THE CONTINUING FAUSTIAN TRADITION:

IN BULGAKOV'S THE MASTER AND MARGARITA

by
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A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Slavic Studies
The University of Manitoba
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ABSTRACT

Since its first publication in the journal Moskva in 1967-68 Mikhail Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita has been read from various perspectives: as a Christian novel, an anti-Christian novel, a Faustian parody, a critique of life in Moscow in the 1930's and an autobiographical account. Various codes have been devised in an attempt to expose the "true" meaning of the novel. There still exists a large measure of disagreement among both Western and Soviet critics on the interpretation of even the novel's basic elements.

The Faustian tradition in Russian literature is not a prominent one. Bulgakov is one of the few Russian writers of the twentieth century to draw on Goethe's Faust in his novel. Goethe, however, fundamentally changed the nature of the original Faust legend, which was first published in 1587; his eighteenth-century drama thus opened a new direction for the legend to continue. Mikhail Bulgakov extends Goethe's innovations to The Master and Margarita.

This thesis examines the continuation of the Faustian tradition in Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita with emphasis on Goethe's Faust. The nature of the devil, his relationship to the artist, and the hero's salvation through an intermediary female character are at the centre of the tradition and are the primary focus of this thesis.

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Transliteration Note

The scheme below is the System II transliteration of Russian. Please refer to J. Thomas Shaw's The Transliteration of Modern Russian for English-Russian Publications (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

Russian	English	Russian	English
А	A	Р	R
Б	B	С	S
В	V	Т	T
Г	G	У	U
Д	D	Ф	F
Е	E	Х	KH
Ё	E	Ц	TS
Ж	ZH	Ч	CH
З	Z	Ш	SH
И	I	Щ	SHCH
Й	I	Ъ	"
К	K	Ы	Y
Л	L	Ь	'
М	M	Э	E
Н	N	Ю	IU
О	O	Я	IA
П	P		

This scheme had been used for the transliteration of all names, places, and titles of books, articles and journals.

The style manual used is: William Giles Campbell, et al., Form and Style, 8th Edition (Boston: Houghton Giles Miffin, 1990).

INTRODUCTION

> Faust became synonymous with the self-conscious mind, whether this was understood in terms of Romanticism, German philosophy or the entire history of Western thought.[1]

One is struck by the longevity of the Faust legend in literature and music, and its appeal to artists of every age. In Germany it has its roots in the sixteenth century anecdotes, which later became part of the puppet theatres played in public markets. Apparently, a real Doctor Faustus had existed once, and his story became the original German chapbook, The History of Dr. Johann Faustus, published by Johann Spiess in Frankfurt in 1587. There were a few versions of the chapbook by various anonymous authors sold at country fairs and marketplaces. "Without any pretension to literary form, it catered to the undiscriminating taste of a growing middle class reading public...."[2] This was a tale of a man who meddled in black magic and sold his soul to the devil in exchange for a life full of drunken merriment,

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[1] Cyrus Hamlin, "Reading Faust," in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust: A Tragedy. Trans. Walter Arndt, ed. Cyrus Hamlin (New York: Norton, 1976), 369.

[2] Hermann Weigand, "Goethe's Faust: An Introduction for Students and Teachers of General Literature," The German Quarterly 37 (1964): 467.

sexual exploits, and forbidden knowledge. Many versions of this plot were staged as a puppet show from that time forward, but the message remained the same: good Christians, do not become involved with the devil, for that path leads straight to hell. Human evil was closely connected to a pact with the devil.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Faust: Part I was first published as a fragment in 1790 and appeared in its complete form in 1808. Part II was completed at the end of 1831, just months before Goethe died. It was published posthumously, at the author's request, in 1832. Faust was Goethe's life-work; over a span of sixty years he kept returning to the drama. It is recognized as the greatest German achievement in world literature.

Goethe rejected the message of the popular puppet play which he had seen in his days of youth and rewrote the Faust legend. Instead of a Faust who indulges in drunken revelry and lechery, which the devil provides in exchange for his soul, Goethe presents a Faust who thirsts for progressive knowledge, experience and enlightenment. Faust became an appealing and noble character.

The eighteenth century, when most of Goethe's Faust was written, was the age of rationalism, the age of Enlightenment. It questioned the traditional doctrines and values, and ushered in a new age of reason, extolled personal endeavour and individuality. These are precisely the quali-

ties that Faust embodies. He is a man in search of self-realization. Faust has no respect for the moral order of the day; he is a free thinker who is forced to fit into his limited society, at least until he meets the devil. He is a rebel against God and Church and the academic institutions. Faust requires real knowledge, beyond what the institutions of Church or State can offer or allow. He is prepared to pay for this knowledge with his soul.

However, Goethe's Mephistopheles does not get Faust's soul, even after they sign a pact in blood and the devil fulfils his wishes until the day Faust dies. This is the unexpected turn of events which concludes Goethe's work, to the surprise of the reading public who had been waiting for the ending for decades. Faust's final salvation and what its terms entailed were not disclosed until twenty-four years after the publication of Faust: Part I. Until then it could easily have been assumed that Goethe's Faust, like his legendary predecessor, would also be damned in the end.

In addition to the above drastic deviations from the original legend, Goethe also changes the image of his devil. Just as the character of Faust had been transformed from the days of the Reformation, so had the character of Mephistopheles. The unsophisticated and horrific demonic figure has been replaced with a witty, cultured companion in the eighteenth century:

> Auch die Kultur, die alle Welt beleckt,
> Hat auf den Teufel sich erstreckt;

Wo siehst du Hörner, Schweif und Klauen?
(F, 2495-6, 2498)[3]

Civilization, glossing all we knew,
Has rubbed off on the Devil, too.

Those talons, horns, and tail - all vanished![4]

"Goethe's devil is--in good eighteenth-century tradition--a charming rogue, inclined to steal the show."[5] As has been pointed out by Rudwin, "the Devil advances with the progress of civilization, because he is what men make him."[6]

Furthermore, and paradoxically, Goethe's devil becomes an instrument of the Lord. Mephistopheles receives an assignment from the Lord in the "Prologue in Heaven" to tempt and prod humanity along life's path:

Des Menschen Tätigkeit kann allzuleicht
erschlaffen,
Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
Drum geb' ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
Der reizt und wirkt und muß als Teufel
schaffen.--
(F, 340-3)

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[3] The original German texts are from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust (Stuttgart: J. G. Gotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1959). References to Goethe's Faust will be designated by the letter F, followed by line numbers in the text.

[4] All translations of Goethe's Faust are from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust, trans. Walter Arndt, ed. Cyrus Hamlin (New York: Norton, 1976). As the line numbers correspond between the original text and the translation, no line numbers nor page numbers will follow the translation.

[5] Jane K. Brown, Goethe's "Faust": The German Tragedy (Ithaca: Cornell, 1986), 75.

[6] Maximillian Rudwin, The Devil in Legend and Literature (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 278.

> Man all too easily grows lax and mellow,
> He soon elects repose at any price;
> And so I like to pair him with a fellow
> To play the deuce, to stir, and to
> entice.

In doing so he steers them to salvation:

> Das Werdende, das ewig wirkt und lebt,
> (F, 346)
>
> By ever active, ever live creation.

It is noteworthy that Goethe's Faust on first meeting the devil is not afraid at all. In fact, he invites Mephistopheles to stay (F, 1422-3). Furthermore, Goethe's hero does not become any more evil than before renouncing his life as he had known it and making the devil his companion. The primitive belief that the devil causes one to do evil deeds, as presented in the original Faust legend, is repudiated here. Good and evil exist in us all. Nearly all of Goethe's characters--including that of Mephistopheles--are neither purely good nor purely evil. "For Goethe,.. and indeed for the whole Enlightenment, moral evil is a human, not a cosmic phenomenon."[7]

Mephistopheles, although he would deny it, does the Lord's work on earth through frustrating man's desire to rest. He must constantly activate man who easily becomes comfortable and set in his ways. It is only through an

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[7] Nicholas Boyle, Landmarks of World Literature: Goethe. "Faust." Part One (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1987), 32.

active struggle for self-realization that man achieves his highest potential--and becomes truly himself. Without the devil we are but unexplored potentialities. In this sense the devil does not represent an evil, but a positive quality for human development; it is only to a conservative establishment (the church, government) that the nature of the devil is simplistically defined as "bad." From the Faustian perspective, the greatest sin is to remain dormant, passive, and undeveloped.

Mephistopheles challenges, as well as tempts and helps Faust. He facilitates Faust's desires, independent of moral incentives and consequences. Mephistopheles is not responsible for Faust's actions, he merely presents him with opportunities.

Goethe changes the original sixteenth-century myth in three notable ways: 1) the Good Lord and Mephistopheles tolerate each other, as depicted in the "Prologue in Heaven," 2) man is responsible for his own actions, as seen in the "Gretchen Tragedy" (which is an original contribution by Goethe) and, 3) the most radical change--Faust's redemption due to his striving for self-realization toward self-perfection.

The world became most familiar with Goethe's Faust: Part I, a work that can be read as a complete drama in itself, as the "Gretchen Tragedy." In Russia, many attempts were made to translate Part I. The first one to do so was

Griboedov in 1825,[8] who also wrote his famous comedy Gore ot uma (Woe from Wit) around the same time (1823). Perhaps it is no coincidence that the name of the restaurant that Bulgakov's literati frequent was also named "Griboedov."

Throughout the nineteenth century many other translations of Faust: Part I into Russian were made: a more famous one by Turgenev; in the twentieth century Bal'mont, Pasternak, and Bulgakov, among others, contributed their own versions. But, as late as 1932, there had not been a complete Russian translation of Goethe's Faust.[9]

In Russian literature itself the German Faust legend made its first appearance in Valerii Briusov's work, The Fiery Angel (1910). True to the Symbolist school, of which Briusov was a part, The Fiery Angel focused on the sensual and demonic nature of the Faustian tradition. Anatolii Lunacharskii, the future Commissar of Enlightenment [Education], wrote the play Faust and the City to adapt the Christian ethic of the Faust legend to the socialist revolution: at the end of the play the paradise on earth is realized--an act of political wish-fulfilment and an oversimplification of Goethe's ending.

Goethe, in the eighteenth century, had provided a new direction for the Faust legend's development. He did not

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[8] V. Zhirmunskii, "Russkii Faust," Literaturnoe nasledstvo 4-6 (1932): 618.

[9] Zhirmunskii, 646.

merely retell this sixteenth-century folk tale, but developed new interpretations of Faust and Mephistopheles, and of the concepts "good" and "evil". Mikhail Bulgakov's novel, The Master and Margarita, follows Goethe's lead in fashioning the Faustian tradition according to his own vision.

A comparison between Goethe's concept of Mephistopheles and Bulgakov's concept of Woland will show that Bulgakov was able to elaborate on the German devil within the context of twentieth-century Russia/Soviet Union, and to develop a new role for Woland.

> Bulgakov,.. as a citizen of the Stalinist thirties, the lowest point of Russian history to date, has thus abundant material at hand to write not only the most representative post-revolutionary Faust work, but to develop ... [it] ... to such an extent that it could truly be referred to as a Mephisto work. It is in this novel that Goethe's concept is fully developed; indeed, an adequate appraisal of Bulgakov's genius is not possible without taking precisely this into consideration.[10]

In Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita, the acts of evil occur as a result of man's actions; they are due to human nature, not to the devil's involvement. The devil's role in the twentieth century lies in exposing the evil within humanity.

Bulgakov maintained all three of the changes that

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[10]Richard Ilgner, "Goethe's 'Geist, der stets verneint," and its emergence in the Faust works of Odoevsky, Lunacharsky, and Bulgakov," Germano-Slavica, 2, No. 3 (Spring, 1977): 170.

