krasovskaya during her researches in villages of the Terskii shore of the White Sea in the early 1960s. There, the upper half of the mummers' faces was covered with scraps of material or pieces of lace while the lower half was obliterated with soot or paint. The law of opposites was closely observed; the women became grotesquely fat men; men sprouted huge breasts and pregnant bellies. Yulia also dressed up but committed the faux-pas of being instantly recognisable. "Your costume is lovely," said one woman, "but all the same they recognised you - because of your feet, your walk. No-one must be able to recognise you. Walk, squint, jump, crawl, anything so they won't recognise you. That's the main thing." Among these villagers it was also considered highly improper to even try to penetrate someone else's disguise (15).

Concealment of personal identity was a dominant factor in the tradition of mumming all over Europe. The *janneys*, or Christmastide mummers, of Newfoundland regarded this as of prime importance. They used every conceivable method of blurring the recognizable outlines of body and facial features, stuffing hay into their costumes, tying pillows or cushions round their backs or middles, carrying a heavy bag over one shoulder, wearing shapeless or stiff garments such

as dressing gowns or oilskins, which hid the true shape of their bodies. Like the mummers of Northern Russia they disguised their gestures and walk.

Mummers stoop to disguise their height and walk swaying from side to side. They make weaving motions with their hands and arms and they sit bent over, weaving slowing from side to side (16).

Most important of all they hid their faces, using masks or veils made from semi-transparent material such as curtain net or nylon stockings, which obscured their features without totally obscuring their vision.

The fundamental difference in function which often exists between the costumes of folk actors consciously performing a "play", however primitive that might be, and the disguises of various kinds of mummers who were not, may be clearly seen by comparing the same or similar characters depicted by both groups. The figure of Death, widely known in popular theatre throughout Eastern Europe, is a case in point. In plays of the Russian folk theatre proper Death was almost invariably represented as a white skeleton figure draped in a shroud and carrying a scythe, with which she struck down the sinner Herod, or the braggart champion, Anika. She, for death is a feminine concept in Russia, clearly has her origins in the nativity play of the Ukrainian puppet theatre, where Death emerges from a side door on the little stage like one of the automata on mediaeval clocks, to scythe down an equally diminutive Herod. The audience reaction to this figure is either neutral or approving, for Death's threat is not directed against them. It is interesting, however, to compare the presentation of and reaction to similar figures in different contexts, where the intention was to inspire terror in the watcher. In many parts of the Slavonic territories, white-robed death-like figures appeared in the streets at Christmastide. Typical is the Czech *Perechta*, who on Christmas Eve went round the houses with a bloodstained knife, threatening to disembowel those who had misbehaved or overeaten. He wore a ferocious mask with round hollow eyes, a beak-like nose, big teeth and a lolling scarlet tongue. Children in particular were terrified of him. In the village of Nizebohy, for example, *Perechta* was eventually banned for this reason (17). Similar was the reaction of village girls in Russia and the

Ukraine to the appearance of "the corpse", who, white-shrouded, with flour-daubed face and turnip fangs formed the central figure in many death and funeral games. When the girls were forced to kiss the "corpse" many appeared terrified and even fell ill. There was also a strong erotic element in the game (the corpse's clothing was disarranged) but the girls' fear can be partially explained by the widespread belief in vampires and the walking dead. There were many tales of dead men springing to life at a touch or a tear of the grieving wife.

In these examples the message of the Death figure, whose hideousness is deliberately exaggerated, is directed against the audience itself. Perception of potential hostility or antisocial behaviour directed against the audience was also connected with other kinds of grotesquely disguised figures such as the janneys of Newfoundland or the Eskimo "naluyuks" of Northern Labrador, who were also used as bogeys to threaten naughty children (18). In all these cases the release of inhibitions on the part of the mummer, safe from recognition, and the watcher's awareness that the figure before him fell into some category outside of normal experience and whose behaviour was therefore quite unpredictable, combined to produce panic and hysteria. It is interesting to note that in the theatre itself, where the actors' features usually remained recognisable in spite of costume and make-up, the most heavily disguised characters such as the black-faced devils or the old gravedigger with his hump-back, his distorted speech and hobbling walk, with hair and beard covering his face, were also those whose unbridled behaviour was not circumscribed by the "plot" of the play and more closely resembled the antics of the masked Christmastide revellers.

The folk theatre worked for its clientele through a subtle balance of conventions, quite different from those of the literary theatre. In the late nineteenth century unsophisticated country audiences in Russia faced for the first time with a play from the literary tradition were often thrown into confusion and dismay. Realistic stage settings and costumes and convincing dialogue between apparently "real" people destroyed the boundary between reality and illusion, so clearly defined in the folk theatre, and people tried in puzzlement to

identify characters with neighbours, and painted houses with buildings from nearby villages. When the balance of convention was broken the message was no longer understood.

NOTES

- * This paper was originally presented at the Traditional Drama 1979 conference.
1. I.S. Abramov, "Tsar Maksimilian", Izvestiya otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti, Vol. 9, Book 3 (St. Petersburg), 1904, pp. 5-6.
 2. Ibid. p. 2.
 3. R.N. Volkov, "Narodnaya drama Tsar Maksimil'yan", Russkij filologicheskii vestnik, Vol. 68 (Warsaw, 1912), 49.
 4. I.B., "Tsar Maksimilian v Kovle", Kievskaya Starina, Vol. 19 (Kiev, 1887), p. 799.
 5. I.N. Eremin, "Drama - Igra Tsar Irod", Trudy Otdela Drevne - russkoi literatury, Vol. 4 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), p. 233.
 6. N. Vinogradov, "Narodnaya drama Tsar Maksimil'yan", Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti, Vol. 90, No. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 14-15.
 7. N. Savushkina, "Dramatizirovannyi obraz v nekotorykh zhanakh russkogo fol'klora", Seventh International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Moscow, 1964), p. 8.
 8. "Tsar Maksimilian" Variant 1, P.N. Berkov, Russkaya narodnaya drama XVII-XX vekov (Moscow, 1953), p. 180.
 9. T. Hardy, The Return of the Native (New York/London), 1912, p. 150.
 10. S.S. Pisarev and S. Suslovich, "Doslul'naya igra-komediya Pakhomushka", Krest' yanskoe iskusstvo SSSR: Iskusstvo severa, Vol. 1 (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 176-185.
 11. P. Kennedy, "The Symondsburly Mumming Play", Journal of English Folk Dance and Song Society, 7:1 (1952), 4.
 12. "Tsar Maksimilian" variant 1, P.N. Berkov, op. cit. p. 199.
 13. P.G. Bogatyrev, "Zametki o narodnom teatre", Acta Ethno-graphica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Vol. 19 (1970), 56.
 14. "Tsar Maksimilian", Variant 2, P.N. Berkov, op. cit., p. 212.
 15. From manuscript material lent to the author.

16. James C. Faris, "Mumming in an outport fishing settlement: a description and suggestions on the cognitive complex" in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, ed. Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story (Toronto, 1969), p. 131. I am indebted to Paul Smith, of the Department of Folklore at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, for bringing this valuable collection of essays to my attention.
17. Petr Bogatyrev, "Le theatre populaire tchèque et slovaque", Intercena, No. 1-3 (Prague, 1969), 18.
18. For information on the latter see Shmuel Ben-Dor, "The 'Naluyuks' of Northern Labrador: A Mechanism of Social Control" in Halpert and Story, Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, pp. 119-127.