Goethe had made to the original Faust legend. In Bulgakov's novel: 1) the Lord is tolerant of Woland's actions, as Woland operates without interference of the Lord on earth, 2) man is responsible for his actions, and 3) redemption occurs through the pursuit of self-realization and the intermediary action of a female lover. Bulgakov makes a modification on Goethe's "Gretchen Tragedy": it is turned inside out.

In the German author's work the "Gretchen Tragedy" marks the realization in Faust that his seduction of the young girl has consequences beyond his immediate realization, namely, the murder of Gretchen's mother, the death of Valentin, and Gretchen's committing infanticide, and her subsequent doom. In The Master and Margarita the "Gretchen Tragedy" is not acted out by the female protagonist, Margarita. It is instead transferred to the Master, who destroys his brain child, the manuscript about Ieshua and Pilate. The Master's manuscript is as unwanted in the Moscow society of the 1930's as the birth of Gretchen's child in a small German Catholic town. The consequences of their 'seductions' were too painful to bear; both Gretchen and the Master find release from the rejection and persecution by society through a higher order.

The most interesting twist to the "Gretchen Tragedy" in Bulgakov's work is that the femme fatale has evolved into a twentieth-century woman. Margarita is not haunted by the conventions of society, a situation that drives Gretchen to

madness. She completely gives of herself to the Master, and to the ends that he pursues. Margarita does not live vicariously through the Master, but shares in his desire to complete the manuscript. Margarita takes the initiative to make contact with the devil and is responsible for saving the Master's manuscript; she demonstrates that she is an active force and not one that is merely acted upon (as with Gretchen).

For both Goethe and Bulgakov these works represent crowning achievements, the result of a life-time's dedication. Bulgakov began writing his novel in 1928; at the time it was called «Консультант с копытом» ("Consultant with a Hoof").[11] He worked on it for the next twelve years, until his death in 1940. There were many interruptions; in 1930 Bulgakov destroyed his manuscript, but began writing anew in the same year. After many changes the novel was given its final title in 1937.[12]

Like Goethe's conclusion to his masterpiece Faust II, it was also published posthumously, but not because Bulgakov wished it to be so. The Master and Margarita was unpublishable during the writer's lifetime and for almost three decades after his death. Bulgakov's theme was highly un-

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[11]Marietta Chudakova. "Tvorcheskaia istoria romana M. Bugakova "Master i Margarita"," Voprosy literatury 1 (1976): 219.

[12]Chudakova, 244.

desirable in the Soviet Union at that time. Any writing concerning Christ or supernatural forces was banned. Any portrayal or belief in the supernatural was considered outdated superstition and was mocked publicly. During this age of declared atheism and Socialist Realism The Master and Margarita had no chance of publication.

When the novel was finally published in the Soviet Union, the passages that were found by the censors to be offensive were not those concerning Christ and the devil, but those depicting life in Moscow in the thirties. The passages dealing with the corrupt bureaucracy and petty authoritarians were also not as unwelcome as those dealing with the everyday life.[13]

It is also noteworthy, that in the early nineteenth century, when Goethe's Faust first reached Russian translators, certain passages were not allowed to be published. For example, there were passages which were considered blasphemous by the Orthodox Church: "The Prologue in Heaven," or Faust's translations of the New Testament.[14]

Bulgakov had been aware of the Faust myth from a very early age. Even as a child he was familiar with Gounod's opera, "Faust", and Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust." This

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[13]See Donald M. Fiene, "A Comparison of the Soviet and Possev Editions of "The Master and Margarita," with a Note of Interpretation of the Novel, Canadian-American Slavic Studies 15, 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1981): 330-54.

[14]Zhirmunskii, 624.

affection for the Faust legend persisted throughout his life.

Notwithstanding, The Master and Margarita is by no means an epigonic work. Rather, it is a continuation of the Faustian tradition in the Soviet Union, in the same way as Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus is in post-War Germany. There is a connection between all Faustian works, of course, and many critics have written about the correlation between Goethe's drama and Bulgakov's novel. Blake, for example, speaks of the Master as another Faust who "is seen as a novelist of genius" and "makes a pact with the devil."[15] Natov writes that:

> the Faustian connection is not limited to the names of Woland and Margarita; Goethe's immortal work pervades Bulgakov's novel more by its spirit than in concrete affinities."[16]

The Soviet critic Ninov states that:

> И названием своего романа, и его «мефистофелевским» сюжетом, и эпиграфом, ему предпосланным, Булгаков прямо указал на гётевского «Фауста» как важнейший литературный источник повествования.
>
> Он [роман Булгакова] стал одним из значительных явлений мировой фаустианы XX

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[15]Patricia Blake, "A Bargain with the Devil," New York Times Book Review (22 October, 1967), 1.

[16]Nadine Natov, Mikhail Bulgakov (Boston, Massachussetts: Twayne, 1986), 97.

века.[17]

> Bulgakov, with the title of his novel and its "mephistophelean" subject and prefacing epigraph, has pointed directly to Goethe's Faust as the most important literary source of telling a story.
>
> It [Bulgakov's novel] has become one of the most significant phenomena of the world's Faustian Tradition of the twentieth century.

Goethe's Faust is indeed the most important source for understanding the continuation of the legend in Russian literature. Bulgakov continues the Faustian tradition with a characteristically Bulgakovian twist, specifically, the further development of a positive devil and the evolution of the Gretchen theme into a uniquely twentieth-century portrayal of a self-confident and devoted woman who freely chooses her own path.

This thesis will explore the connections between the demonic figures of Goethe's Mephistopheles and Bulgakov's Woland. Both Goethe and Bulgakov portray the demonic figure in a positive light. The devil's role is no longer to lead mankind astray, but to present the opportunity for the full realization of human nature, whether it be good or bad. "Faust's responsibility is not to avoid sin.... To err is not simply human, it is the necessary condition of humanity

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[17]A. Ninov, "O dramaturgii i teatre Mikhaila Bulgakova," Voprosy literatury (Moscow: Organ Soiuza pisatelei SSSR in Instituta mirovoi literatury imeni M. Gorkogo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1968): 98-99.

and of salvation."[18] This thesis will demonstrate that The Master and Margarita is a work in the Faustian tradition.

Bulgakov continues and updates the Faustian tradition by adopting the same basic Faustian characters and their natures, and at the same time placing them in twentieth-century Moscow. As Goethe transformed a simple sixteenth-century legend into a complex work, so does Bulgakov follow Goethe's transformations and modernizes and recreates the legend of Faust. Bulgakov adheres to Goethe's basic values of 'good' and 'evil' and maintains the same cosmic scheme: the devil facilitates the 'good'. In this thesis the many connections between Goethe's Faust and Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita will be explored, as Goethe's work was clearly the source for Bulgakov's later novel.

Chapter 1 will concentrate on the characters of Woland and Mephistopheles and their respective functions in the literary works of both writers. Chapter 2 will explore the relationship between the devil and the artist. Chapter 3 discusses the devil's involvement with Goethe's and Bulgakov's lovers, specifically focusing on the role of the women in the lives of Faust and the Master.

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[18]Brown, 80.

CHAPTER 1

Woland and Mephistopheles: The Necessary 'Evil'

> Diabolus is the necessary, though unwilling, instrument of man's betterment. He supplies the motive power, without which man would soon reach the stage of stagnation. We must know the spirit that denies if we are to learn the truth. The Spirit of Negation is not Man's enemy, but his companion on the path of perfection, rousing him out of his lethargy and thus prompting him onward and upward.[1]

In order to understand the devil's role in The Master and Margarita it is necessary to examine Bulgakov's allusions to Goethe's devil. The connection between Mephistopheles and Woland is clear;[2] but, can one go as far as Stenbock-Fermor and claim that "Woland is a modernized reincarnation of Mephistopheles"?[3] An investigation into

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[1] Rudwin, 279.

[2] "The link between Woland and Mephistopheles is obvious." Vladimir Lakshin, "Mikhail Bulgakov's 'The Master and Margarita'," Twentieth-Century Russian Literary Criticism, ed. Victor Ehrlich (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), 259.

[3] Elizabeth Stenbock-Fermor, "Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita and Goethe's Faust," Slavic and East European Journal 8, no. 3 (1969): 319. In Stenbock-Fermor's article, and a few other articles, 'Voland' is used as opposed to the

the character of Woland and Mephistopheles reveals numerous parallels as well as the evolution of the Faustian novel, in general, in Russian literature.

Woland is the devil's name in The Master and Margarita, and also the name by which Mephistopheles goes in the Walpurgis Night scene in Faust: Part I (F, 4023). Squire Woland is just one of Mephistopheles' disguises; he also wears the attires of a professor, court jester, travelling scholar. He can transform himself into various animals as well. When Mephistopheles first encounters Faust, he is in the guise of a black poodle who then changes into a hippopotamus (бегемот/begemot--Woland's cat-companion in Bulgakov's novel) and finally appears as a travelling professor of magic who limps a little (F, 1223, 1254, 1322, 2184). These various guises portray a devil active in the pursuit of his quarry. Although the devil in Faust is not the crude pagan devil of medieval times, he still appears to enjoy confusing and overwhelming a possible victim.

Bulgakov's Woland remains 'human' with just a few outward signs to betray his mephistophelean ancestry: he bears a walking cane with the head of a black poodle carved on it (MM, 16).[4] And, as an older devil, he is plagued with

---

commonly accepted 'Woland'. For the sake of consistency, I have maintained the use 'Woland' in all translations.

[4] Mikhail A. Bulgakov, Master i Margarita (Riga: Liesma, 1986), 16. From here on references to this work will appear as '(MM, page number). Translations will be my own.

rheumatism, due to his encounter with a charming young witch on the Brocken in 1571 (MM, 272), and therefore limps a little. Thus Woland is linked not only with Goethe's Mephistopheles, but also with the devil of the sixteenth-century Faust legend. At the onset of The Master and Margarita, the major difference between Woland and Mephistopheles is their outward appearance and skill (or lack of) to change their shape.

Bulgakov is careful not to distort the devil's features. Woland appears to Berlioz and Bezdomnyi as a distinguished gentleman in his forties with a foreign, perhaps German, accent. The gross and ridiculous attributes belong to his retinue: a monstrous cat, a thin gentleman with a checkered coat, jockey cap and cracked pince-nez, and a red-haired thug with a protruding fang. Begemot, Korov'ev-Fagot, and Azazello perform all the buffoonery in The Master and Margarita. The twentieth-century devil has been stripped of the many robes and roles by means of which Goethe had camouflaged Mephistopheles.

Perhaps Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita is the only literary work about the devil which strips him to his very essence. The reader literally sees Woland in his black underpants (MM, 216). His carelessness about how he is seen by others reveals his lack of enthusiasm to trick mankind. Woland appears to have tired of observing man's plight on earth, a sentiment shared briefly by Mephistopheles when

speaking to the Lord: "Die Menschen dauern mich in ihren Jammertagen,/ Ich mag sogar die armen selbst nicht plagen." (F, 297-98) "I feel for mankind in their wretchedness,/ It almost makes me want to plague them less." Almost is the key word here, for Goethe's Mephistopheles loves all the pomp and decor that goes along with acting out the devil. "Muß wieder nun den Teufel spielen" (F, 2010) "I must go back and play the Deuce again" he says before his yet another challenge. Woland is a more world-weary devil, he lets his retinue 'play' in Moscow.

It is also in the first chapter of The Master and Margarita that Woland appears the most like Mephistopheles in the manner by which they conduct themselves.

> ...Goethe's Mephisto is philosophically stimulating, capable of proposing convincing alternatives to Faust's...world view. Mephisto's wit, his irony, even his cynicism frequently sound a legitimate counterpoint to the speeches of Faust.[5]

In his conversation with Berlioz and Bezdomnyi Woland is likeable, witty, shrewd, a great logician and savant, and is able to offer a valid point of view in opposition to these representatives of Russian society.

The first thing Woland does is to convince the Muscovites that there is a God as well as a devil. He asks the head of the literary association, MASSOLIT, if he has heard

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[5] Margaret Bullitt, "A Socialist Faust?" Comparative Literature 32, No. 1 (Winter 1980): 193.

about the five traditional proofs of God's existence--those of the thirteenth-century Christian philosopher St. Thomas Aquinas.[6] Berlioz, who is familiar with Kantian philosophy, and knows that Kant refuted all the five proofs,[7] quotes the eighteenth-century philosopher: "...в области разума никакого доказательства существования бога быть не может" /"...within the realm of rational reason the existence of God cannot be proven" (MM, 19), which he accepts. However, he neglects to mention the other side of Kant's argument, which came to be known as the sixth proof of God's existence, and which in actuality only further strengthens the five of Aquinas.

The sixth proof became an integral part of The Master and Margarita. It states that "the existence of God can be established only by practical [not rational] reason and the only God we can know is a moral God."[8] For Kant, the existence of God can be proven by the moral conscience of man:

> ... Vernunft is the expression of good will in the moral principle--devoid of any cognitive content and grounded in

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[6] Robert Paul Wolff, About Philosophy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981, 2nd ed.), 241.

[7] Wolff, 249.

[8] Immanuel Kant, Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Theodore M. Greene and Hoyt H. Hudson; with a new essay "The Ethical Significance of Kant's Religion" by John R. Silber (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), lxi.

the moral conscience.[9]

Berlioz dismisses the other side of Kant's argument as one fit for slaves and fools. Berlioz seems to dismiss a lot of 'others' which are not propagated by the State. The devil had warned Kant over breakfast one day that people would not take his dual position seriously (MM, 20), and Berlioz becomes such an example of accepting things one-sidedly.

Woland then offers the seventh proof of God's existence--by his own very existence, for the devil cannot exist without God. As proof that he is right, Woland predicts, but does not cause, the atheist's death, for only God "управляет жизнью человеческой и всем вообще распорядком на земле"/"is in charge of human life and all order on this earth in general" (MM, 20). It has been suggested that many a reader "derives secret pleasure from Berlioz's predicament."[10] Woland serves as a kind of black evangelist here.

Bulgakov's Woland is a strange devil indeed. He leads us to believe that God and Woland are not adversaries. Woland accepts God's sovereignty without animosity. He asserts the existence of God and Christ to the atheists; in fact, he appears just as Berlioz is denying the historicity of Christ. Early in the novel Bulgakov seems to want the

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[9] Louis J. Shein, "Neo-Kantian Influences in Russian Philosophical Thought," Germano-Slavica 4 (Spring 1989):194.

[10] Sona Hoisington, "Fairy-Tale Elements in Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita", Slavic and East European Journal 2 (1981): 46.

reader to be on the devil's side.

Bulgakov leaves no doubt concerning the ancestry of Woland. In Chapter 13 Woland is identified as Satan (MM, 145), and he is everpresent, since the beginning of history: "...был и у Пилата, и на завтраке у Канта, а теперь он навестил Москву"/"...was there with Pilate, had breakfast with Kant, and now he has come to Moscow" (MM, 146). This is Woland's first time in Moscow and his mission is of a very serious nature. The Soviet Union is the first country which has officially banned the belief in God, and therefore also in Satan. It is up to Woland to reverse this unnatural state and to restore the cosmic order.

Bulgakov presents us with a strange unorthodox cosmic order. His Woland and Ieshua are the very antitheses of the dogmatic devil and Christ. In The Master and Margarita they are complementary figures. They do not work against each other, but with each other in order to restore divine justice. Bulgakov, as Goethe did before him, "challenge[s] what we might call a naïve apocalyptic explanation of the divine scheme and its operation."[11] In the "Prologue in Heaven," there is no hostility between the Lord and Mephistopheles, as the Lord says:

> Ich habe deinesgleichen nie gehaßt.
> (F, 337)

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[11]Andrew Barratt, Between Two Worlds: A Critical Introduction to "The Master and Margarita" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 290.

I never did abominate your kind.

"The Lord likes him because he is a rogue."[12] Mephistopheles, in turn, likes talking to the Lord, whom he affectionally calls "Der Alte"/"Old Gent" (F, 350).

Mephistopheles is a unique Goethean creation, a modern eighteenth-century devil, who revolutionized the world's attitude towards traditional demonology. Who, then, is Mephistopheles?

> ...wer bist du denn?
> Ein Teil von jener Kraft,
> Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft.
> (F, 1334-6)
>
> ...who are you, then?
> Part of that force which would
> Do ever evil, and does ever good.

The Lord allows Mephistopheles to lead Faust astray, if he can, for it is through the devil's goading that Faust will strive for further self-development. Therefore, as one critic has concluded, "Mephistopheles cannot be an evil principle" as such because the striving that he promotes which is ordered by God, is "for some higher good."[13] Goethe's devil is the catalyst for "continuous motion and change," which "have been defined in Faust as positive categories."[14] These categories provide for the very salvation of Faust, which is Goethe's most significant departure from

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[12]Lieselotte Dieckmann, Goethe's 'Faust': A Critical Reading (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 24.

[13]Brown, 45-6.

[14]Brown, 90.

the sixteenth-century legend and the ultimate expression of the writer's own belief.

"Broadly speaking, the 'devil' plays a similar role in the cosmological scheme of The Master and Margarita and Faust."[15] Aside from some outward and initial similarities, Mephistopheles and Woland devils share a most important function: they are part of the cosmic plan, they act "in concert with, rather than in rebellion against God, Jesus Christ [the Easter Chorus in Faust], and the forces of good." And, "both seem to recognize fully their function as part of a vast cosmic bureaucracy.[16] Mephistopheles identifies himself as:

> Ich bin ein Teil, der anfangs alles war,
> Ein Teil der Finsternis, die sich das Licht gebar.
> (F, 1349-50)

> I am but part of the part that was the whole at first,
> Part of the dark which bore itself the light.

The Soviet critic Utekhin echoes the same sentiments about Woland:

> Воланд М. Булгакова--это сама жизнь, выражене некоей изначальной субстанции её... Воланд безусловно несёт в себе и начала зла, но только в том смысле, в каком олицетворении это является сам Хаос, сама могучая ночь творения, где зло в то же время--и оборотная сторона Добра. Поэтому Воланд в романе как бы выражение самой диалектики жизни, её

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[15]Barratt, 292.

[16]Merritt Clifton, "Rough-out of a Russian Devil," The Gypsy Scholar 3 (1973): 79.

> сущности, некоей абсолютной истины её.[17]
>
> M. Bulgakov's Woland is life itself, an expression of its certain primordial substance... Woland unconditionally bears within himself also the origin of evil, but only in the sense that it embodies Chaos itself, the mighty darkness of creation, where evil is at the same time the other side of Good. This is why Woland in this novel is as if an expression of the dialectic of life, its essence, its certain absolute truth.

There seems to be a fundamental unity of God and the devil in both Goethe's and Bulgakov's works. This points to an Old Testament conception of the devil. As is well known, Goethe's "Prologue in Heaven" is a free adaptation of the peculiar relationship between God and Satan in the Book of Job.[18] As Freehof writes:

> He [Satan] is not here, as he is conceived to be in later literature, the source of evil. He is one of the sons of God who appear before God regularly and act only upon God's command. But he has a specific responsibility in the heavenly court.
>
> He wanders "to and fro" through the earth noticing men's imperfections or seeing through their pretences. He is highly sceptical about man's virtue.[19]

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[17]N. P. Utekhin, as quoted in E. A. Iablokov, "'Ia--chast' toi síly...' (eticheskaia problematika romana M. Bulgakova Master i Margarita)," Russkaia literatura 2 (1988): 10.

[18]"The Book of Job gave him the model for his "Prologue in Heaven"," Barker Fairley, Goethe's FAUST: Six Essays (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 102; see also Salm, n. 2, 321; Rudwin, 102.

[19]Solomon Freehof, as quoted in Weeks, 228.

And some Bulgakov critics[20] have already pointed out, such a devil relates back to early Jewish writings,[21] and belongs to the Hebraic tradition,[22] which could have influenced Woland's character, as it is known that Bulgakov did a lot of research on demonology before writing this novel.[23]

> In the Hebraic Old Testament tradition Satan is not yet the arch-villain, the source of all moral evil, and the enemy of God and man familiar from the New Testament. He is instead the earthly administrator of justice, the public prosecutor, so to speak. Since in the Hebraic tradition the concepts of Satan and of divine justice are not at all incompatible, placing Woland in this context goes a long way toward clarifying his function in the novel.
>
> ...Woland, like Satan, is an official in a kind of divine administration.[24]

In this light, both Goethe and Bulgakov adhere to the Old Testament concept of God and the devil as complementary figures in a cosmological scheme. Goethe toyed with the

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[20]See Barratt, 292.

[21]A. C. Wright, "Satan in Moscow: An Approach to Bulgakov's the Master and Margarita," PMLA 88, No. 5 (October 1973): 1165.

[22]Laura D. Weeks, "Hebraic Antecedents in The Master and Margarita" Woland and Company Revisited," Slavic Review 44, No. 2 (Summer 1984): 224-41.

[23]See, for example, Marietta Chudakova, "A Vital Necessity (About Mikhail Bulgakov's personal library), Soviet Literature 2 (3470) (1977): 143.

[24]Weeks, 226, 227.

idea of saving Mephistopheles in the end,[25] along with Faust, since in the author's world view, "evil, too is redeemed in the total design of the cosmos."[26] The devil figure, Mephistopheles, as well as Woland, "is not the source of evil but a manifestation and affirmation of the evil that originates in men and their behaviour."[27]

In the vast cosmic scheme, good and evil are incorporated into one divine structure. Again, in The Master and Margarita "the fundamental dualism of good and evil, of light and darkness, as represented by Ieshua-ha-Nostri and Woland, can be seen in terms of a higher unity."[28]

Goethe's innovation of the traditional cosmic scheme also entails different conditions for Faust's salvation. The Lord says, "Es irrt der Mensch, solang' er strebt"/"Man ever errs the while he strives." (F, 317), and in the end, it is the striving that will be taken into account. Human failings are inevitable as long as humankind lives on earth; if one does nothing, that is the worst failing and leads to nothingness.

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[25]Brown, 10.

[26]Walter Kaufmann, trans. and intro., Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Faust. Goethe's FAUST: Part one and Sections from Part Two (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1961), 53.

[27]A. Colin Wright, "The Theme of Polarities in Russian and German Twentieth-century Literature: Mikhail Bulgakov and Hermann Hesse as Literary Cousins," Canadian Slavonic Papers, 1 (March 1983): 60-1.

[28]Wright, 69.

On earth, Mephistopheles becomes Faust's companion, his alter ego, like a trusted friend. The devil makes this commitment to the protagonist before they begin their journey together:

> Ich bin keiner von den Großen;
> Doch willst du mit mir vereint
> Deine Schritte durchs Leben nehmen,
> So will ich mich gern bequemen,
> Dein zu sein, auf der Stelle.
> Ich bin dein Geselle.
> (F, 1641-6)

> I am no ranking devil;
> But let us say you chose
> To fall in step with me for life's adventure,
> I'd gladly, forthwith, go into indenture,
> Be yours, as well as I know how.
> I am your companion now.

He does not so much lead Faust astray as provide him with a new existence, with a new experience of life (F, 1543). With the devil at his side, it is easier for Faust to break out of his vault of dead-end learning, out of his despair of only half knowing the truth. Without Mephistopheles Faust would have ended up as a pedantic scholar like his assistant Wagner, or committed suicide.

In order to keep Faust's quest for deeper knowledge and experience alive, the devil meets everything that Faust says or does with negative criticism: "Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint!"/"The spirit which eternally denies!" (F, 1338). By reminding Faust every step of the way that any human endeavour is basically pointless, Faust's idealism is

put to the test. With "the perennial negator"[29] at his side, Faust remains committed to surmounting new heights of experience--entering new realms of action. In the end, this negating influence helps the hero attain eternal life. For Goethe, this striving is the prerequisite for Faust's ultimate salvation.

Mephistopheles and Faust become inseparable, bound together in all endeavours.

> Faust's untiring striving was facilitated by his association with the devil. Through this association, Faust shares responsibility for the crimes committed on his unwitting behalf (i. e., on Gretchen, Valentin, Baucis and Philemon).[30]

Faust must face the responsibility of his actions, many of which were begun in haste. Mephistopheles quickly arranges everything that Faust wishes. When there is harm done to others, Faust immediately regrets his impatience, blames Mephistopheles for his bad judgment, and the latter points the finger right back at him. Faust ends up cursing the devil, wishes he had never met him, until the next quest where diabolical help will be needed. Mephistopheles replies to such bouts of regrets with:

> Nun, nun! ich lass' dich gerne ruhn,
> Du darfst mir's nicht im Ernste sagen.

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[29]Peter Salm, The Poem as Plant: A Biological View of Goethe's FAUST (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve Univ., 1971), 50.

[30]Margot K. Frank, "The Mystery of the Master's Final Destination," Canadian-American Slavic Studies 15, 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1981): 293.

> Wie hättst du, armer Erdensohn,
> Dein Leben ohne mich geführt?
> (F, 3257-8; 3266-7)
>
> Well, well! Stew on in your own juice,
> I'm glad to let you rest in quiet.
>
> Without my help, how would you fain,
> Have led your life, poor earthling, you?

A heavy price must be paid for Faust's conscious inquisitiveness, but strangely enough, it is precisely his striving that cancels his errors in the end.

The nature of Mephistopheles is certainly not reminiscent of Woland, who is in no way "the spirit that forever negates." There is also little evidence that he "wills forever evil." If in the eighteenth-century Goethe's devil came to a certain city in Germany to do his worst in order to obtain Faust's soul, Woland comes to Moscow merely to investigate the situation. "...Просто мне хотелось повидать москвичей"/ " I simply wanted to see the Muscovites" (MM, 219) is his reason for being there.

Woland's role in the novel is not to cause evil, but to expose the already existing evil. He does not lead anyone from their chosen path, does not tempt anyone to behave immorally, in fact, he does not tempt at all. Bulgakov's devil tests and rewards or punishes humanity according to their beliefs and values.

Most of the human vices are simply brought out into the open:

> Воланд приносит зло провинившимся тем,
> что публично разоблачает их, то есть в

> конечном счёте, становится защитником добра, истины.[31]
>
> Woland brings evil to the wrong-doers by way of exposing them publicly, and thus, in the final analysis, he becomes the protector of the good, of truth.

The only people who are punished by death and damnation in The Master and Margarita are the ones who were destined to die during the time of Woland's visit anyway. Unlike Mephistopheles, Woland does not cause violence and death, he can only predict the end because he is in touch with the higher force, God, who regulates the life and death of man.

It is Woland's retinue, Begemot, Korov'ev-Fagot, and Azazello who are actually the ones who enjoy creating havoc among those Muscovites: they punish those who demonstrate the vices of greed, jealousy, drinking, gluttony, lying, misuse of one's position of authority, corruption, and bribe-taking. Woland and his retinue bring out the worst in these citizens during the Variety show in Chapter 12. Paper money, trinkets, and other luxuries which later disappear are distributed among the spectators. This scene is reminiscent of Mephistopheles's performance at the court of the Emperor where the devil creates worthless paper money (F, 5590ff, 6037ff). The devil realizes that in their hearts the people have not changed; society might have changed outwardly with the introduction of new technology and con-

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[31]Michael Kreps, Bulgakov i Pasternak kak romanisty (Ann Arbor: Hermitage, 1984), 85.

veniences, yet petty human failings remain, as prevalent even in Soviet Moscow, where Socialism was supposed to have wiped out the desire for personal acquisitiveness.

A case can be made for the "good" that Woland does, however. Although he and his retinue turn Moscow upside down, the result is entirely positive, at least for the two people in Moscow who still believe in the spiritual realm, namely, the Master and Margarita. The devil saves the Master's manuscript from destruction and saves the lovers from hell on earth by giving them Eternal Peace.

> Woland's twin roles of unorthodox evangelist and agent of deliverance cannot be accounted for by reference to any conventional notion of the diabolical-....[32]

Bulgakov's devil is also not an active companion, in the Faustian tradition, glistening with vigour and anxious to perform the next act. Woland is an older devil who is world-weary and depends on his unholy trio to perform tricks of devilry. After the initial meeting, where Woland wore an elegant grey suit, we often see him lounging on his bed in his dirty nightshirt, on dirty sheets (MM, 266-7). A young witch puts ointment on his limbs. It is even too much for him to get dressed up in his attire for the great Satan's ball.

Поразило Маргариту то, что Воланд вышел

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[32]Andrew Barratt, Between Two Worlds: A Critical Introduction to "The Master and Margarita (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1987), 171.

> в этот последний великий выход на балу как раз в том самом виде, в каком был в спальне. Всё та же грязная заплатанная сорочка висела на его плечах, ноги были в стоптанных ночных туфлях. Воланд был со шпагой, но этой обнажённой шпагой он пользовался как тростью, опираясь на неё.
>
> (MM, 287)

> Margarita was struck by the fact that Woland made his last grand entrance at the ball looking exactly the same way as he did in the bedroom. The same dirty patched shirt hung from his shoulders, and on his feet were worn-out slippers. Woland had a rapier, but he used this naked rapier as a cane, leaning on it.

The dashing Squire Woland, who loved to pull rank (F, 4023) at the Brocken, is tired of playing all of the devil's roles.[33]

Real evil in Goethe's Faust seems to be associated with an "institutionalized conscience" of the academic world and the "narrow Christian orthodoxy hostile to nature"[34] of the citizens. Similarly, in The Master and Margarita, it can be said that the people guilty of evil are the ones who institutionalize literature and try to force a narrow-minded atheist belief on everyone. The Master was unable to submit his manuscript for publication because it did not fall into the category of art demanded by the narrow definition of

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[33]See F, 4022-4023: "Da werde' ich Hausrecht brauchen müssen./ Platz! Junker Voland kommt." "I must invoke my old perogatives./ Squire Woland has arrived!" Translation from Peter Salm, ed., trans., Faust: Part I, by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (Toronto: Bantam, 1985). Salm is used here because Arndt translates "Voland" as "Squire Nick."

[34]Brown, 120.

Socialist Realism.

Both Goethe and Bulgakov hint at the devil belonging to the Absolute, the Divine, while true evil is to be found in institutionalized religion/atheism/and art and in the people who adhere to a prescribed line of thinking without searching their soul. Perhaps both writers would suggest that the way to the Absolute is through the devil, who is the reflection of the Absolute, as the image of the moon is to the sun, or a shadow to an object or being?

> Das Wahre, mit dem Göttlichen identisch, lässt sich niemals von uns direct erkennen; wir schauen es nur im Abglanz, im Beispiel, Symbol.[35]
>
> Truth, identical with the Divine, will never let us recognize it directly; we see it only in a reflection, in example and symbol.

Woland seems rather to be a imitation or reflection of God--God's shadow, perhaps, which reflects and is a part of the Absolute. Ericson Jr. submits that:

> As the existence of the shadow proves the existence of that which casts the shadow and as the existence of moonlight presupposes the existence of sunlight, so Satan's existence bears witness to God's existence.[36]

Indeed, Woland says as much (to Matthu Levi) in Chapter 29

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[35]Goethe's definition, as quoted in Neil M. Flax, "The Presence of the Sign in Goethe's Faust, PMLA 98, No. 2 (March 1983): 183.

[36]Edward E. Ericson, Jr., "The Satanic Incarnation: Parody in Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita," Russian Review 33 (1974): 24.

of The Master and Margarita:

> ...что бы делало твоё добро, если бы несуществовало зла, и как бы выглядела земля, если бы с неё исчезли тени? Ведь тени получаются от предметов и людей. Вот тень моей шпаги. Но бывают тени от деревьев и от живых существ. Не хочешь литы ободрать весь земной шар, снеся с него прочь все деревья и всё живое из-за твоей фантазии наслаждаться голым светом?
>
> (MM, 376-7)

> ...and what would your good do, if there were no evil, and how would the earth look,if the shadows disappeared from it? For shadows are formed by objects and people. Here is the shadow of my rapier. But there are also shadows from trees and living creatures. Don't tell me you want to strip the whole globe of all trees and all living things just because of your fantasy of enjoying a bare world?

Several critics have also pointed to a daimonic (Dämonische) nature of Woland[37] which is part of the nature of God. Ulanov excellently defines the daimonic as that force

> which inspires, guides, and confirms a source of value beyond human conventions. The daimon, in this understanding, is also seen as a helpful fate urging self-realization and realization of truth, as a bridge between the human and the divine, as that which drives us beyond our narrow limits, beyond the hedges of conventional point of view.
>
> ...the daimon has been thought of as all those sources of vitality which assert, affirm, confirm, and augment human personality, as the energy that fights against apathy, boredom, rigidity, and

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[37]Weeks, 232; L. Karasev, "O Demonakh na dogovore," Voprosy Literatury, 10 (1988): 6-7.

even death.[38]

The opposite of the daimonic is "a kind of boredom, of dullness--a safe life lived according to the rules,"[39] the kind of unconditional repose (F, 341) which humankind would fall into were it not for Mephistopheles. This daimonic understanding of the devil was restored and realized in Goethe's Faust.[40]

However different Mephistopheles and Woland may be, they share these common overall qualities of the Old Hebrew Devil and of the mythological daimon. Of course, neither Goethe's drama nor Bulgakov's novel were meant to serve as works of theology. Their daemonic figures differ significantly from the conventional Christian conception. These are literary devils, who serve as mouthpieces for personal philosophies on life. Turgenev felt so about Goethe's Mephistopheles:

> Are not his [Mephistopheles'] speeches the most faithful expression of the innermost impulses and convictions of Goethe himself?[41]

Ellendea Proffer makes the same point concerning Woland:

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[38]Ann B. Ulanov, "The Psychological Reality of the Demonic,"in Alan M. Olson, ed. Disguises of the Demonic: Contemporary Perspectives on the Power of Evil (New York: Association Press, 1975), 135.

[39]Ulanov, 136.

[40]Karasev, 6.

[41]I. Turgenev, as quoted in Andre von Gronicka, "Ivan Turgenev's Faust Essay," Germano-Slavica 3, No. 1 (Spring 1979): 23.

> Woland is an extremely sympathetic character, all told, and if we look closely at his opinions--and the somewhat scruffy attire he affects at home, we may see it is he, and not the Master, who comes closest to embodying Bulgakov's own views and character.[42]

Mephistopheles can be seen as the cosmological force that leads humanity to knowledge and self-realization. This is not such a strong imperative in the twentieth century. Mankind has made enormous gains in all fields of knowledge since the eighteenth century, and the imperative is for him to develop a self-awareness and attain self-fulfilment from within. The fear of losing one's soul to the devil in order to satisfy a yearning for knowledge is no longer real. The devil of the Middle Ages has become obsolete. The old fear has been replaced by the responsibility for one's own actions. In the twentieth century, "man now only has himself to fear--a more frightening prospect, perhaps...."[43] The devil must play a different role; to the inhabitants of mostly atheist Moscow he comes to remind them that he still exists, and that compared to the people he is God-like. Human nature has changed little, however, since the days of Christ, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, all the way into

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[42]Ellendea Proffer, Bulgakov: Life and Work (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1984): 559-60.

[43]Deborah Borisoff, Changing Aspects in Twentieth-Century Faustian Works: The Woman as Illuminator and Liberator of the Isolated Hero. Ph. D. diss. (New York University, 1981), 105.

the twentieth century.

However, in Moscow of the 1930's as well as in eighteenth century Germany, and for at least two centuries before that, there were artists who, it would seem, had entered into pacts with the devil. Goethe and Bulgakov present two such artists. The relationship between the artist and the devil has long been suspected in the more primitive and/or unenlightened societies. The devil presents man with the opportunity to develop himself fully, and the artist with the experiences that enliven and enrich his art.

Bulgakov was certain from the beginning that his novel would be about the devil, he was not certain though what shape it would finally take. In a letter of March 28, 1930, the author referred to this work as his novel about the devil.[44] "Amongst the early titles of the novel were 'The Black Magician', 'The Great Chancellor', 'Satan', 'The Consultant with a Hoof', and 'The Black Theologian'."[45] As late as the beginning of 1937 the title of the novel was "Князь тьмы", "The Prince of Darkness" but towards the end of the same year the new and final title emerged, The Master

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[44]Chudakova, 219.

[45]Gareth Williams, "Some difficulties in the Interpretation of Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita and the Advantages of a Manichaean Approach, with Some Notes on Tolstoy's Influence on the Novel," Slavonic and East European Review 68, No. 2 (April 1990), 237.

and Margarita.[46] And these were the concerns of the terminally ill Bulgakov, who had about two years left to live, namely, the artist in society and the artist's love that saved him. Chapter 2 of this thesis deals with the former eternal theme in literature.

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[46]Chudakova, 235, 244.

CHAPTER 2

The Artist and the Devil

> The Master has no name, but represents any true artist.... Christ, Faust, and the Master are but different aspects of a single creation.[1]

Artists have always been suspected of having a relationship with the devil. From ancient times the devil has been known to be a patron of literature and an inspiration to those engaged in the creative process. "It is a well-known fact that books have in all times been considered tools of hell."[2] The knowledge that is gained through literature is often subversive to the social order; the thirst for knowledge is a symptom of and leads to a dissatisfaction with contemporary society as a whole and a search for self-realization.

> For self-realization, what is necessary first of all is an absolute honesty which rarely accords with the opinion of others around one.[3]

The artist is a harbinger, a seer, and therefore suspect in

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[1] Wright, "Satan in Moscow," 1171.

[2] Rudwin, 260.

[3] Wright, "The Theme of Polarities," 63.

the eyes of a social order which is being questioned and challenged. A literary work, especially if it is successful, betrays its indebtedness to the devil. It is Woland who utters the words in The Master and Margarita that «рукописи не горят»/"manuscripts do not burn" (MM, 302), and that in general, «исписанная бумага горит неохотно»/"paper covered with writing does not burn willingly" (MM, 157). The metaphysical/supernatural existence of literature further supports the connection between the devil and art. Goethe himself wrote jokingly in a letter in 1789 that he would have to sell "his soul to Satan in order to write his Faust.[4]

Bulgakov's construction of the relationship between the devil and an artist links him with this tradition. The Master and Woland take turns in telling the same story about Pilate and Ieshua in the novel. The story takes on the appearance of being written by a single author, with the Master being the instrument through which it is put down on paper. There is a continuous flow, so much so that one cannot say that one anticipates or feeds off the other; the two authors are writing the same narrative.

However, the relationship between Woland and the Master is not obvious, unlike that between Mephistopheles and Faust. The devil and Faust are inseparable from the beginning to the end of Goethe's drama. Their actions are inter-

[4] Rudwin, 260.

woven to the extent that Mephistopheles and Faust appear as two sides of one personality. It is not until near the end of The Master and Margarita that the Master and Woland first meet, and that their relationship is made explicit. The devil affirms that the manuscript which the Master had intuited is the truth.

Leatherbarrow, in his article, "The Devil and the Creative Visionary in Bulgakov's Master i Margarita,"[5] offers a suitable definition of an artist for this thesis which includes "idealistic visionaries" such as Ieshua and Faust. He writes that the artist

> is gifted with a more acute insight than his fellow men into the nature of truth.
>
> The artist is the voice of restlessness, of dissatisfaction and striving and, as such, he is manifestly out of place in a world of mediocrity, complacency and spiritual atrophy.[6]

Ieshua is able to see into the soul of people, and in particular, that of Pilate. Ieshua not only sees into the true nature of Pilate, as one who has a receptive and agile mind, but also reveals this truth to the ruler. This is the first time that Pilate sees the truth. Although he admits that Ieshua has correctly identified his nature and his need for friendship, Pilate cannot overcome his cowardice and

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[5] W. J. Leatherbarrow, "The Devil and the Creative Visionary in Bulgakov's Master i Margarita," New Zealand Slavonic Journal, 1 (1975): 29-35.

[6] Leatherbarrow, 35-6.

does not spare Ieshua's life. For this act his conscience must suffer for two thousand years until the end of the novel, where Ieshua forgives Pilate his weakness; Ieshua and Pilate walk off into the moonlight.

"Faust is a man who is forever seeking knowledge, searching for fundamental truth."[7] He represents an artist, in the broad sense, through his attempts to break out of the limitations that the society around him is content with. Faust is

> impatient, restless,.. emotional and often quite irrational, but possessing great power of mind and speech and the strength of a vivid imagination.[8]

His observant and critical mind does not relinquish its imaginative capabilities in favour of succumbing to the path of least resistance--mundane scholarship, organized religion, and conventional morality. "Faust appealed to Goethe as a symbol of man's emancipation from authority...his courage in daring to trespass upon the realm of the forbidden makes his a heroic figure charged with positive value."[9]

The Master, like Faust before him, has also given up his former life and position at the museum in order to pur-

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[7] Edythe C. Haber, "The Mythic Structure of Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita," Russian Review 34 (1975): 391.

[8] Lieselotte Dieckmann, Goethe's FAUST: A Critical Reading (Eaglewood Cliff: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 42.

[9] Weigand, 447.

sue his calling as writer. For him this calling is the setting down of the inspired truth. The Master's art is an ideal to which humanity can aspire in its self-development; his protagonist, Ieshua, states the seemingly simple truths in the manuscript. However, in the Master's society, "men follow the path of least resistance, denying their own imaginative capabilities in favour of institutionalized ideologies."[10]

The artist's genius generally goes unappreciated by the multitude; he is misunderstood and alienated for his vision. Often such a man aligns himself with Christ who was the first martyr for his vision, which was in opposition to a society that refused to accept him. A strong indication as to the divine nature of the artist's pursuit of beauty and truth is given by Bulgakov as he links the artist's goals, and subsequent reception by society, to that of the Christ figure, Ieshua, in the Master's novel about Pilate. In his novel the Master portrays Ieshua as one who

> sees established religion and social institutions as diminished, inferior forms of a higher order which are used to control the masses rather than free them. In order to preserve the official order it is necessary to deny the very existence of this higher order.[11]

Either Christ or the devil seems to be the misunder-

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[10]Carol Arenberg, "Mythic and Daimonic Paradigms in Bulgakov's Master i Margarita," Essays in Literature 9, No. 1 (Spring 1982): 121.

[11]Arenberg, 122.

stood artist's inspiration and paragon, a connection that is maintained by both Goethe and Bulgakov.

In the eighteenth century, the Romantics in Europe saw the devil as a noble rebel, a defeated hero, who invoked admiration and compassion. The solitary figure of the devil became akin to the proud and rebellious spirit of Romanticism,[12] for this was the time of revolutions and rebellions against all authority, especially that of the church. In Stalinist Russia Christ became the protector and hero of all those who were exiles within the communist state. The parallels between Ieshua and the Master as outcasts of society and martyrs for their unique visions are clear; however, it is through Woland's intervention that the Master's art survives. Christ and Satan, although both misunderstood, perform a similar service for the artist.

> ...in general, Bulgakov's Satan and Christ, although they use opposite means, serve the same ends ...the aim of both is the destruction of the deadening and coercive status quo in the name of life and freedom.[13]

The relationship between Mephistopheles and Faust, and Woland and the Master are comparable. Both Mephistopheles and Woland seek to complement the knowledge that Faust and the Master, as scholars, have acquired. The societies of eighteenth-century Germany and twentieth-century Soviet

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[12]See Rudwin, 286-7.

[13]Haber, 403.

Union are fundamentally different, just as Mephistopheles' and Woland's functions vis-a-vis the individual artist.

Mephistopheles and Woland both present the 'other' aspect as knowledge that is necessary to the visionary and forbidden in their time period. Mephistopheles takes the scholar, Faust, out from cloistered academia and sets him on a journey in the temporal, sensual world, to acquire the experience he lacked of the everyday world. The Master had been unable to retreat into the intellectual atmosphere he required in order to finish his work on Pilate. Woland challenges the Master with his own unfinished manuscript; by saving the manuscript Woland presents the possibility for completion, and also the Master's self-realization. The Master is set on the path to intellectual fulfilment.

Although both Mephistopheles and Woland perform the same function by prodding the artist into the segment of that he has neglected, Bulgakov has added a fundamental change to the narrative while maintaining the link with the Faust legend.

> A major shift in emphasis from the earlier to the modern Faustian works is that knowledge of, or experience in the world ceases to be an important consideration in the twentieth century.[14]

The perennial theme in art is the right of the artist

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[14]Borisoff, 46.

to search in whatever direction his inspiration takes him.[15] Various societies throughout the ages have been reluctant to grant the artist the freedom of expression that he requires, since the disquieting nature of inspiration makes the artist's path an uncertain one.

There are clearly autobiographical notes in The Master and Margarita. "Casting his Master as Faust in a hospital gown was a kind of romantic irony by which the author mocked his own helpless position."[16] The Master's nervous disorder resulted from oppression and anguish--from the state literary authorities and the mob at the "Griboedov" which calls itself writers. They had broken the Master's spirit and his health. In a letter to Stalin, of May 30, 1931, Bulgakov points to the cause of his illness:

> С конца 1930 года я хвораю тяжёлой формой нейростении с припадками страха и предсердечной тоски, и в настоящее время я приконченен.
>
> Причина болезни моей мне отчетливо известна.
>
> Причина моей болезни--многолетняя затравленность, а затем молчание.
>
> Если это так--мне закрыт горизонт, у меня отнята высшая писательская школа, я лишен возможности решить для себя громадные вопросы. Привита психологоия заключенного.
>
> Мне нужно видеть свет и, увидев его,

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[15]Joan Delaney, "The Master and Margarita: The Reach Exceeds the Grasp," Slavic Review 31 (1972): 93.

[16]Delaney, 100.

> вернуться. Ключ в этом.[17]
>
> Since the end of 1930 I am suffering from a hard case of a nervous disorder, accompanied by severe bouts of fear and auricle depression, and presently I am at my end.
>
> The cause of my illness is well known to me.
>
> The cause of my illness is the persecution lasting many years, and then silence.
>
> And if it has to be like this--that the horizon is closed for me, then my highest education as a writer is also taken away from me; I am deprived of the opportunity to answer some great questions for myself. I have acquired the psychology of a prisoner.
>
> I have to see the world and, having seen it, return. This is the key.

The Master is given peace from the mob, the peace that Bulgakov so much desired; at the end of The Master and Margarita when Woland and Margarita save him from the asylum, and he is then free to write in peace. The ending underscores the author's own belief in a divine justice where the artist "will be given a safe haven for the purpose of unhindered pursuit of beauty and truth."[18]

This traditional view of the inspired but misunderstood visionary seeking sanctuary and judgment beyond the vulgar everyday world is also expressed by the poet in the "Prelude

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[17]Mikhail Bulgakov, Pis'ma, 196-7.

[18]Delaney, 99.

in the Theatre" in Goethe's Faust:[19]

> O sprich mir nicht von jener bunten
> Menge,
> Bei deren Anblick uns der Geist entflieht.
> Verhülle mir das wogende Gedränge,
> Das wider Willen uns zum Strudel zieht.
> Nein, führe mich zur stillen Himmelsenge,
> Wo nur dem Dichter reine Freude blüht,
> Wo Lieb' und Freundschaft unsres Herzens Segen
> Mit Götterhand erschaffen und erpflegen.
> (F, 59-66)

> Invoke me not the motley crowd unsteady,
> Whose very aspect puts my mind to flight!
> Oh, shroud me from the swirling human eddy
> That draws us downward, struggle as we might.
> Find me that nook of heaven's stillness, heady,
> With blossom of the poet's pure delight,
> Where for the heart both love and friendship
> flourish,
> With godly hands create its bliss and nourish.

Bulgakov's Master receives such a quiet peaceful nook from Woland in his afterlife. He will continue writing without disruptions and fear. The Master's peace is a creative workshop with his beloved Margarita to inspire and support him. Goethe's Faust also continues his work in eternity; his task is to share his vast knowledge with the heavenly beings, to educate them and continue developing himself. For both Goethe and Bulgakov, an artist's life does not end with death on earth, but it continues in the transcendental realm. The artist's reward is to create and strive in peace without the need of the devil now, because the heroes no longer need the demonic to protect them from human vices.

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[19]Leatherbarrow, 41.

It is noteworthy that while Faust and Mephistopheles are inseparable throughout Goethe's drama, Faust nevertheless goes to 'heaven', for such is the Lord's design in the "Prologue in Heaven." The disquieting nature of inspiration makes the visionary's path an uncertain one. There is always the possibility of error or of being led astray. Faust's search took him on a sensual journey in the real world. However, Bulgakov reveals the changing priorities of a twentieth-century society, and his contribution to the Faust legend:

> In the twentieth century...The modern Faustian quest had become a search for identity, for authenticity, and for freedom.[20]

The search for knowledge, however different, join Faust and the Master in the Faustian tradition in the process of that search, through their continued striving for their goal.

The Lord says to Mephistopheles:

> Es irrt der Mensch, solang' er strebt.
> (F, 317)
>
> Man errs the while he strives.

And this is repeated by the angels as they carry off Faust's soul:

> Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
> Den können wir erlösen.
> (F, 11936-7)

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[20]Borisoff, 135.

> Whoever strives in ceaseless toil,
> Him we may grant redemption.

The Master, who only meets Woland towards the end of the novel through the intervention of Margarita, has yet to become a Faust and then he can earn light. As Woland says,

> Неужели ж вам не будет приятно писать при свечах гусиным пером? Неужели вы не хотите, подобно Фаусту, сидеть над ретортой в надежде, что вам удастся вылепить нового гомункула? Туда, туда. Там ждёт уже вас дом и старый слуга, свечи уже горят, а скоро они потухнут, потому что вы немедленно встретите рассвет. По этой дороге, мастер, по этой.
>
> (MM, 399)

> Wouldn't it be pleasant for you to sit and write with a quill under candlelight? Wouldn't you want, as Faust did, to sit over a retort in the hopes of fashioning a new Homunculus? Thither, thither. That is where a house and an old man servant are awaiting you, the candles are already lit, and soon they will go out, for you will meet the dawn immediately. This way, master, this way.

Woland seems to be saying that he has given the Master peace in order for him to become a striving Faust, and only after that he will earn light or heaven as Goethe's hero did. It would be interesting to learn whether Bulgakov knew that it was actually Wagner who created Homunculus with the help of Mephistopheles in Goethe's Faust. If he did, then does Woland imply that the Master has a really long way to go yet, if he is to start at the pedantic scholar's level? The setting of the Master's peace is reminiscent of Faust's study; the Master is to go back in time (Romanticism) before

electricity and servants. The music he will be hearing around him is of Goethe's contemporary, the Austrian composer Schubert (1797-1828). The Master's peace is a Romantic setting with the freedom to create.

It is remarkable, again, that Christ and the devil had both planned this place for the Master. There is no conflict between the two.

> «Он [Иешуа] прочитал сочинение мастера», – заговорил Левий Матвей, – «и просит тебя, чтобы ты взял с собою мастера и наградил его покоем».
> (MM, 377)

> "He [Ieshua] has read the Master's work," – began Matthu Levi, – "and he is asking you to take the Master with you and reward him with peace."

If the Master's novel is unpublishable or unsuitable in the world as it is, then the supernatural authorities step in and save this piece of art, for it is the truth.

Further, it is Woland again, who says that «Всё будет правильно, на этом построен мир», "Everything will turn out right, for the world is built upon it" (MM, 398) near the end of the novel. This is the longing and the hope that Bulgakov, through his Master, carried in his heart. There is a cosmic hierarchy above the terrestrial order which sets everything straight. The visionary or artist in this world, who strives and reaches beyond the here and now, is helped by the devil and redeemed by the divine order.[21]

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[21]Haber, 409; MM, 399.

While the Master is not the fearless and adventurous Faust who wants to experience everything on earth and reach for the fairest star in heaven, Bulgakov's hero searches for the truth within, thus reaching outward to heaven beyond the mob ("die bunte Menge"). Peace from this mob is what he desires the most in order to create freely.[22]

The freedom-seekers find what they want and they are spared, even from death itself. "Faust...did not die, but goes on to new realms of experience."[23] The Master and Margarita do not perish forever, but go to a creative haven.

An artist's life finds purpose in the search for meaning, in striving for self-discovery and knowledge. The journey of an artist is perilous. The validity of this in The Master and Margarita is accented by the autobiographical references.

In his letter of March 28, 1930 to the Government of the USSR Bulgakov states the requirements for artistic development, which was not being provided. This letter is Bulgakov's credo, and clearly provides the basis for the portrayal of the Master's own situation.

> После того, как все мои произведения были запрещены,.. стали раздаваться голоса, подающие мне один и тот же совет: Сочинить «коммунистическую пьесу»,.. а кроме того, обратиться к Правительству СССР с покаянным письмом,

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[22]Haber, 403.

[23]Barker Fairley, Goethe's FAUST: Six Essays (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1953), 32.

содержащим в себе отказ от прежних моих взглядов....

Цель: спастись от гонений, нищеты и неизбежной гибели в финале.

Этого совета я не послушался.

Попыток же сочинить коммунистическую пьесу я даже не производил, зная заведомо, что такая пьеса у меня не выйдет.

Я обраружил в прессе СССР за десять лет моей литературной работы 301 отзыв обо мне. Из них похвальных--было 3, враждебно-ругательных--298.

Борьба с цензурой, какая бы она ни была и при какой бы она власти ни существовала, мой писательский долг, так же как и призывы к свободе печати. Я горячий поклонник этой свободы и полагаю, что, если кто-нибудь из писателей задумал бы доказывать, что она ему не нужна, он уподобился бы рыбе, публично уверяющей, что ей не нужна вода.

Мыслим ли я в СССР?

Ныне я уничтожен.

Уничтожение это было встречено советской общественностью с полной радостью и названо «ДОСТИЖЕНИЕМ».

Погибли не только мои прошлые произведения, но и настоящие и все будущие. И лично я, своими руками, бросил в печку черновик романа о дьяволе....

Все мои вещи безнадежны.

Я прошу принять во внимание, что невозможность писать равносильна для меня погребению заживо.

Я обращаюсь к гуманности советской власти и прошу меня, писателя, который не может быть полезен у себя, в отечестве,

великодушно отпустить на свободу.[24]

After all my works had been banned,.. some voices were heard, giving me the same advice over and over again: To write a "communist play,.." and, moreover, to write a penitential letter to the Government of the USSR, containing a renunciation of my former views...

The purpose of this: to save myself from persecution, poverty, and inevitable ruin in the end.

I did not listen to their advice.

I didn't even attempt to write a communist play, for I knew ahead of time that I cannot write such a play.

During the last ten years of my literary work I have discovered in the USSR press 301 reviews about me. 3 of them praised me, and 298 were hostile and abusive.

To struggle with the censors, no matter what kind and under whose authority they operate, is my writer's duty, along with my appeal for the freedom of the press. I am a fervent supporter of this freedom and think that if any one of the writers would conceive of the idea to prove that he does not need it, he would be like a fish, publicly declaring that it does not need water.

Is it conceivable for me to be in the USSR?

Presently I am destroyed.

This destruction was met by Soviet society with utter joy and called an "ACCOMPLISHMENT."

Not only my past works have been lost,

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[24]Mikhail Bulgakov, Pis'ma: Zhizneopisanie v dokumentakh, Intro. article by V. V. Petelin; commentary by V. I Losev and V. V. Petelin (Moscow: "Sovremennik", 1989): 170-8.

> but also my present ones and all my future ones. And I personally, with my own hands, threw my manuscript about the devil into the fire....
>
> Everything is hopeless.
>
> I beg to take into attention the fact that the impossibility for me to write is equivalent to burying me alive.
>
> I appeal to the humaneness of the Soviet Government and plead for generosity to set me free, a writer who cannot be useful in his home land.

Of course, letters of this nature were not considered in the Soviet Union at that time. Just as the Master did not gain light, but peace, so did his creator. The Russian word свет (svet) is used to signify light at the end of Bulgakov's novel; however the word also carries the meaning of 'world' ('the West') or 'publication'. Bulgakov's increasing desire, as his work was banned in the Soviet Union, was to go abroad, to Europe,

> Я должен и я имею право видеть хотя бы кратко--свет.
>
> Мне нужны ни доктора, ни дома отдыха, ни санатории, ни прочее в этом роде. Я знаю, что мне надо. На два месяца--иной город, иное солнце, иное море....[25]

His request was repeatedly denied. His novel also did not see the light or was not published during his life time. Nevertheless, the writer was able to find peace within himself, with his wife Elena Sergeevna by his side; for he

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[25]Letter to V. V. Veresaev, April 26, 1934, as quoted in Chudakova, Zhizneopisanie, 394.

believed in divine justice and that some day his manuscript would see the light.

In both Faust and The Master and Margarita a female protagonist is central to the outcome. Gretchen extends grace to Faust and so saves his soul. Margarita, with the help of Woland, saves the Master from the asylum. The relationship of the lovers in these two works is not only the basis for the rescue of the artist, but for his very redemption.

Chapter 3

The Lovers, the Devil, and the Eternal Feminine

Chorus Mysticus: Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis;
Das Unzulängliche,
Hier wird's Ereignis;
Das Unbeschreibliche,
Hier ist's getan;
Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan.
(F, 12104-12111)[1]

The Faustian tradition must include a despairing male figure. He is at odds with the society around him because of his intellect, an alliance with the devil, and a significant female figure. She acts as an intermediary between her lover and the cosmic powers in order to save him.[2] However, the means of her performing her role of intermediary are essentially different in the drama and in the novel. In the "Gretchen Tragedy" Goethe maintained woman as a force acted upon (by Faust, the morals of society), and it is not until Gretchen's redemption in Heaven after her suicide that Gretchen becomes 'Grace' and saves Faust. Bulgakov, in

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[1] All that is changeable/ Is but refraction;/ The unattainable/ Here becomes action./ Human discernment/ Here is passed by;/ Woman Eternal/ Draws us on high.

[2] Borisoff, 3.

keeping with the "Gretchen Tragedy," has the Master saved after his 'death', but Margarita, the obvious Gretchen figure in the novel, performs the role of intermediary on earth and not in heaven. Gretchen and Margarita are fundamentally different, a fact that serves to develop the Faust legend in a direction that marked Bulgakov's major innovation within the tradition.

Thus far Faust's involvement with Mephistopheles and the Master's reluctant agreement, at Margarita's urging, to follow Woland have been examined. The devil's role in promoting Faust's vision has been probed in the previous chapter, along with the role that Woland plays in the Master's life and preservation of his art. The most important aspect of the Goethean drama is perhaps that of the woman: she represents the power of love, truth and beauty. She is selflessly dedicated, and like the Virgin Mary possesses the ability to intercede--she plays a crucial role in the hero's life.

The relationship of the lovers in Goethe's Faust and Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita play a decisive role in the outcome of their works because they are the means of the Faust's and the Master's redemption. The role of Gretchen was not one that was found in the women in the chapbook. Goethe altered the original legend of Faust by introducing the ""Gretchen Tragedy"" into the body of his work. Although Bulgakov continues the idea of woman as the mediator

in her lover's ultimate salvation, he also fundamentally alters the image of Gretchen, in effect, to change the image of woman and to usher for one inkeeping with the twentieth-century.

At first, the "Gretchen Tragedy" might have the appearances of a sentimental eighteenth-century love story: a young small-town girl is seduced by an older nobleman and left alone to face the consequences at the hands of merciless society. Again, Goethe makes the "Gretchen Tragedy", just like all of his Faust, more than just the narrow warning not to stray off the prescribed moral path. The moral reading is, perhaps, the most obvious reading: the involvement of a naïve girl with the gallant gentry had dire consequences. Invariably the gentlemen were in search of exploits and adventure among the lower classes. While the product of such an encounter would usually mean an illegitimate child, it would be the girl alone, who would face an unforgiving society: infanticide and her own death were all too often the result of being scorned by a society whose moral laws "ruled life with unrelenting and inexorable despotism."[3]

Goethe changes the maudlin tale and elevates the "Gretchen Tragedy" to a genuine love story. Faust is not only drawn to Gretchen's physical beauty, but adores her as an

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[3] Leon Shestov, "Penultimate Words," Chekhov and Other Essays (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966), 121.

image of divine perfection. Alone in her room he exclaims:

> O, liebe Hand! so göttergleich!
> Die Hütte wird durch dich ein Himmelreich!
> (F, 2707-8)
>
> Und hier mit heilig reinem Weben
> Entwickelte sich das Götterbild!
> (F, 2715-6)
>
> Oh dearest hand! so near divine!
> Through you this cabin turns into a shrine!
>
> And here in chaste and sacred weaving
> God's image ripened in the loom!

Gretchen also loves Faust, "Bester Mann! von Herzen lieb' ich dich!" "Dearest man, I love you with all my heart." (F, 3206). Faust and Gretchen fall in love at first sight and the ending of Part II reveals that they are destined to be with each other through eternity.

However, the lover's blissful time on earth is but short. Faust's life with Gretchen would have remained a narrow one--family happiness in a small hut--and so one that would not fulfil Faust's mission, although it did appeal to him on a personal level. They do come from very different worlds:

> The story of Faust and Gretchen tells of the collision between the modern, unrestricted, emancipated human being and the representative of the traditional, limited, moral order in its most attractive and fulfilling form, an order which Faust has none the less violently put behind him.[4]

Although he cannot remain, Faust tries to save Gretchen from

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[4] Boyle, 59.

her world and take her with him. It is Gretchen's choice not to be rescued by Faust from prison. In her madness she realizes that Mephistopheles is the devil. In keeping with her Catholic faith, she will not be rescued by a Faust to whom Mephistopheles has become an indispensable companion.[5] Faust unwittingly becomes the instrument of Gretchen's destruction on earth through his involvement with Mephistopheles. Faust curses the day he encountered Mephistopheles and at the same time realizes his need for the diabolos to continue his quest.

Gretchen's function in Faust's cosmic fate emerges at the end of Faust: Part Two.

> The Gretchen tragedy came to assume a significance for Faust and his ultimate salvation which went far beyond the themes of libertinism and infanticide. Gretchen, in her authentic love for Faust, emerges as the most powerful embodiment of the Feminine, that principle which defines the highest object of Faustian desire and ultimately serves-...as the instrument of Faust's salvation.[6]

Gretchen is saved because she loves selflessly on earth and develops into the personification of compassion at the Virgin's side in heaven. Gretchen becomes the force which attracts Faust upward. With Faust redeemed, Gretchen and

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[5] Georg Lukacs, [A Marxist Interpretation of the Gretchen Tragedy], in Cyrus Hamlin, ed. Faust: A Tragedy, by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, trans. Walter Arndt (New York: Norton), 530.

[6] Hamlin, 319.

Faust become reunited in the eternal realm.

Bulgakov's Margarita is a continuation of the Gretchen character as her name suggests (Gretchen is a diminutive for Margarete). If in Goethe's drama the heroine is only a girl of just over fourteen, Margarita is a self-confident woman of thirty whose intelligence is emphasized; «Она была красива и умна», "She was beautiful and intelligent" (MM, 229). Perhaps Margarita is a more mature Gretchen who has the courage to leave the status quo (i. e., as represented by Margarita's loveless marriage) and join her lover, whatever the price. Margarita's character is only loosely based on Gretchen's; however, the similarities in function are clear enough to make a connection between the two.

For Margarita, the Master is also the love of her life. Before she met him, she was living comfortably with her husband who could provide her with the material wealth that many a Muscovite woman envied. But she is not happy in that relationship, and had never been:

> Ни одной минуты! С тех пор, как девятнадцатилетней она вышла замуж и попала в особняк, она не знала счастья.
>
> Что же нужно было этой женщине?!
>
> ...ей нужен был он, мастер, а вовсе не готический особняк, и не отдельный сад, и не деньги. Она любила его, она говорила правду.
>
> (MM, 230)

> Not for a minute! Since the age of nineteen when she married her husband and went to live in his private house, she has known no happiness.

> What on earth did this woman need?!
>
> ...she needed him, the Master, and not at all the gothic private house with its separate garden and also not the money. She loved him, and she spoke the truth.

If she had not met the Master, «она отравилась бы, потому что жизнь её пуста», "she would have poisoned herself, for her life was so empty" (MM, 150). The Master and his novel became her life («и говорила, что в этом романе её жизнь») (MM, 152).

The Master entertained similar thoughts on the eve of his arrest, on that fateful night when Margarita left him alone. «Идти мне было некуда, и проще всего, конечно, было бы броситься под трамвай», "I had nowhere to go, and the simplest thing would have been, of course, to throw myself under the tram" (MM, 160). Both Margarita and the Master experienced the same suicidal despair that Faust had, just before the Easter chorus saves him and he meets Mephistopheles.

The Master's novel about Ieshua and Pilate becomes the purpose in the Master's and Margarita's life; in conjunction with their mutual love, it is all they need. The circumstances in Moscow's publishing world would not allow the Master's manuscript to appear in print. In the process of trying to get his work published, the Master is spiritually destroyed and ends up in an insane asylum. It is at this point that Margarita takes matters into her own hands and

invokes the devil. «Ах, право, дьволу бы я заложила душу, чтобы только узнать, жив ли он или нет!», "I would give my soul to the devil, if only to find out whether he is alive or not!" (MM, 236). The driving force in all the following transactions with Woland and his retinue is Margarita's urgent promise to herself to save her lover and his work, «Но я тебя спасу, я тебя спасу», "But I will save you, I will save you" (MM, 158).

There is a strange reversal of the Goethean characteristics of the lovers at work here: Margarita, not the Master, is the active person in pursuit of her mission at any cost, as is Faust. It is she who allies herself with the world of the devil and magic. Margarita "rebels against convention and respectability by becoming a witch,"[7] whereas Gretchen before her had become something of a sacrificial lamb in order to save Faust's soul.

The ideal woman is perceived differently by Goethe and Bulgakov: each Margaret figure represents the author's own experience of the Eternal Feminine, according to the needs and emotions of each in different time periods. Goethe's Eternal Feminine (F, 12110) depicts his womanly perfection, Grace, unselfish Love. It is the ideal which inspires true love and adoration which draws the spirit forward. The Eternal Feminine, "pregnant with the Future, draws the hero-

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[7] Wright, 64.

ic soul upward to a higher sphere of existence."[8]

Bulgakov required a strong, independent woman who would have the courage to seek out and save the Master and who would not be afraid to make a bargain with the devil to reach this goal. The Master could not have come to self-realization without Margarita, because he had given up on himself and had withdrawn from literary and spiritual life: he had stifled his creative spirit. Unlike Faust, he is passive, suffering, and willing to accept the fate that befalls him. He gives up after his literary life has been destroyed. Margarita, and Woland, persuade him to return to his manuscript and finish it. "Margarita not only complements the hero, she completes him as a Faustian figure."[9] She courageously accepts Woland as a necessary element in bringing about her and the Master's rescue from the hostile world of Moscow. Bulgakov's vision of the Eternal Feminine is an unorthodox combination of a proud, sensual woman (witch) with the serene face of the Mother of God (compassion). "Nudity is a leitmotif of Margarita's image."[10] After she puts on the magic cream of Azazello on her naked body she gains the ability to fly like a witch. «И она, как

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[8] Harold Janz, The Mothers in 'FAUST': The Myth of Time and Creativity (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969), 45.

[9] Borisoff, 83.

[10] L. Rzhevsky, "Pilate's Sin: Cryptography in Bulgakov's novel, The Master and Margarita," Canadian Slavonic Papers 13 (1971): 9.

была нагая, из спальни, то и дело взлетая в воздух, перебежала в кабинет мужа, /"And she, as she was, naked, periodically flying into the air, ran into her husband's study" (MM, 243), where she writes in the good-bye note to her husband: «Я стала ведьмой от горя и бедствий, поразивших меня», "I have become a witch from all the grief and sorrows that had befallen me" (MM, 244).

As her first act as a witch Margarita demolishes the apartment of Latunsky, the critic who mercilessly destroyed the Master's career. Yet, she stops short in the middle of her zealous revenge when she hears a little boy crying. He was frightened by all the noise. The witchy Margarita turns into the compassionate Margarita who comforts the boy (MM, 253).

> We must go behind the libelous image of the wicked, snaggletoothed witch to find the Sorceress, who, although she may have first sought the devil through despair and a desire for vengeance, becomes in his hands, almost in spite of herself, a comforter and healer, a source of mercy.[11]

Margarita's ultimate test is to play the hostess at the Satan's Ball, to be the Satan's Queen for a night. If she completes the task successfully, she is promised to see her Master again. «Надежда на то, что там ей удастся добиться возвращения своего счастья, сделала её бесстрашной», "The hope that there she could succeed in returning her happiness

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[11]Elizabeth Klosty Beaujour, "The Uses of Witches in Fedin and Bulgakov," Slavic Review 33 (1974): 697.

made her fearless" (MM, 261).

Ironically, it is in this place, Satan's Ball, that Margarita's greatest act of compassion occurs. Woland may be all-powerful, «всесильный Воланд» (MM, 313), in Margarita's eyes, but he cannot forgive, «извинить не могу» (MM, 217). That is the job of another 'department': «Каждое ведомство должно заниматься своими делами", "Every department has its own assignments" (MM, 298). However, as the «светлая королева Марго», "the light Queen Margo" (MM, 259), Margarita gains the ability to forgive by grace, which, in the words of Woland, «милосердие...коварно пролезает в самые узенькие щельки», "creeps in through the narrowest cracks" (MM, 298). At the Ball, Margarita meets Frieda, who keeps seeing the handkerchief with which she stifled her illegitimate baby, and has been driven to despair for centuries. She is suffering the same fate as had Gretchen: madness and derangement as a result of committing infanticide. Goethe's heroine does not gain peace until she receives Grace from the Mater Gloriosa. Margarita plays that role here by interceding for Frieda, «тебе прощают» /"you are forgiven" (MM, 299). "The traits of the Virgin here show through the witch."[12]

Margarita takes on a symbolic correspondence to the

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[12]Beaujour, 704.

Virgin Mary; Woland himself addresses her as "madonna"[13] and "queen" (MM, 268). When she meets Pilate, who has suffered for two thousand years, «совершенно спокойное её лицо подернулось дымкой сострадания», "her perfectly calm face was shrouded with compassion" (MM, 397). She demands his release, seeing that she has already been successful in that department, but it is Ieshua himself who grants him pardon.

Bulgakov's heroine is able to be a disciple of the Master, Ieshua, and Woland at the same time, in fact, of all the 'enemies' of society. She seems to gain the favour of both departments in the supernatural realm. Ieshua and Woland mutually arrange for the place called Peace where the Master and Margarita can dwell in eternity.

This image of the Virgin is a drastic departure from the traditional image of woman in the "Gretchen Tragedy". For this twentieth-century writer, "the whole mythic structure of purity and virginity which determines the church's alienating attitude towards women disappears"[14] from Bulgakov's novel. Margarita is indeed no angel, nor something as unattainable as a model of virginity. She is a real woman, a partner to the man of her choice.

The one great difference between Goethe's Gretchen and Bulgakov's Margarita is the latter's fully developed female character. Margarita confronts the world as only the male

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[13]Ericson, 35.

[14]Beaujour, 703.

protagonists did in the Faustian literature before her. The discovery of truth through experience and black magic is no longer just the male protagonist's domain. Furthermore, a Faustian woman can save her beloved and bring him to the verge of enlightenment. Man and woman share in the Faustian personality, the quest, in The Master and Margarita.

Thus, the Faustian tradition has not been lost or unrecognizably altered in Bulgakov's novel, but strengthened through continuation into modern times. Woman's role in society has changed drastically since the 1920's and through Bulgakov the Faustian tradition has caught up to it. Margarita still embodies the qualities of lover and mediator, as Gretchen did, with an added dimension. Now the intelligence, restlessness, despair, rebellion and enlightenment serve to characterize not only the male Faustian protagonist, but also the female.

Margarita is a very attractive modernized image of the Eternal Feminine. She is someone who has lived, instead of just being an ideal to be adored. Christ and the devil admire her spirit, for in Bulgakov's novel she represents what they both admire: courage, disdain for the easy life, and self-sacrifice for a higher cause. On the cosmic level, Margarita is still a manifestation of the Eternal Feminine which draws man to perfection at the end of Faust: Part II. To follow up the connection with Faust,

> Bulgakov endowed Margarita not only with the name, but also with all the feminine

> attributes of Goethe's feminine ideal: Jungfrau, Mutter, Königin, Göttin, in their twentieth-century meaning, of course.... She is faithful and pure in love, and remains pure even when naked and surrounded by impure desires; she is motherly with the frightened child and the sick poet, who is a child with a pure mind and acts bravely upon impulse; she is compassionate, and her intercession brings forgiveness; she is the reckless Queen Margot from Dumas' novel; and she is Venus or Helena from Goethe's tragedy--Beauty and therefore Inspiration.[15]

Both Gretchen and Margarita become channels of grace who draw inspired humanity upwards unto the infinite. Through this feminine principle and the aid of Mephistopheles and Woland, the heroes of Goethe's and Bulgakov's works are liberated and brought to enlightenment. A transcendent redemption through love resolves the tension between the post-Christian Faust and the constricted world of Gretchen in Goethe's work, and in Bulgakov's novel, between the freedom to believe in the supernatural cosmic order and the constricted life in Moscow's society.

Margarita, just like Gretchen before her, is able to function as an agent of the cosmic scheme in order to bring her erring yet creative individual seeker-lover to salvation. Unlike Gretchen, she is also portrayed as a sexual woman.

The role of love in Faust and The Master and Margarita functions as a catalyst for self-realization and spiritual

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[15]Stenbock-Fermor, 311.

redemption. Although the course of the lover's actions in both works varies, love remains the affirmation of the artists' and of the lovers' commitment to the work and to each other.

CONCLUSION

> The spirit that moves the Fausts is immortal.[1]

Through the use of myth and symbolism truths are immortalized. Goethe paid homage to the original Faust legend, as did Bulgakov to Goethe's Faust. Both put forth their own bold insights and modernizing the previous version. Thus the Faustian tradition is continued and updated, while still drawing on the previous sources and recreating eternal truths, through original and fundamental insights.

Goethe transformed a simple black-and-white sixteenth-century legend into a complex one by changing the natures of his hero and the devil. To be sure, the traditional elements are still there; however, the curious pleasure-seeking Dr. Faustus becomes an intelligent seeker of knowledge beyond what is attainable by mortal man. In the eighteenth-century drama there is still the pact with the devil, but the pact scene is permeated with irony and play-acting. Instead, Faust makes his own promise to the devil--a wager that he will never become satisfied, even for a moment, and if he does, that will be his last moment. Faust is forever searching, striving, dissatisfied, and therein lies his

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[1] Leatherbarrow, 43.

salvation. In Goethe's Faust the divine authorities seem to overlook the transgressions that Faust commits while striving for self-development and self-realization on earth, for it is exactly this striving that redeems errors.

Faust's salvation in the end is Goethe's greatest departure from the original legend. Goethe introduces a new set of values which he considered to be the redeeming features of a human being. For this German writer, "good" is activity, tireless continuation, striving towards knowledge according to an inner higher vision; "evil" is passive repose, conformity, easy gratification.

Goethe's devil is not the dogmatic devil of the Faust chapbook either. Mephistopheles is a witty, sarcastic, cynical companion. He fills the drama with havoc and laughter, much like Woland's unholy trio of Begemot, Korov'ev-Fagot, and Azazello does in The Master and Margarita. The Lord, in the "Prologue in Heaven," likes the devil, but also has his confidence in Faust as one who will develop and deserve eternal life. In Faust Mephistopheles serves the purpose of the Lord by keeping people active, by prodding humanity along life's path in order not to fall prey to the worst sin of all--stagnation ("unbedingte Ruh").

Bulgakov, in The Master and Margarita, maintains the same basic cosmic scheme. In both works, the Lord and the devil coexist peacefully, even amicably. Woland defends the existence of God and works together with Ieshua to bring the

Master to an ideal place of peace, where he can create freely. If one were to look at the "good" that Woland does: saving the manuscript, providing for a sanctuary for an artist, keeping true lovers together, then the "evil" must lie elsewhere. This, again, approaches Goethe's idea of "good" and "evil": Woland opposes stifling corrupt authorities on earth but does not show any rebellion against God or Ieshua. In Goethe's drama real evil belongs to state and church institutions, "narrow Christian orthodoxy hostile to nature,"[2] and academic organizations. In Bulgakov's novel, the authorities of the literary and theatrical world are seen as corrupt. True evil seems to lie in an institutionalized conscience. For Bulgakov, "good and evil are, in the final analysis, forged by human hands, not by God or the Devil."[3] It is the hell on earth (the Griboedov restaurant, MM, 68) that the Master and Margarita escape.

Faust, the romantic idealist, and the Master, the one who intuited the truth, represent the creative visionary in each work who transcend the commonplace and mediocre with Mephistopheles' and Woland's help, respectively. Faust and the Master are set apart from the rest of society because of their superior intelligence and willingness to give up everything in order to follow their vision. As artists,

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[2] Brown, 120.

[3] B. V. Sokolov, "The Sources for Mikhail Bulgakov's The Master and Margarita," Soviet Studies in Philosophy 4 (Spring 1989): 34.

they have the right to change the already solidified truths according to their inner vision. Faust translates the first line of the Book of John in the New Testament as: "Am Anfang war die Tat," "In the beginning was the deed" (F, 1237) instead of "In the beginning was the Word" (John 1:1). The Master creates a more human Jesus, who sees the ideal possible in every person. Ieshua is a martyr-artist, who believes in his vision so strongly that he is killed by the ignorant mob and a cowardly Pilate who support a corrupt system. Yet Bulgakov's Ieshua is also the divine Jesus Christ, for he forgives the executioner and the people; "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they are doing" (Luke 23, 34). Bulgakov, as artist, also modifies Goethe's Faust and continues the tradition in the Soviet Union, carrying it into the twentieth-century.

The Master and Margarita is a significant contribution to the theme of Goethe's Faust in Russian literature. Both Bulgakov and Goethe dispel the idea of a traditional devil and make theirs into mouthpieces for their philosophies. Woland, as Mephistopheles before him, hates routine and stagnation; he punishes literary hacks like Berlioz and Riukhin, just as Mephistopheles mocked Wagner and other gullible students. Woland unveils the facade of sophistication of the Moscow society to reveal the good or evil that has existed in people since the time of Mephistopheles and before.

Bulgakov picks up on the most significant changes that Goethe implemented upon the original legend, namely, the salvation of the hero, and the introduction of the Margaret figure who is the lover of the hero on earth and the intermediary between him and the powers beyond in the transcendental realm. The Master and Margarita, written in the Faustian tradition, has a despairing intelligent hero, a pact with the devil, a love story involving the hero and an Eternal Feminine type who liberates him with the aid of the devil. Goethe's Faust rejects conventional knowledge in favour of the possibility of all-encompassing knowledge which the devil provides. The Master is a defeated intellectual who gains the possibility of saving his intuited truth through Margarita and her pact with he devil.

A sort of reversal of "The Gretchen Tragedy" also takes place here; only it is the Master who destroys his illegitimate baby--the manuscript--and goes to prison. Bulgakov's remarkable innovation is a stronger Gretchen figure--Margarita, who encompasses the qualities of fearlessness, true love, and authority as the Queen of Satan's Ball, and also the qualities of Gretchen (as true love and Eternal Feminine) and witch all in one.

Both Goethe and Bulgakov present the reader with a divine, cosmic order, which is the true and just order; a transcendental power which looks out for its chosen--the artist, the visionary, the self-conscious, the enlightened

and developed personality which shows forth the ability to give and accept true love. The Faustian theme in German literature centres around the idea of an individual, and perhaps societal, development, and the price that such a striving affords. The Faustian theme in Russian literature focuses on the artist, who has already intuited the truth, and who must pay the price for that knowledge with his own sanity and life itself, until he is rescued and allowed to continue development in creative peace.

As Goethe updated the original Faust legend in the eighteenth century, so also Bulgakov also modifies the Goethean world view to show forth his own, and has thus succeeded in continuing the Faustian tradition; at the same time he has succeeded in creating a novel with immense appeal among those who cherish the Faustian tradition.

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